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AUTHOR Hess, Robert D.; And Others
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ABSTRACT

This document is Part I of an extensive cross cultural project, and focuses upon the development of behavior that relates the child both to authority figures in the salient social systems about him and to the rules designed to govern the behavior of members of the system. Systems include the family, school, community, nation, and religion. Students were selected from comparable grade levels in six countries - Denmark, Greece, India, Italy, Japan, and the United States. Data were collected through the questionnaire "Your Ideas About People and Rules" and interview questions. Data on children's overt behavior were collected through the "Peer Nomination Inventory." Major questions to be answered for each national sample were: (1) what are the variations in the data by age, sex, and SES: and (2) what are the relationships among the variables by age, sex, and/or SES. Two types of reliability tests performed concerned the reliability of coding categories developed for cross-national coding of interview items and the reliability of coders. In general, reliability tended to increase with age for low SES and change curvilinearly for high SES groups. (Author/CJ)

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FINAL REPORT
Project No. 2947
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AUTHORITY, RULES, AND AGGRESSION

A CROSS-NATIONAL STUDY OF THE SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN INTO COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS

PART I

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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MARCH 1969

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

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AUTHORITY, RULES, AND AGGRESSION

A CROSS-NATIONAL STUDY

OF THE SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN INTO COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS

PART I

ROBERT D. HESS, Stanford University, Senior Investigator and Project Director.
JUNE L. TAPP, American Bar Foundation and University of Chicago, Co-investigator for cross-national and U.S. studies.
SVEND SKYUM-NIELSEN, The Royal Danish School of Educational Studies. Danish study.
MARIA D. TENEZAKIS, Stanford University, and LEIGH MINTURN, University of Colorado. Greek study.
B. KUPPUSWAMY, Institute for Social and Psychological Research, Jayanagar, Bangalore, and K. GERA, University of Delhi, Delhi. Indian study.
MARCELLO CESA-BIANCHI, ANNA MALLARDI CORBASCIO, and PALMA BREGANI, University of Milan. Italian study.
AKIRA HOSHINO, International Christian University, Tokyo. Japanese study.

University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

March 1969

The research reported herein was performed pursuant to a contract with the Office of Education, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Contractors undertaking such projects under Government sponsorship are encouraged to express freely their professional judgment in the conduct of the project. Points of view or opinions stated do not, therefore, necessarily represent official Office of Education position or policy.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE

Office of Education
Bureau of Research

Foreword

The initial planning for this study began at a cross-national conference on the education of children and adolescents at the University of Chicago in 1964. Informal discussions among Professors Cesa-Bianchi, Minturn, and Hess during these sessions led to a proposal to the U. S. Office of Education later that year. Investigators in several countries were invited to join the Study during these early stages.

This volume reports the findings of that phase of the project which is based on earlier investigation by Professor Hess of attitudes toward political authority and on pilot work on children's orientation toward authority figures and rules carried out individually and jointly by Professor Cesa-Bianchi in Italy, and Professor Svend Skyum-Nielsen in Denmark. The study was intended to extend into a cross-national sphere of work in political socialization which was then gaining significant momentum in the U. S. and other countries.

The overall plan of the project included an examination of social and cultural norms which regulate aggressive exchange among individuals in a society. Professor Leigh Minturn as one of the two senior investigators is responsible for this part of the project; the findings are reported in a separate volume.

Many people have worked together to do the investigation and prepare this volume reporting the findings. The participating investigators in each of the countries were:

Denmark

Co-Investigator:	Svend Skyum-Nielsen, Associate Professor, The Royal Danish School of Educational Studies, Copenhagen N.V.
Research Associate:	Hans D. Weltzer, Assistant Professor University of Aarhus
Research Assistants:	Leif Nord, Bente Ørum

Greece

Co-Investigators:	Leigh Minturn, Professor, University of Colorado
	Maria D. Tenezakis, Research Associate, Stanford Center for Research and Development in Teaching, Stanford University

Research Assistants:	Antonia Lecatsas, Haris Katakis, Frosso Rotous, Th. Triandafyllou, Angel Mitzalis

India

Co-Investigator:	B. Kuppuswamy, Director, Institute for Social and Psychological Research, Yajanagar, Bangalore, India
Project Coordinator:	K. Gera, Department of Psychology, University of Delhi, Delhi, India

Italy

Co-Investogators	Marcello Cesa-Bianchi, Professor of Psychology, Medical Faculty, University of Milan, and Chairman, Institute of Psychology, City of Milan Anna Mallardi Corbascio, Research Psychologist, Institute of Psychology of the Medical Faculty, University of Milan Palma Bregani, Research Psychologist, Institute of Psychology of the Medical Faculty, University of Milan
Research Associates:	Grazia Calegari Magistretti and Paolo Calegari
Research Assistant:	Gabriella Rubini

Japan

Co-Investigator:	Akira Hoshino, Associate Professor International Christian University, Mitaka, Tokyo, Japan
Research Associates:	Koich Hasegawa, Haruo Nishimura, Robert W. Avery

United States

Co-Investigators:	Robert D. Hess, Professor, Stanford University June L. Tapp, Senior Research Social Scientist, American Bar Foundation, and Associate Professorial Lecturer, University of Chicago
Research Assistants:	Richard Ayesse, Carl Hildabrand, Judith Evans, Felice Levine

The Director of the Project is Professor Robert D. Hess. The cross-national principal investigators are Professor Robert D. Hess and Professor Leigh Minturn. Dr. June L. Tapp is co-investigator for the cross-national phase of the study.

In the fall of 1967 the central office of the study moved from the University of Chicago to Stanford University, and the major part of the work of preparing the report was completed there. This included preparation of tables and graphs for national and cross-national sections, editing and writing sections of introductory chapters and some national chapters, communicating with investigators concerning possible revisions of national reports, preparation of copies for final typing and processing, and the like.

Dr. Maria Tenezakis played a central role in this effort. In addition to writing the chapter reporting results from the Greek study, she edited drafts of chapters, supervised preparation of tables and graphs, redrafted the section on method and took major responsibility for preparing the chapter summarizing cross-national findings. She deserves much more authorship credit than is reflected on the title page. Working with her at Stanford were Mrs. Elizabeth Holstein Delgass, Mrs. Judith Evans, Mrs. Dorothy Hurley, Mrs. Constance Putnam, Mrs. Lyn Sharpe, and Mr. Ian Smith.

A project of this scope could only have been completed with the aid of participating schools, colleagues, friends and agencies too numerous to list.

Our greatest debt is to the children in every participating country whose ideas, perceptions, and feelings are the resources on which the project is built.

R.D.H.

March 31, 1969
Stanford University

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Foreword	i
List of Figures (by Chapter)	viii
List of Tables (by Chapter)	xx
PART A. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND METHOD	
1. CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY	1
A. Introduction to the Problem	1
B. Rationale and Objectives of the Project	3
2. METHOD	7
A. Selection of Subjects	7
B. Research Instruments	11
C. Collection of Data	13
D. Data Processing	16
E. Data Analysis	18
F. Stability of Responses	24
References	27
PART B. NATIONAL FINDINGS	
1. DANISH DATA	
A. Introduction	1
B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System	8
1. Images of Authority Figures	8
2. The Child's Conception of Rules and Laws	27
3. The Child's Internalization of Norms	43
4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority	53
5. Involvement and Participation in Authority Systems	63
C. Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom	72
1. Compliance and Noncompliance in the Classroom	72
2. Summary of Relationships between Questionnaire Variables and Peer Ratings of Compliant and Noncompliant Classroom Behavior	76
D. Summary and Conclusions	79
References	86
2. GREEK DATA	
A. Introduction	1
B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System	10
1. Images of Authority Figures	10
2. The Child's Conception of Rules and Laws	26
3. The Child's Internalization of Norms	43
4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority	52
5. Involvement and Participation in Authority Systems	64

C. Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom 73
1. Compliance and Noncompliance in the Classroom 73
2. Summary of Relationships between Questionnaire Variables and Peer Ratings of Compliant and Noncompliant Classroom Behavior 79
D. Summary and Conclusions 83
References 95
3. INDIAN DATA
A. Introduction 1
B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System 8
1. Images of Authority Figures 8
2. The Child's Conception of Rules and Laws 21
3. The Child's Internalization of Norms . . 32
4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority 39
5. Involvement and Participation in Authority Systems 45
C. Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom 51
1. Compliance and Noncompliance in the Classroom 51
4. ITALIAN DATA
A. Introduction 1
B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System 4
1. Images of Authority Figures 4
2. The Child's Conception of Rules and Laws 21
3. The Child's Internalization of Norms . . 35
4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority 42
5. Involvement and Participation in Authority Systems 49
C. Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom 56
1. Compliance and Noncompliance in the Classroom 56
2. Summary of Relationships between Questionnaire Variables and Peer Ratings of Compliant and Noncompliant Classroom Behavior 59
D. Summary and Conclusions 61
References 69
5. JAPANESE DATA
A. Introduction 1
B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System 7
1. Images of Authority Figures 7
2. The Child's Conception of Rules and Laws 26
3. The Child's Internalization of Norms . . 37
4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority 50
5. Involvement and Participation in Authority Systems 59

C. Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom 66
1. Compliance and Noncompliance in the Classroom 66
2. Summary of Relationships between Questionnaire Variables and Peer Ratings of Compliant and Noncompliant Classroom Behavior 69
D. Summary and Conclusions 73
References 76
6. U. S. CAUCASIAN DATA
A. Introduction 1
B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System 5
1. Images of Authority Figures 5
2. The Child's Conception of Rules and Laws 21
3. The Child's Internalization of Norms . . 40
4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority 51
5. Involvement and Participation in Authority Systems 63
C. Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom 72
1. Compliance and Noncompliance in the Classroom 72
2. Summary of Relationships between Questionnaire Variables and Peer Ratings of Compliant and Noncompliant Classroom Behavior 76
7. U. S. NEGRO DATA
A. Introduction 1
B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System 3
1. Images of Authority Figures 5
2. The Child's Conception of Rules and Laws 15
3. The Child's Internalization of Norms . . 34
4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority 44
5. Involvement and Participation in Authority Systems 55
C. Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom 62
1. Compliance and Noncompliance in the Classroom 62
2. Summary of Relationships between Questionnaire Variables and Peer Ratings of Compliant and Noncompliant Classroom Behavior 65
D. Summary and Conclusions 68
References 73

PART C. CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS
1. CROSS-NATIONAL COMPARISONS 1
A. Introduction 1
B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System 2

1. Images of Authority Figures 12
2. The Child's Conception of Rules and Laws 13
3. The Child's Internalization of Norms . . 18
4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority 22
5. Involvement and Participation in Authority Systems 29
C. Relationships Among Variables of the Study 31
1. Relationships Among Questionnaire Variables 31
2. Relationships Between Questionnaire Variables and Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom 33
2. CONCLUSIONS 35

APPENDICES
1. Rating Scale of Parental Occupations
2. Questionnaire: Your Ideas About People and Rules
3. List of PNI Items by Order of Presentation
4. YIAPR and PNI Items Included in the Reliability Instrument
5. Interview Items Analyzed in this Volume and Coding Categories by Item
6. Introductory Remarks
7. Instructions for Administering the Your Ideas About People and Rules Questionnaire
8. Instructions for Administering the Peer Nomination Inventory
9. Peer Nomination Inventory: Design of Booklet Page
10. List of YIAPR Index Scores
11. List of PNI Items Grouped into Index Scores
12. Tables Presenting Reliability Data

LIST OF FIGURES

(By Chapter*)

PART B

1. Danish Data

Figure		Page
1-1.	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Authority Figures, by Grade (Denmark) . . .	14
1-2.	Comparison of Means on Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, by Grade (Denmark)	14
1-3.	Comparison of Means on View of Authority Figures' Power to Punish, by Grade (Denmark)	19
1-4.	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Authority Figures' Rules, by Grade (Denmark)	21
1-5.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of Parents, by Grade (Denmark) .	26
1-6.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the Teacher, by Grade (Denmark)	26
1-7.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the Policeman, by Grade (Denmark)	26
1-8.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the City Officials, by Grade (Denmark)	26
1-9.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of National Government Officials, by Grade (Denmark)	26

*For technical reasons the national chapters have been paginated independently. The page number to which a figure is assigned is the text page preceding that figure.

Figure		Page
1-10.	Comparison of Means on Views of Which is Worst: Offenses Against Persons, Against Property, or Against the Rules (Order) of Social Systems, by Grade (Denmark)	32
1-11.	Perception of the Roles of Authority Figures in Rule- and Law-Making in the Community, by Grade (Denmark)	35
1-12.	Comparison of Means on Perception of the Justice of Figures' Rules, by Grade (Denmark)	40
1-13.	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Figures' Rules, by Grade (Denmark)	48
1-14.	Comparison of Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority, by Grade (Denmark)	55

2. Greek Data

2-1.	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Authority Figures, by Grade (Greece) . . .	14
2-2.	Comparison of Means on Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, by Grade (Greece)	14
2-3.	Comparison of Means on View of Authority Figures' Power to Punish, by Grade (Greece)	18
2-4.	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Authority Figures' Rules, by Grade (Greece)	20
2-5.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of Parents, by Grade (Greece). .	25
2-6.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the Teacher, by Grade (Greece)	25

Figure		Page
2-7.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the Policeman, by Grade (Greece)	25
2-8.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the City Officials, by Grade (Greece)	25
2-9.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of National Government Officials, by Grade (Greece)	25
2-10.	Comparison of Means on Views of Which is Worst: Offenses Against Persons, Against Property, or Against the Rules (Order) of Social Systems, by Grade (Greece)	33
2-11.	Perception of the Roles of Authority Figures in Rule- and Law-Making in the Community, by Grade (Greece)	36
2-12.	Comparison of Means on Perception of the Justice of Figures' Rules, by Grade (Greece)	40
2-13.	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Figures' Rules, by Grade (Greece)	47
2-14.	Comparison of Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority, by Grade (Greece)	55

3. Indian Data

3-1.	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Authority Figures, by Grade (India)	11
3-2.	Comparison of Means on Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, by Grade (India)	11
3-3.	Comparison of Means on View of Authority Figures' Power to Punish, by Grade (India)	14

Figure		Page
3-4.	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Authority Figures' Rules, by Grade (India)	16
3-5.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of Parents, by Grade (India) . .	20
3-6.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the Teacher, by Grade (India)	20
3-7.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the Policeman, by Grade (India)	20
3-8.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the City Officials, by Grade (India)	20
3-9.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of National Government Officials, by Grade (India)	20
3-10.	Comparison of Means on Views of Which is Worst: Offenses Against Persons, Against Property, or Against the Rules (Order) of Social Systems, by Grade (India)	24
3-11.	Perception of the Roles of Authority Figures in Rule- and Law-Making in the Community, by Grade (India)	26
3-12.	Comparison of Means on Perception of the Justice of Figures' Rules, by Grade (India)	29
3-13.	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Figures' Rules, by Grade (India)	35
3-14.	Comparison of Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority, by Grade (India)	39

4. Italian Data

Figure		Page
4-1.	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Authority Figures, by Grade (Italy) . .	10
4-2.	Comparison of Means on Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, by Grade (Italy)	10
4-3.	Comparison of Means on View of Authority Figures' Power to Punish, by Grade (Italy)	14
4-4.	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Authority Figures' Rules, by Grade (Italy)	17
4-5.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of Parents, by Grade (Italy) . .	20
4-6.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the Teacher, by Grade (Italy)	20
4-7.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the Policeman, by Grade (Italy)	20
4-8.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the City Officials, by Grade (Italy)	20
4-9.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of National Government Officials, by Grade (Italy)	20
4-10.	Comparison of Means on Views of Which is Worst: Offenses Against Persons, Against Property, or Against the Rules (Order) of Social Systems, by Grade (Italy)	25
4-11.	Perception of the Roles of Authority Figures in Rule- and Law-Making in the Community, by Grade (Italy)	28

Figure		Page
4-12.	Comparison of Means on Perception of the Justice of Figures' Rules, by Grade (Italy)	32
4-13.	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Figures' Rules, by Grade (Italy)	38
4-14.	Comparison of Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority, by Grade (Italy)	43

5. Japanese Data

5-1.	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Authority Figures, by Grade (Japan)	14
5-2.	Comparison of Means on Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, by Grade (Japan)	14
5-3.	Comparison of Means on View of Authority Figures' Power to Punish, by Grade (Japan)	19
5-4.	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Authority Figures' Rules, by Grade (Japan)	21
5-5.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of Parents, by Grade (Japan)	25
5-6.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the Teacher, by Grade (Japan)	25
5-7.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the Policeman, by Grade (Japan)	25
5-8.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the City Officials, by Grade (Japan)	25

Figure		Page
5-9.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of National Government Officials, by Grade (Japan)	25
5-10.	Comparison of Means on Views of Which is Worst: Offenses Against Persons, Against Property, or Against the Rules (Order) of Social Systems, by Grade (Japan)	29
5-11.	Perception of the Roles of Authority Figures in Rule- and Law-Making in the Community, by Grade (Japan)	31
5-12.	Comparison of Means on Perception of the Justice of Figures' Rules, by Grade (Japan)	35
5-13.	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Figures' Rules, by Grade (Japan)	44
5-14.	Comparison of Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority, by Grade (Japan)	51

6. U. S. Caucasian Data

6-1.	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Authority Figures, by Grade (U. S. Caucasians)	9
6-2.	Comparison of Means on Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, by Grade (U. S. Caucasians)	9
6-3.	Comparison of Means on View of Authority Figures' Power to Punish, by Grade (U. S. Caucasians)	13
6-4.	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Authority Figures' Rules, by Grade (U. S. Caucasians)	15
6-5.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of Parents, by Grade (U. S. Caucasians)	20

Figure		Page
6-6.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the Teacher, by Grade (U. S. Caucasians)	20
6-7.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the Policeman, by Grade (U. S. Caucasians)	20
6-8.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the City Officials, by Grade (U. S. Caucasians)	20
6-9.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of National Government Officials, by Grade (U. S. Caucasians) . .	20
6-10.	Comparison of Means on Views of Which is Worst: Offenses Against Persons, Against Property, or Against the Rules (Order) of Social Systems, by Grade (U. S. Caucasians)	28
6-11.	Perception of the Roles of Authority Figures in Rule- and Law-Making in the Community, by Grade (U. S. Caucasians) . .	34
6-12.	Comparison of Means on Perception of the Justice of Figures' Rules, by Grade (U. S. Caucasians)	38
6-13.	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Figures' Rules, by Grade (U. S. Caucasians)	45
6-14.	Comparison of Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority, by Grade (U. S. Caucasians) . .	54

7. U. S. Negro Data

Figure		Page
7-1.	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Authority Figures, by Grade (U. S. Negro)	6
7-2.	Comparison of Means on Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, by Grade (U. S. Negro)	6
7-3.	Comparison of Means on View of Authority Figures' Power to Punish, by Grade (U. S. Negro)	9
7-4.	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Authority Figures' Rules, by Grade (U. S. Negro)	11
7-5.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of Parents, by Grade (U. S. Negro)	14
7-6.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the Teacher, by Grade (U. S. Negro)	14
7-7.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the Policeman, by Grade (U. S. Negro)	14
7-8.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of the City Officials, by Grade (U. S. Negro)	14
7-9.	Percentage Reporting Belief that Other Authority Figures Would Reinforce the Discipline of National Government Officials, by Grade (U. S. Negro)	14
7-10.	Comparison of Means on Views of Which is Worst: Offenses Against Persons, Against Property, or Against the Rules (Order) of Social Systems, by Grade (U. S. Negro)	22

Figure		Page
7-11.	Perception of the Roles of Authority Figures in Rule- and Law-Making in the Community, by Grade (U. S. Negro)	26
7-12.	Comparison of Means on Perception of the Justice of Figures' Rules, by Grade (U. S. Negro)	31
7-13.	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Figures' Rules, by Grade (U. S. Negro)	38
7-14.	Comparison of Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority, by Grade (U. S. Negro)	45

PART C

1. Cross-National Comparisons

1	Affiliation to Authority Figures (Liking) Across Grades, by Nation	38
2	Comparison of Fourth Grade Students' Affiliation to Authority Figures (Liking), by Nation	39
3	Comparison of Sixth Grade Students' Affiliation to Authority Figures (Liking), by Nation	40
4	Comparison of Eighth Grade Students' Affiliation to Authority Figures (Liking), by Nation	41
5	Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, Across Grades, by Nation	42
6	Comparison of Fourth Grade Students' Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, by Nation	43
7	Comparison of Sixth Grade Students' Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, by Nation	44

Figure		Page
8	Comparison of Eighth Grade Students' Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, by Nation	45
9	Perception of Authority Figures' Power to Punish Across Grades, by Nation	46
10	Comparison of Fourth Grade Students' Perception of Authority Figures' Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Nation	47
11	Comparison of Sixth Grade Students' Perception of Authority Figures' Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Nation	48
12	Comparison of Eighth Grade Students' Perception of Authority Figures' Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Nation	49
13	Perception of Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Authority Figures' Rules, Across Grades, by Nation .	50
14	Comparison of Fourth Grade Students' Perception of Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Authority Figures' Rules, by Nation	51
15	Comparison of Sixth Grade Students' Perception of Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Authority Figures' Rules, by Nation	52
16	Comparison of Eighth Grade Students' Perception of Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Authority Figures' Rules, by Nation	53
17	Comparison of Percentages Reporting Beliefs in Types of Inter-System Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance, Across Grades, by Nation	54
18	Perception of Authority Figures' Rules as Fair, Across Grades, by Nation	55
19	Comparison of Fourth Grade Students' Perception of Authority Figures' Rules as Fair, by Nation	56

Figure		Page
20	Comparison of Sixth Grade Students' Perception of Authority Figures' Rules as Fair, by Nation	57
21	Comparison of Eighth Grade Students' Perception of Authority Figures' Rules as Fair, by Nation	58
22	Comparison of National Means of Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Rules of Authority Figures	59
23	Comparison of Fourth Grade Students' Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with the Rules of Authority Figures, by Nation	60
24	Comparison of Sixth Grade Students' Means of Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with the Rules of Authority Figures, by Nation	61
25	Comparison of Eighth Grade Students' Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with the Rules of Authority Figures, by Nation	62
26	Comparison of Percentages Citing Types of Responses Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, Across Grades, by Nation	63
27	Comparison of Percentages Citing Types of Reactions to Injustice from Total Authority, Across Grades, by Nation	64

LIST OF TABLES

(By Chapter*)

PART A

2. Method

Table		Page
1.	Total Sample Description Across All Countries	9
2.	Interview Sample Description Across All Countries	12

PART B

1. Danish Data

1-1	Correlation between Liking for Authority Figures and Perception of Them as Helpful, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	14
1-2	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Several Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	14
1-3	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Policeman, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	14
1-4	Comparison of Means of Attachment to Prime Minister, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	14
1-5	Comparison of Means on View of Parents as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	14
1-6	Comparison of Means on View of Several Authority Figures as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	14

*For technical reasons the national chapters have been paginated independently. The page number to which a table is assigned is the text page preceding that table.

Table		Page
1-7	Comparison of Means of View of Religious Leader as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	14
1-8	Comparison of Means on View of Policeman as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	14
1-9	Comparison of Means on View of Prime Minister as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	14
1-10	Relationship between Attachment to Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	14
1-11	Relationship between Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	14
1-12	Comparison of Means on View of Parents' Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	19
1-13	Comparison of Means on View of Teacher's Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	19
1-14	Comparison of Means on View of Several Authority Figures' Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	19
1-15	Relationship between Perception of the Power of Authority Figures to Punish Noncompliance and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	19
1-16	Correlation between Perception of Authority Figures' Power to Punish and Belief in Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	21
1-17	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Teacher's Rules by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	21

Table		Page
1-18	Relationship between Belief in Inevitability of Punishment for Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Systems and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	21
1-19	Comparison of Percentages on Expectation that Punishment for Noncompliance will be Reinforced by Other Authority Figures (Percentages of "Yes" Responses) (Denmark) .	26
1-20	Comparison of Means on Beliefs about Inter-system Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance, by Total Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	26
1-21	Relationship Between Beliefs about Inter-system Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	26
1-22	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against Property as more Serious than those Against Persons or the Systems' Rules (Order), Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	32
1-23	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against Persons as more Serious than those Against Property or the Systems' Rules (Order), Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status and Sex (Denmark)	32
1-24	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against the Systems' Rules as more Serious than those Against Property or Persons, Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	32
1-25	Relationships between Indices of Perception of the Relative Seriousness of Three Types of Offenses and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	32

Table		Page
1-26	Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Making Family Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark) . .	35
1-27	Perception of the Roles of Authority Figures in Rule- and Law-Making in the Community, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	35
1-28	Relationships between Perception of Positive and Punitive Dimensions of Authority Figures and Belief in the Justice of Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark) .	40
1-29	Relationship between Belief in the Justice of Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	40
1-30	Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Enforcing Family Rules, by Grade, Social Status and Sex (Denmark) . .	42
1-31	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Parents' Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	48
1-32	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings, Following Noncompliance with Teacher's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	48
1-33	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with the Rules of Several Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	48
1-34	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Friends' Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	48
1-35	Relationships between Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, Likable and Just and Guilt over Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	48

Table		Page
1-36	Relationships between Perception of Punitive Dimensions of Authority Figures and Guilt over Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	48
1-37	Comparison of Percentages of Ss Reporting Punishment of Self for Noncompliance with Rules of Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	48
1-38	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Two Measures of Internalization of Rules and Norms of Compliance Systems: Belief that Discipline by One Authority Figure will be Reinforced by Others and Guilt over Noncompliance, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	48
1-39	Relationship between Guilt and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	48
1-40	Comparison of Percentage of "Yes" Responses on Reactions Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Total Grade (Denmark)	52
1-41	Comparison of Means on Responses Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	52
1-42	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Two Measures of Internalization of Rules and Norms of Compliance Systems: Responses in Reaction to Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Guilt Over One's Own Noncompliance, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	52
1-43	Relationship between Types of Response to Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	52

Table		Page
1-44	Comparison of Percentages on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures), by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Percentages of "Yes" Responses)(Denmark)	55
1-45	Comparison of Means on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures), by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	55
1-46	Comparison of Percentages on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Five Authority Figures, Grouped as Parents, Teacher and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Percentages of "Yes" Responses) (Denmark)	62
1-47	Comparison of Means on Category "Do Nothing" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark) .	62
1-48	Comparison of Means on Category "Ask Why" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	62
1-49	Comparison of Means on Category "Verbal Responses" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark) .	62
1-50	Comparison of Means on Category "Talk to Peers" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark) .	62
1-51	Comparison of Means on Category "Ask Parents to Intervene" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark) .	62

Table		Page
1-52	Comparison of Means on Category "Get Even" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	62
1-53	Comparison of Percentages of "Yes" Responses to Various Types of Verbal Reactions to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	62
1-54	Intercorrelations of Frequencies of Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice by Parents, Teacher and Other Authority, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	62
1-55	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Children's Perception of and Attitudes Toward Authority Figures and Their Choices of Methods of Facing Authority Figures Injustices, Across Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	62
1-56	Relationship between Categories of Responses to Injustice from Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	62
1-57	Comparison of Means on Political Interest, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark).	67
1-58	Comparison of Means on Feelings of Political Efficacy, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	67
1-59	Comparison of Means on Political Activity, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark).	67
1-60	Comparison of Percentages of "Yes" Responses on Types of Political Activity, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	67
1-61	Relationships among Three Measures of Political Socialization, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	67

Table		Page
1-62	Relationships between Measures of Political Socialization and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	67
1-63	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Three Measures of Political Socialization and Children's Perception of Various Dimensions of Authority Figures, by Sex Across all Grades (Denmark)	67
1-64	Comparison of Means on Participation in Decision-Making in the Home, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	71
1-65	Comparison of Means on Participation in Decision-Making in the Classroom, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	71
1-66	Relationships among Various Measures of Involvement in Authority Systems,by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	71
1-67	Relationships between Sense of Participation in Family and Classroom Decision-Making Processes and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Denmark)	71
1-68	Comparison of Grades, Social Status and Sex on Scores for Compliant Behavior (Denmark)	75
1-69	Comparison of Grades, Social Status, and Sex on Scores for Noncompliant Behavior (Denmark)	75
1-70	Correlation Coefficients among Ratings of Positive Behavior by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	75
1-71	Correlation Coefficients among Ratings of Negative Behavior, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	75
1-72	Correlation Coefficients between Ratings of Positive and Negative Behavior, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Denmark)	75

2. Greek Data

Table		Page
2-1	Correlation between Liking for Authority Figures and Perception of Them as Helpful, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	14
2-2	Comparison of Means on View of Teacher as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	14
2-3	Relationship between Attachment to Authority Figures (Liking) and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	14
2-4	Relationship between Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	14
2-5	Comparison of Means on View of Teacher's Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	18
2-6	Comparison of Means on View of Several Authority Figures' Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	18
2-7	Comparison of Means on View of Policeman's Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	18
2-8	Comparison of Means on View of Judge's Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	18
2-9	Comparison of Means on View of Prime Minister's Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece) . .	18
2-10	Comparison of Means on View of Religious Leader's Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	18
2-11	Comparison of Means on View of Friends' Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	18
2-12	Relationship between Perception of the Power of Authority Figures to Punish Noncompliance and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	18

Table		Page
2-13	Correlation between Perception of Authority Figures' Power to Punish and Belief in Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	20
2-14	Comparisons of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Parents' Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex	20
2-15	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Father's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	20
2-16	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Mother's Rules by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	20
2-17	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with the Rules of Several Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	20
2-18	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Policemen's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	20
2-19	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with City's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	20
2-20	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Government's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	20
2-21	Relationship between Belief in Inevitability of Punishment for Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Systems and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	20
2-22	Comparison of Percentages on Expectation that Punishment for Noncompliance Will Be Reinforced by Other Authority Figures (Percentages of "Yes" Responses) (Greece)	25

Table		Page
2-23	Comparison of Means on Beliefs about Inter-system Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance, by Total Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	25
2-24	Relationship between Beliefs about Inter-system Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	25
2-25	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against Property as more Serious than those Against Persons or the Systems' Rules (Order) Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	33
2-26	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against Persons as more Serious than those Agaist Property and the Systems' Rules (Order), Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	33
2-27	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against the System's Rules (Order) as more Serious than those Against Property or Persons, Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	33
2-28	Relationships between Indices of Perception of the Relative Seriousness of Three Types of Offenses and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	33
2-29	Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Making Family Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	36
2-30	Perception of the Roles of Authority Figures in Rule- and Law-Making in the Community, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	36
2-31	Comparison of Means on the Justice of Parents' Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	40
2-32	Comparison of Means on the Justice of Teacher's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	40

Table		Page
2-33	Relationships between Perception of Positive and Punitive Dimensions of Authority Figures and Belief in the Justice of Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	40
2-34	Relationship between Belief in the Justice of Rules of Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	40
2-35	Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Enforcing Family Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	42
2-36	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Parents' Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	47
2-37	Relationships between Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, Likable, and Just and Guilt over Noncompliance with their Ruiles, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	47
2-38	Relationships between Perception of Punitive Dimensions of Authority Figures and Guilt over Noncompliance with their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	47
2-39	Relationship between Guilt and Classroom Behavior by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	47
2-40	Comparison of Percentages of Ss Reporting Punishment of Self for Noncompliance with Rules of Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	47
2-41	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Two Measures of Internalization of Rules and Norms of Compliance Systems: Belief that Discipline by One Authority Figure will be Reinforced by Others and Guilt over Noncompliance, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	47

Table		Page
2-42	Comparison of Percentages of "Yes" Responses on Reactions Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Total Grade (Greece)	51
2-43	Comparison of Means on Responses Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	51
2-44	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Two Measures of Internalization of Rules and Norms of Compliance Systems: Responses in Reaction to Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Guilt over One's Own Noncompliance, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	51
2-45	Relationship between Types of Response to Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	51
2-46	Comparison of Percentages on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures), by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Percentages of "Yes" Responses) (Greece)	55
2-47	Comparison of Means on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures), by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	55
2-48	Comparison of Percentages on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Five Authority Figures, Grouped as Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Percentages of "Yes" Responses) (Greece)	63
2-49	Comparison of Means on Category "Do Nothing" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	63

Table		Page
2-50	Comparison of Means on Category "Ask Why" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	63
2-51	Comparison of Means on Category "Verbal Responses" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	63
2-52	Comparison of Means on Category "Talk to Peers" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	63
2-53	Comparison of Means on Category "Ask Parents to Intervene" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	63
2-54	Comparison of Means on Category "Get Even" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	63
2-55	Comparison of Percentages on Alternatives "Talk to Brothers and Sisters," and "Talk to Friends," in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	63
2-56	Comparison of Percentages of "Yes" Responses to Various Types of Verbal Reactions to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	63
2-57	Intercorrelations of Frequencies of Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice by Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	63
2-58	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Children's Perception of and Attitudes toward Authority Figures and Their Choices of Methods of Facing Authority Figures' Injustices, Across Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	63

Table		Page
2-59	Relationship between Categories of Responses to Injustice from Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	63
2-60	Comparison of Means on Political Interest, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	68
2-61	Comparison of Means on Feelings of Political Efficacy, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	68
2-62	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Three Measures of Political Socialization and Children's Perception of Various Dimensions of Authority Figures, by Sex Across All Grades (Greece)	68
2-63	Relationships between Measures of Political Socialization and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	68
2-64	Comparison of Means on Political Activity, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	68
2-65	Comparison of Percentages Citing Various Types of Political Activity, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	68
2-66	Relationships Among Three Measures of Political Socialization, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	68
2-67	Comparison of Means on Participation in Decision-Making in the Home, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	72
2-68	Comparison of Means on Participation in Decision-Making in the Classroom, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece) . .	72
2-69	Relationships among Various Measures of Involvement in Authority Systems, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	72

Table		Page
2-70	Relationships between Sense of Participation in Family and Classroom Decision-Making Processes and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Greece)	72
2-71	Comparison of Grades, Social Status, and Sex on Scores for Compliant Behavior (Greece)	78
2-72	Comparison of Grades, Social Status, and Sex on Scores for Noncompliant Behavior (Greece)	78
2-73	Correlation Coefficients among Ratings of Positive Behavior by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	78
2-74	Correlation Coefficients among Ratings of Negative Behavior by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece)	78
2-75	Correlation Coefficients between Ratings of Positive and Negative Behavior, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Greece) . .	78

3. Indian Data

3-1	Correlation between Liking for Authority Figures and Perception of Them as Helpful, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	11
3-2	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Parents, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	11
3-3	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Policeman, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	11
3-4	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Prime Minister, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	11
3-5	Comparison of Means on View of Parents as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	11

Table		Page
3-6	Comparison of Means on View of Teacher as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	11
3-7	Comparison of Means on View of Several Authority Figures as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	11
3-8	Comparison of Means on View of Friends as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	11
3-9	Relationship between Attachment to Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	11
3-10	Relationship between Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	11
3-11	Comparison of Means on View of Several Authority Figures' Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	14
3-12	Comparison of Means on View of Friends' Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	14
3-13	Relationship between Perception of the Power of Authority Figures to Punish Noncompliance and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	14
3-14	Correlation between Perception of Authority Figures' Power to Punish and Belief in Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	16
3-15	Relationship between Belief in Inevitability of Punishment for Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Systems and Classroom Behavior by Grade and Sex Groups (India). .	16

Table		Page
3-16	Comparison of Percentages on Expectation that Punishment for Noncompliance Will Be Reinforced by Other Authority Figures, by Grade (Percentages of "Yes" Responses) (India)	20
3-17	Comparison of Means on Beliefs about Inter-system Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance, by Total Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	20
3-18	Relationship between Beliefs about Inter-system Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	20
3-19	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against Property as more Serious than those Against Persons or the Systems' Rules (Order), Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	24
3-20	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against Persons as more Serious than those Against Property or the Systems' Rules (Order), Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	24
3-21	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against the Systems' Rules (Order) as more Serious than those Against Property or Persons, Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India) . . .	24
3-22	Relationships between Indices of Perception of the Relative Seriousness of Three Types of Offenses and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	24
3-23	Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Making Family Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	26
3-24	Perception of the Roles of Authority Figures in Rule- and Law-Making in the Community, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India) . . .	26

Table		Page
3-25	Comparison of Means on the Justice of Parents' Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	29
3-26	Comparison of Means on the Justice of Policeman's, City's, and Government's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	29
3-27	Relationships between Perception of Positive and Punitive Dimensions of Authority Figures and Belief in the Justice of Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	29
3-28	Relationship between Belief in the Justice of Rules of Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	29
3-29	Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Enforcing Family Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	31
3-30	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Parents' Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	35
3-31	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings, Following Noncompliance with Teacher's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	35
3-32	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with the Rules of Several Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	35
3-33	Relationships between Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, Likable, and Just, and Guilt Over Noncompliace with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	35
3-34	Relationships between Perception of Punitive Dimensions of Authority Figures and Guilt over Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	35

Table		Page
3-35	Comparison of Percentages of Ss Reporting Punishment of Self for Noncompliance with the Rules of Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	35
3-36	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Two Measures of Internalization of Rules and Norms of Compliance Systems: Belief that Discipline by One Authority Figure Will Be Reinforced by Others and Guilt over Noncompliance, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	35
3-37	Relationship between Guilt and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	35
3-38	Comparison of Percentages of "Yes" Responses on Reactions Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Total Grade (India)	38
3-39	Comparison of Means on Responses Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	38
3-40	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Two Measures of Internalization of Rules and Norms of Compliance Systems: Responses in Reaction to Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Guilt over One's Own Non-compliance, By Grade and Sex Groups (India)	38
3-41	Relationship between Types of Response to Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	38
3-42	Comparison of Percentages on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures), by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Percentages of "Yes" Responses) (India)	39

Table		Page
3-43	Comparison of Means on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures), by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	39
3-44	Comparison of Percentages on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Five Authority Figures, Grouped as Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Percentage of "Yes" Responses) (India)	44
3-45	Comparison of Means on Category "Do Nothing" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	44
3-46	Comparison of Means on Category "Ask Why" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	44
3-47	Comparison of Means on Category "Verbal Responses" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India) . . .	44
3-48	Comparison of Means on Category "Talk to Peers" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	44
3-49	Comparison of Means on Category "Ask Parents to Intervene" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India) . . .	44
3-50	Comparison of Means on Category "Get Even" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	44
3-51	Intercorrelations of Frequencies of Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice by Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	44

Table		Page
3-52	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Children's Perception of and Attitudes Toward Authority Figures and Their Choices of Methods of Facing Authority Figures' Injustices, Across Grade and Sex Groups (India)	44
3-53	Relationship between Categories of Responses to Injustice from Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	44
3-54	Comparison of Means on Political Interest, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India) . . .	48
3-55	Comparison of Means on Feelings of Political Efficacy, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	48
3-56	Comparison of Means on Political Activity, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India) . . .	48
3-57	Comparison of Percentages Citing Various Types of Political Activity, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	48
3-58	Relationships among Three Measures of Political Socialization, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	48
3-59	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Three Measures of Political Socialization and Children's Perception of Various Dimensions of Authority Figures, by Sex Across all Grades (India)	48
3-60	Relationships between Measures of Political Socialization and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	48
3-61	Comparison of Means on Participation in Decision-Making in the Home, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	50
3-62	Comparison of Means on Participation in Decision-Making in the Classroom, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	50

Table		Page
3-63	Relationships among Various Measures of Involvement in Authority Systems, by Grade and Sex Groups (India)	50
3-64	Relationships between Sense of Participation in Family and Classroom Decision-Making Processes and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior (India)	50
3-65	Comparison of Grades, Social Status, and Sex on Scores for Compliant Behavior (India)	53
3-66	Comparison of Grades, Social Status, and Sex on Scores for Noncompliant Behavior (India)	53
3-67	Correlation Coefficients among Ratings of Positive Behavior, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	53
3-68	Correlation Coefficients among Ratings of Negative Behavior by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	53
3-69	Correlation Coefficients between Ratings of Positive and Negative Behavior, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (India)	53

4. Italian Data

4-1	Correlation between Liking for Authority Figures and Perception of Them as Helpful, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	10
4-2	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Parents, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	10
4-3	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Teacher, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	10
4-4	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Other Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	10

Table		Page
4-5	Comparison of Means on Attachment to President, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	10
4-6	Comparison of Means on View of Policeman as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	10
4-7	Comparison of Means on View of President as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	10
4-8	Comparison of Means of View of Religious Leader as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	10
4-9	Relationship between Attachment to Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	10
4-10	Relationship between Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	10
4-11	Comparison of Means on View of Teacher's Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	14
4-12	Comparison of Means on View of Several Authority Figures' Power to Punish Non-compliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	14
4-13	Relationship between the Perception of the Power of Authority Figures to Punish Non-compliance and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	14
4-14	Relationship between Belief in Inevitability of Punishment for Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Systems and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	17
4-15	Comparison of Percentages on Expectation that Punishment for Noncompliance Will Be Reinforced by Other Authority Figures (Percentage of "Yes" Responses) (Italy) . .	20

Table		Page
4-16	Comparison of Means on Beliefs about Inter-system Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance, by Total Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	20
4-17	Relationship between Beliefs about Inter-system Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	20
4-18	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against Property as more Serious than those Against Persons or the Systems' Rules (Order) Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	25
4-19	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against Persons as more Serious than those Against Property or the Systems' Rules (Order) Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	25
4-20	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against the Systems' Rules (Order) as more Serious than those Against Property or Persons, Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	25
4-21	Relationships between Indices of Perception of the Relative Seriousness of Three Types of Offenses and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	25
4-22	Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Making Family Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	28
4-23	Perception of the Roles of Authority Figures in Rule- and Law-Making in the Community, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	28
4-24	Relationships between Perception of Positive and Punitive Dimensions of Authority Figures and Belief in the Justice of Their Rules by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	32

Table		Page
4-25	Relationship between Belief in the Justice of Rules of Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	32
4-26	Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Enforcing Family Rules by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	34
4-27	Relationships between Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, Likable, and Just, and Guilt over Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	38
4-28	Relationships between Perception of Punitive Dimensions of Authority Figures and Guilt over Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	38
4-29	Comparison of Percentages of Ss Reporting Punishment of Self for Noncompliance with Rules of Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	38
4-30	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Two Measures of Internalization of Rules and Norms of Compliance Systems: Belief that Discipline by One Authority Figure Will Be Reinforced by Others and Guilt over Noncompliance, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	38
4-31	Relationship between Guilt and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	38
4-32	Comparison of Percentages of "Yes" Responses on Reactions Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Total Grade (Italy)	41
4-33	Comparison of Means on Responses Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	41

Table		Page
4-34	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Two Measures of Internalization of Rules and Norms of Compliance Systems: Responses in Reaction to Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Guilt over One's Own Non-compliance, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	41
4-35	Relationship between Types of Response to Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	41
4-36	Comparison of Percentages on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures) by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	43
4-37	Comparison of Means on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures), by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	43
4-38	Comparison of Percentages on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Five Authority Figures, Grouped as Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	48
4-39	Comparison of Means on Category "Do Nothing" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	48
4-40	Comparison of Means on Category "Ask Why" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	48
4-41	Comparison of Means on Category "Verbal Responses" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy) . . .	48

Table		Page
4-42	Comparison of Means on Category "Talk to Peers" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy) . . .	48
4-43	Comparison of Means on Category "Ask Parents to Intervene" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	48
4-44	Comparison of Means on Category "Get Even" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	48
4-45	Intercorrelations of Frequencies of Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice by Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	48
4-46	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Children's Perception of and Attitudes Toward Authority Figures and Their Choices of Methods of Facing Authority Figures' Injustices, Across Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	48
4-47	Relationship between Categories of Responses to Injustice from Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	48
4-48	Comparison of Means on Political Interest, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	52
4-49	Comparison of Means on Feelings of Political Efficacy, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	52
4-50	Comparison of Means on Political Activity, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy) . . .	52
4-51	Relationship among Three Measures of Political Socialization, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	52

Table		Page
4-52	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Three Measures of Political Socialization and Children's Perception of Various Dimensions of Authority Figures, by Sex Across all Grades (Italy)	52
4-53	Relationship between Measures of Political Socialization and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	52
4-54	Comparison of Means on Participation in Decision-Making in the Home, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	55
4-55	Comparison of Means on Participation in Decision-Making in the Classroom, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	55
4-56	Relationship among Various Measures of Involvement in Authority Systems, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	55
4-57	Relationships Between Sense of Participation in Family and Classroom Decision-Making Processes and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Italy)	55
4-58	Comparison of Grades, Social Status, and Sex on Scores for Compliant Behavior (Italy)	58
4-59	Comparison of Grades, Social Status, and Sex on Scores for Noncompliant Behavior (Italy)	58
4-60	Correlation Coefficients among Ratings of Positive Behavior, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	58
4-61	Correlation Coefficients among Ratings of Negative Behavior, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	58
4-62	Correlation Coefficients between Ratings of Positive and Negative Behavior, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Italy)	58

5. Japanese Data

Table		Page
5-1	Correlation Between Liking for Authority Figures and Perception of Them as Helpful, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	14
5-2	Comparison of Means on View of Father as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	14
5-3	Comparison of Means on View of Mother as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	14
5-4	Comparison of Means on View of Several Authority Figures as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	14
5-5	Comparison of Means of View of Religious Leader as Helpful, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	14
5-6	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Parents, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	14
5-7	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Teacher, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	14
5-8	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Other Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	14
5-9	Relationship Between Attachment to Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	14
5-10	Relationship Between Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	14
5-11	Comparison of Means on View of Parents' Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	19
5-12	Comparison of Means on View of Teacher's Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	19

Table		Page
5-13	Comparison of Means on View of Several Authority Figures' Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	19
5-14	Comparison of Means on View of Policeman's Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	19
5-15	Comparison of Means on View of Judge's Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	19
5-16	Comparison of Means on View of Prime Minister's Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	19
5-17	Comparison of Means on View of Religious Leader's Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	19
5-18	Relationship Between Perception of the Power of Authority Figures to Punish Noncompliance and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	19
5-19	Comparison of Percentages on Authority Figures Whose Punishment is Feared the Most, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	19
5-20	Correlation Between Perception of Authority Figures' Power to Punish and Belief in Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	21
5-21	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Parents' Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	21
5-22	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with Teacher's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	21

Table		Page
5-23	Comparison of Means on Inevitability of Punishment Following Noncompliance with the Rules of Several Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan) . . .	21
5-24	Relationship Between Belief in Inevitability of Punishment for Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Systems and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	21
5-25	Comparison of Percentages on Expectation that Punishment for Noncompliance Will Be Reinforced by Other Authority Figures (Percentage of "Yes" Responses) (Japan)	25
5-26	Comparison of Means on Beliefs About Inter-system Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance, by Total Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	25
5-27	Relationship Between Beliefs About Inter-system Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	25
5-28	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against Property as more Serious than those Against Persons or the Systems' Rules (Order), Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	29
5-29	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against Persons as more Serious than those Against Property or the Systems' Rules (Order), Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	29
5-30	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against the Systems' Rules (Order) as more Serious than those Against Property or Persons, Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	29
5-31	Relationships Between Indices of Perception of the Relative Seriousness of Three Types of Offenses and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	29

Table		Page
5-32	Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Making Family Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	31
5-33	Perception of the Roles of Authority Figures in Rule- and Law-Making in the Community, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	31
5-34	Comparison of Means on the Justice of Parents' Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	35
5-35	Comparison of Means on the Justice of Teacher's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	35
5-36	Comparison of Means on the Justice of Policeman's, City's, and Government's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	35
5-37	Comparison of Means on the Justice of Friends' Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	35
5-38	Relationships Between Perception of Positive and Punitive Dimensions of Authority Figures and Belief in the Justice of Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	35
5-39	Relationship Between Belief in the Justice of Rules of Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	35
5-40	Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Enforcing Family Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	36
5-41	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Parents' Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan) . . .	44
5-42	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings, Following Noncompliance with Teacher's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	44

Table		Page
5-43	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with the Rules of Several Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	44
5-44	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Friends' Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	44
5-45	Comparison of Percentages of Ss Reporting Punishment of Self for Noncompliance with Rules of Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	44
5-46	Relationships Between Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, Likable and Just and Guilt over Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	44
5-47	Relationships Between Perception of Punitive Dimensions of Authority Figures and Guilt Over Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	44
5-48	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation Between Two Measures of Internalization of Rules and Norms of Compliance Systems: Belief that Discipline by One Authority Figure Will be Reinforced by Others and Guilt over Noncompliance, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan).	44
5-49	Relationship Between Guilt and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	44
5-50	Comparison of Percentages of "Yes" Responses on Reactions Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Total Grade (Japan)	49
5-51	Comparison of Means on Responses Following Peer's Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	49

Table		Page
5-52	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation Between Two Measures of Internalization of Rules and Norms of Compliance Systems: Responses in Reaction to Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Guilt Over One's Own Noncompliance, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	49
5-53	Relationship Between Types of Response to Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	49
5-54	Comparison of Percentages on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures), by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Percentages of "Yes" Responses)(Japan)	51
5-55	Comparison of Means on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures), by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	51
5-56	Comparison of Percentages on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Five Authority Figures, Grouped as Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Percentages of "Yes" Responses) (Japan)	58
5-57	Intercorrelations of Frequencies of Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice by Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	58
5-58	Comparison of Means on Category "Do Nothing" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	58
5-59	Comparison of Means on Category "Ask Why" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	58

Table		Page
5-60	Comparison of Means on Category "Verbal Response" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan) . . .	58
5-61	Comparison of Means on Category "Talk to Peers" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan) . . .	58
5-62	Comparison of Means on Category "Ask Parents to Intervene" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan) . . .	58
5-63	Comparison of Means on Category "Get Even" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	58
5-64	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation Between Children's Perception of, and Attitudes Toward Authority Figures and Their Choices of Methods of Facing Authority Figures' Injustices, Across Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	58
5-65	Relationship Between Categories of Responses to Injustice from Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	58
5-66	Comparison of Means on Political Interest, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	63
5-67	Comparison of Means on Feelings of Political Efficacy, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	63
5-68	Comparison of Percentages Citing Various Types of Political Activity, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	63
5-69	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation Between Three Measures of Political Socializaton and Children's Perception of Various Dimensions of Authority Figures, by Sex Across All Grades (Japan)	63

Table		Page
5-70	Relationships Among Three Measures of Political Socialization, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	63
5-71	Relationships Between Measures of Political Socialization and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	63
5-72	Comparison of Means on Participation in Decision-Making in the Home, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	65
5-73	Comparison of Means on Participation in Decision-Making in the Classroom, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	65
5-74	Relationships Among Various Measures of Involvement in Authority Systems, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	65
5-75	Relationships Between Sense of Participation in Family and Classroom Decision-Making Processes and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (Japan)	65
5-76	Comparison of Grades, Social Status, and Sex on Scores for Compliant Behavior (Japan)	68
5-77	Comparison of Grades, Social Status, and Sex on Scores for Noncompliant Behavior (Japan)	68
5-78	Correlation Coefficients Among Ratings of Positive Behavior by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	68
5-79	Correlation Coefficients Among Ratings of Negative Behavior by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	68
5-80	Correlation Coefficients Between Ratings of Positive and Negative Behavior, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Japan)	68

6. U. S. Caucasian Data

Table		Page
6-1	Correlation between Liking for Authority Figures and Perception of Them as Helpful, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	9
6-2	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Teacher, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	9
6-3	Relationship between Attachment to Authority Figures (Liking) and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	9
6-4	Relationship between Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	9
6-5	Relationship between Perception of the Power of Authority Figures to Punish Noncompliance and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	13
6-6	Relationship between Belief in Inevitability of Punishment for Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Systems and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	15
6-7	Comparison of Percentages on Expectation that Punishment for Noncompliance will be Reinforced by Other Authority Figures (Percentage of "Yes" Responses) (U.S. Caucasians)	20
6-8	Comparison of Means on Beliefs about Inter-system Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance, by Total Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Cacuasians)	20
6-9	Relationship between Beliefs about Inter-system Reinforcement on Punishment for Noncompliance and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians). . .	20

Table		Page
6-10	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against Property as more Serious than those Against Persons or the Systems' Rules (Order) Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	28
6-11	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against Persons as more Serious than those Against Property or the Systems' Rules (Order) Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	28
6-12	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against the Systems' Rules (Order) as More Serious than those Against Property or Persons, Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	28
6-13	Relationships between Indices of Perception of the Relative Seriousness of Three Types of Offenses and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	28
6-14	Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Making Family Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	34
6-15	Perception of the Roles of Authority Figures in Rule- and Law-Making in the Community, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	34
6-16	Relationships between Perception of Positive and Punitive Dimensions of Authority Figures and Belief in the Justice of Their Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	38
6-17	Relationship between Belief in the Justice of Rules of Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	38

Table		Page
6-18	Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Enforcing Family Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians).	39
6-19	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Policemen's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	45
6-20	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with City's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	45
6-21	Comparison of Means on Guilt Feelings Following Noncompliance with Government's Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	45
6-22	Relationships between Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, Likable, and Just, and Guilt over Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	45
6-23	Relationships between Perception of Punitive Dimensions of Authority Figures and Guilt Over Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians). . .	45
6-24	Relationships between Guilt and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	45
6-25	Comparison of Percentages of Ss Reporting Punishment of Self for Noncompliance with the Rules of Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	45
6-26	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation Between Two Measures of Internalization of Rules and Norms of Compliance Systems: Belief that Discipline by One Authority Figure Will Be Reinforced by Others and Guilt Over Noncompliance, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians). . .	45
6-27	Comparison of Percentages of "Yes" Responses on Reactions Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Total Grade (U.S. Caucasians)	50

Table		Page
6-28	Comparison of Means on Responses Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	50
6-29	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Two Measures of Internalization of Rules and Norms of Compliance Systems: Responses in Reaction to Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Guilt over One's Own Non-compliance, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	50
6-30	Relationship between Types of Response to Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	50
6-31	Comparison of Percentages on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures), by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Percentages of "Yes" Responses) (U.S. Caucasians)	54
6-32	Comparison of Means on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures), by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	54
6-33	Comparison of Percentages on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Five Authority Figures, Grouped as Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Percentages of "Yes" Responses) (U.S. Caucasians)	62
6-34	Comparison of Means on Category "Do Nothing" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	62
6-35	Comparison of Means on Category "Ask Why" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	62

Table		Page
6-36	Comparison of Means on Category "Verbal Responses" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	62
6-37	Comparison of Means on Category "Talk to Peers" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	62
6-38	Comparison of Means on Category "Ask Parents to Intervene" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	62
6-39	Comparison of Means on Category "Get Even" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	62
6-40	Comparison of Percentages on Alternatives "Talk to Brothers and Sisters," and "Talk to Friends" in Reaction to Injustice from Mother, Father, Teacher, Policeman, and Government, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasian)	62
6-41	Comparison of Percentages of "Yes" Responses to Various Types of Verbal Reactions to Injustice from Five Authority Figures, (Mother, Father, Teacher, Policeman, and Government) by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	62
6-42	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Perception of and Attitudes Toward Authority Figures and Their Choices of Methods of Facing Authority Figures' Injustices, Across Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	62
6-43	Relationship between Categories of Responses to Injustice from Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	62

Table		Page
6-44	Comparison of Means on Political Interest, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	68
6-45	Comparison of Means on Feelings of Political Efficacy, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	68
6-46	Comparison of Means on Political Activity, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	68
6-47	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Three Measures of Political Socialization and Children's Perception of Various Dimensions of Authority Figures, by Sex Across All Grades (U.S. Caucasians)	68
6-48	Relationships Among Three Measures of Political Socialization, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	68
6-49	Relationships between Measures of Political Socialization and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	68
6-50	Comparison of Means on Participation in Decision-Making in the Classroom, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	71
6-51	Relationships among Various Measures of Involvement in Authority Systems, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians). . .	71
6-52	Relationships between Sense of Participation in Family and Classroom Decision-Making Processes and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Caucasians)	71
6-53	Comparison of Grades, Social Status, and Sex on Scores for Compliant Behavior (U.S. Caucasians)	75

Table		Page
6-54	Comparison of Grades, Social Status, and Sex on Scores for Noncompliant Behavior (U.S. Caucasians)	75
6-55	Correlation Coefficients among Ratings of Positive Behavior by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	75
6-56	Correlation Coefficients among Ratings of Negative Behavior by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	75
6-57	Correlation Coefficients between Ratings of Positive and Negative Behavior, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Caucasians)	75

7. U. S. Negro Data

7-1	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Teacher, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	6
7-2	Comparison of Means on Attachment to Policeman, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	6
7-3	Relationship between Attachment to Authority Figures (Liking) and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro) . . .	6
7-4	Correlation between Liking for Authority Figures and Perception of them as Helpful, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro) . . .	6
7-5	Relationship between Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro) . . .	6
7-6	Comparison of Means on View of Several Authority Figures' Power to Punish Noncompliance, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	9
7-7	Relationship between Perception of the Power of Authority Figures to Punish Noncompliance and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	9

Table		Page
7-8	Authority Figures Whose Punishment is Feared the Most. Percentages of Nominations, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	9
7-9	Relationship between Belief in Inevitability of Punishment for Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Systems and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	11
7-10	Comparison of Percentages on Expectation that Punishment for Noncompliance Will Be Reinforced by Other Authority Figures (Percentage of "Yes" Responses) (U.S. Negro)	14
7-11	Comparison of Means on Beliefs about Inter-system Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance, by Total Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	14
7-12	Relationship between Beliefs about Inter-system Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro) . . .	14
7-13	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses against Property as more Serious than those Against Persons or the Systems' Rules (Order) Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	22
7-14	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against Persons as more Serious than those Against Property and the Systems' Rules (Order), Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	22
7-15	Comparison of Percentages on Choice of Offenses Against the Systems' Rules (Order) as more Serious than those Against Property or Persons, Across Five Social Systems, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	22
7-16	Relationship between Indices of Perception of the Relative Seriousness of Three Types of Offenses and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	22

Table		Page
7-17	Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Making Family Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	26
7-18	Perception of the Roles of Authority Figures in Rule- and Law-Making in the Community, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	26
7-19	Relationships between Perception of Positive and Punitive Dimensions of Authority Figures and Belief in the Justice of Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro) . . .	31
7-20	Relationship between Belief in the Justice of Rules of Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	31
7-21	Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Enforcing Family Rules, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	33
7-22	Relationships between Perception of Authority Figures as Helpful, Likable, and Just, and Guilt over Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	38
7-23	Relationships between Perception of Punitive Dimensions of Authority Figures and Guilt over Noncompliance with Their Rules, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	38
7-24	Relationship between Guilt and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	38
7-25	Comparison of Percentages of Ss Reporting Punishment of Self for Noncompliance with Rules of Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	38
7-26	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Two Measures of Internalization of Rules and Norms of Compliance Systems: Belief that Discipline by One Authority Figure Will Be Reinforced by Others and Guilt over Noncompliance,by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	38

Table		Page
7-27	Comparison of Percentages of "Yes" Responses on Reactions Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	43
7-28	Comparison of Means on Responses Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	43
7-29	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Two Measures of Internalization of Rules and Norms of Compliance Systems: Responses in Reaction to Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Guilt over One's Own Non-compliance, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	43
7-30	Relationship between Types of Response to Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	43
7-31	Comparison of Percentages on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures), by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Percentages of "Yes" Responses) (U.S. Negro)	45
7-32	Comparison of Means on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures), by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	45
7-33	Comparison of Percentages on Actions Children Would Take in Response to Injustice from Five Authority Figures, Grouped as Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (Percentage of "Yes" Responses) (U.S. Negro)	54
7-34	Comparison of Means on Category "Do Nothing" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	54
7-35	Comparison of Means on Category "Ask Why" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	54

Table		Page
7-36	Comparison of Means on Category "Verbal Responses" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	54
7-37	Comparison of Means on Category "Talk to Peers" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	54
7-38	Comparison of Means on Category "Ask Parents to Intervene" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	54
7-39	Comparison of Means on Category "Get Even" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	54
7-40	Percentage reporting they would "Ask a Parent or Family Member to Intervene" in Response to Injustice by Mother, Father, Teacher, Policeman, and the Government, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	54
7-41	Comparison of Percentages on Alternatives "Talk to Brothers and Sisters" and "Talk to Friends" in Reaction to Injustice from Mother, Father, Teacher, Policeman, and Government, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	54
7-42	Comparison of Percentages of "Yes" Responses to Various Types of Verbal Reactions to Injustice from Five Authority Figures (Mother, Father, Teacher, Policeman, and Government), by Grade, Social Status (U.S. Negro)	54
7-43	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Children's Perception of and Attitudes Toward Authority Figures and Their Choices of Methods of Facing Authority Figures' Injustices, Across Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	54

Table		Page
7-44	Relationship between Categories of Responses to Injustice from Authority Figures and Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	54
7-45	Comparison of Means on Political Interest, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	58
7-46	Comparison of Means on Feelings of Political Efficacy, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	58
7-47	Comparison of Means on Political Activity, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	58
7-48	Comparison of Percentages Citing Various Types of Political Activity, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	58
7-49	Distribution of Significant Coefficients of Correlation between Three Measures of Political Socialization and Children's Perception of Various Dimensions of Authority Figures, by Sex Across All Grades (U.S. Negro)	58
7-50	Relationships Among Three Measures of Political Socialization, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	58
7-51	Relationships between Measures of Political Socialization and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	58
7-52	Comparison of Means on Participation in Decision-Making in the Family, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	61
7-53	Comparison of Means on Participation in Decision-Making in the Classroom, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	61
7-54	Relationships Among Various Measures of Involvement in Authority Systems, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	61

Table		Page
7-55	Relationships between Sense of Participation in Family and Classroom Decision-Making Processes and Peer Ratings of Classroom Behavior, by Grade and Sex Groups (U.S. Negro)	61
7-56	Comparison of Grades, Social Status, and Sex on Scores for Compliant Behavior (U.S. Negro)	64
7-57	Comparison of Grades, Social Status, and Sex on Scores for Noncompliant Behavior (U.S. Negro)	64
7-58	Correlation Coefficients Among Ratings of Positive Behavior by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	64
7-59	Correlation Coefficients Among Ratings of Negative Behavior by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	64
7-60	Correlation Coefficients Between Ratings of Positive and Negative Behavior, by Grade, Social Status, and Sex (U.S. Negro)	64

PART C

Cross-National Comparisons

1	Comparison of Grade Means on Beliefs About Inter-system Reinforcement of Punishment for Noncompliance, by Nation	65
2	Comparison of Grade Means on Choices of Offenses Against Property, Persons, or Social Systems as the Worst, by Grade, by Nation	68
3	Comparison of Percentages on Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Making Family Rules, by Grade, by Nation	69
4	Comparison of Percentages on Perception of the Roles of Family Members in Enforcing Family Rules, by Grade, by Nation	70

Table		Page
5	Comparison of Grade Means on Children's Responses Following Peers' Disobedience of Rules of Five Authority Figures, by Nation	71
6	Comparison of Grade Means on Children's Responses to Injustice from Total Authority (Summary for Five Authority Figures), by Nation	73
7	Comparison of Percentages of Children Citing the "Do Nothing" Option in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority Figures, by Grade, by Nation . .	75
8	Comparison of Percentages of Children Citing the "Ask Why" Option in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority Figures, by Grade, by Nation	76
9	Comparison of Precentages of Children Citing "Verbal Responses" in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority Figures, by Grade, by Nation	77
10	Comparison of Percentages of Children Citing the "Talk to Peers" Options in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority Figures, by Grade, by Nation . .	78
11	Comparison of Percentages of Children Citing the "Ask Parents to Intervene" Options in Reaction to Injustice From Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority Figures, by Grade, by Nation	79
12	Comparison of Percentages of Children Citing the "Get Even" Option in Reaction to Injustice from Parents, Teacher, and Other Authority Figures, by Grade, by Nation	80
13	Comparison of Grade Means on Three Measures of Political Socialization (Interest, Efficacy, and Activity), by Nation	81
14	Comparison of Grade Means by Nation on Participation in Making Family and Classroom Decisions	82

Table

		Page
15	Relationships Among YIAPR Variables Across All Grade-Sex Groups, by Nation (Percentage of Significant Correlations by Pair of Variables)	83
16	Relationships Among Images of, and Attitudes toward Authority and Measures of Political Socialization (Average Percentage of Significant Correlations Across All Countries)	87
17	Relationships between YIAPR Variables and PNI Indices of Classroom Behavior (Percentages of Significant Correlations Across Grade-Sex Groups, by Nation, and Average Across Nations)	88

PART A

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM AND METHOD

1. CONCEPTUAL CONTEXT OF THE STUDY

A. Introduction to the Problem

Socialization, for the purposes of this study, is defined as the acquisition by pre-adults of those attitudes and overt behavioral responses which enable them to interact with the major institutions or social systems of their society (Miller and Swanson, 1958; Brim, 1960; Hess, 1963; Inkeles, 1966; Hess and Torney, 1967; Clausen, 1968). This view of early social learning as the development of social roles represents a departure from the more traditional child-rearing literature of child psychology, which was typically concerned with socialization of physical functions (toilet training, for example) and of impulses and response patterns which are interpersonal in character (aggression, dependency, independence, etc.).

One consequence of this emerging emphasis may be more thorough research into the process of socialization into a wide range of roles in the society, such as the role of pupil at school (Henry, 1955; Hess and Shipman, 1968), the role of patient in interaction with the physician and hospital staff, the role of members of religious organizations, as well as behavior which relates the child or adult to economic, occupational, recreational, and other sectors of the society. These all deal with the ways through which the pre-adult learns to participate in organizations, institutions, and systems which are a relatively permanent part of his society.

One of the most active arenas of scholarly pursuit in this growing field is the study of political socialization, from which a body of research literature is accumulating (Hyman, 1959; Hess and Easton, 1960; LeVine, 1960; 1963; Tajfel, 1964, 1966, 1966a; Hess and Torney, 1965; Hess and Torney, 1967; Greenstein, 1965; Lane, 1959; Almond and Verba, 1963; Jennings and Niemi, 1966; Frey, 1966; Johnson, 1966). The results of these investigations suggest that it will be useful to extend the inquiries about socialization into other behavioral systems. The conceptual and methodological features of this study, although growing out of previous research on political socialization, are more directly concerned with the induction of the child into several major authority systems. By extending the empirical base for the inquiry to cross-national collaboration, it is possible to examine some of the central features of socialization in the United States in a variety of social and cultural contexts.

The project focused upon the development of behavior that relates the child both to authority figures in the salient social systems about him and to the rules and laws designed to govern the behavior of members of the systems. These systems are: (1) family, (2) school, (3) community or local government, (4) national government, and (5) religion. This approach utilizes the communality among several institutions which present to the child not only systematic public regulatory imperatives (rules and/or laws) but also authority figures who impose such regulations and exercise control in a less formal manner. Emphasis has been placed on those authority figures with whom the child has face-to-face contact. The term "compliance" as we use it refers not to acquiescent behavior but to the complex response patterns the child develops in his attempts to deal with regulations and authority figures and yet respond with some degree of self-direction as a participating member of a system.

To relate the findings of the study to behavior of children in a natural life setting, the project includes measures of behavior in the classroom. In all of the countries participating in the study, there is great emphasis upon formal educational instruction. The school is thus a major socializing agent in the societies in which we are working. The behavior of children in school is, therefore, both an important indicator of the socialization process and a useful measure of interaction between children and an important authority system.

B. Rationale and Objectives of the Project

The theoretical rationale of the study lies in a view of compliance as a set of role relationships among members of an authority system (Parsons and Bales, 1955; Hess and Torney, 1967; Brim, 1960). Children become socialized into a number of systems in the society, developing relationships of varying degrees of respect and cooperation to the figures within that system and to the rules that these figures enforce and represent. The child's view of a social or authority system includes a conception of himself as a member and in part defines his behavior (role) toward its representatives and the constraints they invoke. These attitudes are an essential part of the process of socialization. For example, the degree of the child's attachment and respect for the institution or figure, the child's belief about the power of authority figures to punish disobedience, and the likelihood of such punishment are likely to affect his acceptance of the legitimacy of their rules.

This conception follows work recently completed on the process of political socialization in the United States (Hess and Torney, 1967). They view the growth of involvement in political behavior as beginning with attachment to the nation and its authority figures and, as a corollary to this, a sense of obligation to comply with the rules of the system and its representatives. The early conceptions of the child about the laws of the nation are that they are just and fair; these conceptions follow from the child's initial definition of the system and its representatives as benign, powerful, and nurturant, and of his own role as cooperative and deserving of protection (Hess and Easton, 1960; Hess and Torney, 1967).

Measurement of the child's perception of the norms governing his behavior included a focus on aggressive behavior and the ways that these norms of constraint vary with age, sex, social status, and roles of the aggressor and aggressed-against, or victim. Some of the measures of aggression are based on projective, or fantasy responses; some are based on overt behavior in the classroom.*

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*Data from this aspect of the project are presented and discussed in a separate volume of this report prepared under the supervision of Dr. Leigh Minturn.

The instrument designed to measure children's reactions to the justice of aggressive activity by authority figures and children stems from a series of recently completed studies of Dr. Leigh Minturn (Minturn, 1967; Minturn, 1968; Weideman and Minturn, 1963). There is a sizable body of research devoted to the comparison of overt and fantasy aggression. The results of this research have often been contradictory, but there is enough consistency to draw some definite conclusions. The most pertinent practical question in this area of research is whether exposure to aggressive fantasies, such as television programs, increases or decreases overt aggression in children. In general, the results indicate the child becomes more aggressive after viewing aggressive cartoons or aggressive models. However, most of the studies have used some overt expression of fantasy or symbolic aggression, such as physical aggression to some toy, rather than overt aggression to other children as the criterion behavior. Such effects may be limited to symbolic aggression and are probably temporary in nature. The design of the study is not experimental or observational but intended to approach this question by comparing the reactions of children to aggressive fantasy stimuli with peer estimations of their overt aggression. The work of Berkowitz, et al. (1963); Mussen and Naylor (1954); Lesser (1959); and Walder, et al., (1961) is particularly relevant to research on fantasy aggression. Berkowitz has found that a subject's reactions to just as opposed to unjust aggression indicates that just aggression arouses less anxiety.

In addition to measures of "fantasy" aggression, a peer nomination technique was adopted to obtain an estimate of several types of noncompliant (aggressive) behavior in the classroom. This technique is a modified "Guess who" procedure which has been in use for many years in sociometric studies of children's behavior. This measure serves the purpose of giving a relatively empirical, naturalistic cluster of behavior against which to compare the less-direct responses on other instruments used in the project.

In this volume three types of data are of concern: (1) the child's conceptions of the compliance system (rules, laws, authority figures); (2) the behavior the children exhibit in a natural setting (the classroom); and (3) the relationships that link the conceptions of the system with the overt behavior. Analysis of these data examines variations by age, socioeconomic status, sex, and national origin of the children.

The children's conception of the compliance system and their behavior in the classroom were arranged along these dimensions:

1. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System

a. The image of authority figures. The elements of the child's image in which we are interested are:

(1) Attachment to figures
(2) Perception of the power of authority to punish noncompliance
(3) Belief about the consequences of non-compliance
(4) Perception of intersystem support, or the extent to which the child sees systems and authority figures as supporting one another in punishing non-compliance.

b. The conception of laws and rules. This includes the children's beliefs about:

(1) the nature of rules and law
(2) the origin of laws
(3) the justice or injustice of laws and rules
(4) the conditions that permit one person to enforce and require another to obey
(5) the relative severity of infractions against property, persons, or systems.

c. The internalization of the norms and rules of the system. This deals with the child's subjective responses to his own undetected noncompliance with rules of authority figures and his tendency to impose rules upon his peers or to try to punish them if he observed them breaking rules or laws.

d. Response to the unjust exercise of authority. An important aspect of socialization into an authority system is the inculcation of ideas about how to cope with unjust or illegal demands by authority figures. This part of the study deals with the child's response to hypothetical instances in which an authority figure treats him in some way he believes to be wrong or unjust.

e. The child's involvement and participation in various systems. This aspect of the project includes the child's feelings of efficacy in participating in decision-making at home or at school and his belief about the efficacy of his family in the political life of the community. It includes his interest and activity in political topics and involvement in election campaigns and local civic issues.

2. Measures of overt compliance or noncompliance in the classroom. The evidence for this behavior comes from peer ratings on items dealing with openly aggressive behavior toward peers, cooperative interaction with peers, noncompliant and aggressive behavior (both open and indirect) toward the teacher, and cooperative behavior toward the teacher.

2. METHOD

A. Selection of Subjects

A1. Ethnicity

To assess the impact of different adult values and attitudes regarding authority, rules, and compliance as opposed to the more general influences of age, sex, and socioeconomic status level, Ss were selected* from six countries--Denmark, Greece, India, Italy, Japan, and the U.S. Two research groups were drawn in the U.S. to represent black and white segments of the population. Historical, sociological, and anthropological information which may enhance identification of background factors contributing to differences among the seven "cultures" may be found in the introduction to each national chapter.

In all countries the study was conducted in a large city--i.e., in Copenhagen, Athens, New Delhi, Milan, Tokyo, and Chicago. Both U.S. research groups, black and white, were drawn from Chicago area schools; data from the two U.S. groups were analyzed separately.

In each of the participating countries a similar design was employed to provide data comparable cross-nationally.

A2. Age, Sex, and SES

Subjects were selected from the fourth, sixth, and eighth grade levels in the U.S. and from comparable grade-age levels in the other countries.** The age range was

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*None of the national research groups was intended to be representative of the total population.

**The decision to use grade-levels rather than chronological age-levels for a developmental differentiation of the research groups was based on the fact that grade in school and age are highly correlated and on the assumption that the two variables relate to the same function: each year as the child is subjected to additional, formal and informal

determined by our interest in developmental changes during the elementary school years in children's compliant and aggressive behavior and in the evidence regarding related changes in their perception of and attitudes toward authority figures.

Following several studies which show attitudes toward authority and compliance to be related to social class membership or to the individual's position in a social hierarchy (Hess, in press), Ss were drawn in each country from two socioeconomic status levels, called in this report "high" and "low" and indicated by (1) occupation of the father (and/or mother)--professional, executive, managerial (upper middle class), and skilled or unskilled workers (upper lower class); and (2) place of residence in the city.

The design required each national group to include 200 children from each grade level, comprising 50 percent of each SES level and 50 percent of each sex, for a total of 600 children. Because Ss were tested within their classroom groups, to obtain data for the specified size of sample cells, more than the required numbers of Ss were tested in each country. Table 1 shows the actual composition of the research population across all countries.

To insure cross-national SES comparability, occupations and related educational level designations from a Chicago Tribune (CTC) seven-point scale (McCall, 1956) were made available to the national investigators. In the U.S., children identified and coded father's and mother's occupations on a nine-point scale (see Appendix 1). Adaptations of this scale were used in the other countries. Additional information, on the basis of which the national investigators defined SES positions for their samples, was obtained from: (1) school and teacher records; (2) a questionnaire addressed directly to parents;*

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socializing influences from various agents in the society, he gains additional social experiences which presumably contribute to changing his social perception, attitudes, and behavior.

*This technique was used in Greece, in addition to children's responses to the nine-point scales of parent occupations and to the information found in school records.

TABLE 1

TOTAL SAMPLE DESCRIPTION ACROSS ALL COUNTRIES

GRADE	4						6						8					
SES	HIGH		SUB.	LOW		SUB.	HIGH		SUB.	LOW		SUB.	HIGH		SUB.	LOW		SUB.
SEX	G	B	TOT.	G	B	TOT.	G	B	TOT.	G	B	TOT.	G	B	TOT.	G	B	TOT.
Country																		
Denmark	78	83	161	58	61	119	83	56	139	72	72	144	64	47	111	55	81	136
Greece	56	51	107	45	51	96	56	65	121	45	59	104	52	48	100	51	49	100
India	51	83	134	57	50	107	57	97	154	56	50	106	49	47	96	53	50	103
Italy	83	71	154	51	54	105	53	53	106	51	56	107	60	53	113	51	60	111
Japan	52	51	103	56	53	109	56	54	110	54	50	104	45	54	99	53	53	106
U.S. (Caucas.)	61	74	135	69	70	139	59	58	117	52	47	99	66	81	147	84	90	174
U.S. (Negro)	74	75	149	55	34	89	64	74	138	43	31	74	78	60	138	36	30	66
	455	488	943	391	373	764	428	457	885	373	365	738	414	390	804	383	413	796

	SES Total		Grade Total			Sex Total		Grand
	High	Low	4	6	8	Girls	Boys	Total
Denmark	411	399	280	283	247	410	400	810
Greece	328	300	203	225	200	305	323	628
India	384	316	241	260	199	323	377	700
Italy	373	323	259	213	224	349	347	696
Japan	312	319	212	214	205	316	315	631
U.S.(Caucas.)	399	412	274	216	321	391	420	811
U.S.(Negro)	425	229	238	212	204	350	304	654
	2,632	2,298	1,707	1,623	1,600	2,444	2,486	4,930

(3) classification by neighborhood inspection;* and (4) assignment of median SES of the classroom or school to the child.*

In the U.S., due to the difficulty of sampling Negro children from the same schools whose fathers' occupations fell into the upper SES categories (i.e., the scale levels 5, 6, and 7), some children from "middle SES" Negro families (i.e., whose fathers' occupations fell into the scale levels 3 and 4) were included in the high SES group.

In Italy, the total sample was drawn from sex-segregated classrooms. In Greece, three of the six eighth grade classrooms tested were also sex-segregated.

In the U.S., ethnicity was determined by visual inspection at each test administration. In some cases the classroom teacher was consulted. Children who were neither Negro nor white were excluded from the final sample composition.

The total sample in each country was given the group-administered instruments--i.e., a questionnaire entitled "Your Ideas About People and Rules" (YIAPR), a semi-projective technique entitled "Picture Aggression Ratings" (PAR),** and a sociometric technique called "Peer Nomination Inventory" (PNI). For the individually administered interview, a 10-percent random sample was drawn in each country from the total number of Ss who took all group-administered tests. The design specified approximately 60 interviews per ethnic group, representative of the total sample in terms of grade, sex, and SES. Although

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*These techniques were used for the U.S. Negro sample, where 40 percent of the low-status children's responses to the nine-point scales of parental occupations were recorded as "Don't know" or "No response." Due to special difficulties encountered in evaluating SES from children's reports or school records, house ratings by field judges using the CTC house-rating scale were used and proved reliable: 92-percent agreement between three raters on 28 cases; pair-wise comparisons of interrater reliability was significant at beyond the p .01 level ($x^2 = 180.4$). Moreover, these ratings could be accurately predicted from Census Tract data.

**The PAR method and data obtained through it, as well as relationships between PAR and PNI variables, are described in a separate section of the report to the U.S. O.E. prepared under the supervision of Dr. L. Minturn.

the size of the interview sample varied somewhat from one ethnic group to another, in all countries except Japan* it was representative of the total. Table 2 shows the composition of the interview sample across all countries.

For the test-retest reliability study, the design called for a high- and a low SES group from grades 4, 6, and 8, respectively. In Italy, where the classrooms were sex-segregated, the number of classrooms included in the reliability sample was doubled. For the same reason two classroom groups were included in the reliability samples for Greek grade 8 and Indian grade 6 lower SES. Only Ss who took both the field test and the reliability test were included in the final reliability sample. The composition of the reliability sample for YIAPR and PNI is shown in Appendix 12 , Tables A-1, A-2, and A-3.

B. Research Instruments

Data on children's perception of and attitudes toward authority figures and systems and their conceptions of rules and laws were collected through the questionnaire "Your Ideas About People and Rules" (YIAPR) and interview questions. Data on children's overt behavior were collected through the "Peer Nomination Inventory" (PNI).

The initial version of YIAPR was developed on the basis of earlier work by Hess, Easton, and Dennis (Hess and Torney, 1967) on political socialization, and further revised on the basis of data of two cross-national pilot studies discussed by the co-investigators in two conferences (Milan, 1965; Athens, 1965). The Peer Nomination Inventory was developed for the purposes of this study following the work of Walder (Walder, Abelson, et al., 1961) as modified by Minturn (Minturn and Lewis, 1968). The final English version of YIAPR and PNI is presented in Appendices 2 and 3.

The reliability instrument contained a selected sample of items from all three group-administered instruments

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*The Japan low SES sixth grade Ss were unavailable during the period of interviewing, and thus this age level is not represented in the interview sample.

TABLE 2

INTERVIEW SAMPLE DESCRIPTION ACROSS ALL COUNTRIES

GRADE	4				6				8			
SES	LOW		HIGH		LOW		HIGH		LOW		HIGH	
SEX	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B	G	B
Country												
Denmark	5	7	4	5	7	3	6	4	5	3	5	4
Greece	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
India	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Italy	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Japan	5	4	4	4	0	0	5	5	5	5	4	3
U.S.(Caucasian)	6	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
U.S.(Negro)	6	6	5	5	5	6	5	5	5	5	5	5
Total	37	37	33	34	32	29	36	34	35	33	34	32

	GRADE			SES		SEX		GRAND
	4	6	8	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Country								
Denmark	21	20	17	30	28	32	26	58
Greece	20	20	20	30	30	30	30	60
India	20	20	20	30	30	30	30	60
Italy	20	20	20	30	30	30	30	60
Japan	17	10	17	19	25	21	23	44
U.S.(Caucasian)	21	20	20	31	30	31	30	61
U.S.(Negro)	22	21	20	33	30	31	32	63
Total	141	131	134	203	203	205	201	406

--YIAPR, PAR, and PNI--arranged in the same order and administered in the same way as in the original field testings. A description of the reliability instrument for YIAPR and PNI is contained in Section F. See also Appendix 4.

The interview schedule was developed in the U.S. on the basis of decisions of the Athens (1965) conference regarding the topics to be investigated and/or further probed by interview. It was pilot-tested primarily in the U.S. Co-investigators pretested a sample of the interview questions before the final field study. The interview questions through which data included in this report were obtained are presented in Appendix 5.

National investigators had the responsibility for translating the English version of the research instruments in the language of their countries. The main concern in translating the instruments was to insure both cross-national comparability of content of the items and cultural relevance and meaningfulness of their wording. Informal spoken language and, if appropriate, slang, were used for both questions and examples; the examples were chosen to be culturally relevant and appropriate for the age range sampled.

In each country translators with a colloquial command of both the native and English were chosen, and teachers with extensive classroom and community experiences were consulted. Extensive conference discussions after each pilot study and subsequent communications among co-investigators helped clarify the meaning of colloquialisms and indicated equivalencies among behavioral expressions. The translation was also enhanced by the use of standard back-translation procedures.

C. Collection of Data

C1. Conventions Followed in Testing

Data based on the group-administered instruments were collected in regular class periods. The tests were administered by trained personnel having no connection with the school. At the time of actual testing no teachers or other school authorities whose presence might bias children's responses were present in the classroom.

The examiner* was in charge of the entire test situation; testing aides assisted in several ways--e.g., distributing and collecting the test booklets, checking absentees, monitoring the answering, and answering questions of individual children--to make sure that the whole class followed the test instructions uniformly.

To reassure students and their parents, as well as teachers and school administrators, that the investigators would treat the responses obtained as privileged communication, each child was given a code number. In the initial testing session (at the time the YIAPR questionnaire was given) the examiner described the project in very general terms, explained the way the code number would replace each Ss' name on the test booklets and during the analysis of data, and guaranteed children that several other measures were taken to insure the confidentiality and anonymous treatment of their responses.**

The English version of the introductory remarks read to students by the examiner(whose adaptations were used in the other countries) is found in Appendix 6.

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*Graduate students of behavioral sciences, former school teachers, and/or persons with prior experience in working with children served as examiners. Testing aides were recruited from among undergraduate students of behavioral sciences and/or persons who had less-advanced experience in working with children. Both the examiners and the testing aides received training relevant to the study. In the U.S., integrated Negro-white teams were used for the group testing.

**To insure confidentiality of responses to PNI items, which were recorded on booklets of which each page contained the list of names of students in the classroom, the contents of PNI items were not printed on the booklets' pages. Children were instructed to write the number of the PNI item to which each booklet page corresponded and to cross out the names of students fitting the behavior described orally by the examiner. While giving the testing instructions for PNI, the examiner explained if necessary that the above measure was taken to insure that the information recorded in the PNI booklets would have no meaning to any other person except the investigator, who had already guaranteed the students that their responses would be kept confidential and treated anonymously.

The group tests were administered within the same week, but each classroom group had only one testing session a day. If several classroom groups in the same school were scheduled to participate in the study, testing on the same instrument was done in all classrooms at the same time or at immediately consecutive class periods to minimize discussion among children. Instruments were administered in all classroom groups in a standard order--i.e., the YIAPR questionnaire first, the Picture Aggression Ratings (PAR)* second, and the Peer Nomination Inventory (PNI) last. Testing experiences during the pilot studies had indicated that best results could be obtained if the longer and less anxiety-producing instruments were administered first.

One class period of approximately 50 to 60 minutes was required for administration of each of the group tests. Testing schedules were arranged in advance with each school. To prevent lowering of the children's test-taking motivation, whenever testing sessions interfered with recess, gymnasium, or play periods, additional recreation periods were planned and children notified in advance.

To insure standardization of test administration and control of the testing situation, the examiner read to the class in a prescribed manner instructions for answering, examples, and the items themselves. The English version of administration instructions for YIAPR and PNI whose adaptations were used in the other countries are presented in Appendices 7 and 8. An example of the construction of pages of PNI booklets is shown in Appendix 9.

The reliability testing occurred 2 to 12 weeks after the initial field tests and took one class period of approximately 50 to 60 minutes. Each classroom selected to participate in the reliability study was tested by the examiner who had administered at least one of the initial field tests. The other conventions which were followed during the reliability testing were identical to those applying to the initial field tests. The results of the reliability study for YIAPR and PNI items are presented for all countries in Section F of this part of the report.

C2. Conventions Followed in Interviewing

The interview was administered approximately two to four weeks after completion of the group testing.

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*The PAR method and data are reported in another volume.

Interviewers* were selected on the basis of professional experience and given training relevant to the study.

Interviewing took place in specially assigned areas within each school. Schedules were at the discretion of teachers and principals. In some schools parental permission was necessary.

The duration of interview was approximately 1 to 1-1/2 hours, depending on individual differences among children and on the equipment available for recording. In most countries, interviews were tape-recorded, and then transcribed following specific instructions.

D. Data Processing

D1. Group-Administered Instruments

To insure cross-national comparability of data-processing procedures and speed in handling this phase of the project, responses to the group-administered instruments (i.e., YIAPR and PNI) were pre-coded on the test booklets. This allowed their direct punching or recording on IBM cards or layout sheets.

Co-investigators had the responsibility for printing the pre-coded test booklets; assigning code numbers to the Ss before testing; cleaning individual test booklets after testing; punching the responses on IBM cards or recording them on IBM layout sheets using the appropriate column and code numbers; verifying the punched cards or layout sheets; and mailing them to the U.S. for further checks and processing. A detailed description of the conventions used in this study for data preparation and processing may be found in the Field Manual.

All raw data which were punched on IBM cards were processed and statistically analyzed in the U.S., using programs developed at the University of Chicago. After data were processed and criteria for their analysis determined, the IBM output for each national sample was returned to the co-investigators for analysis and interpretation.

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*In the U.S., Negro children were interviwed by Negro interviewers; white children, by white interviewers.

D2. Interview Coding

To insure cross-national comparability in the evaluation of information provided by the interview the following procedures were used: (1) Twelve interviews from each national interview sample, representative of the total in terms of grade, sex, and SES, were distributed among co-investigators; those from non-English-speaking countries were previously translated into English. These interviews served for developing coding categories and testing their reliability cross-nationally. (2) Using the twelve reliability interviews of their national sample, co-investigators developed coding categories and sent them to the principal investigators. (3) The cross-national response categories* which were developed in the U.S. to be used for the final coding of all interviews in all countries constituted an integration of the national codes. Intra- and inter-country reliability checks for both coding categories and coders were performed on a sample of 6 of the 12 translated interviews per country. Results of these reliability checks are reported in Section F.

The final coding of all interviews collected was accomplished in each country by trained coders using the interview text in its original language and the cross-national coding categories in English or in translation. Specific instructions were also made available to co-investigators for the final coding. Coders were instructed to try to identify the core or central meaning of a response to a question prior to coding and to take into consideration eventual further probes for specific answers in the case peripheral responses were obtained first. They were also instructed to try to avoid multiple codings, thus identifying, if possible, only one response per question.

The interview responses were coded question by question and section by section. "Don't know" responses and answers clearly confused were coded "Don't know." If a question yielded meaningful answers which were not codable on the basis of the available response categories, the code "Response non-applicable" was used. When a question was not asked or answered, the code "No response" was used.

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*The cross-national coding categories for interview items analyzed in this report are presented in Appendix 5.

Investigators were also instructed to perform reliability checks on every seventh interview submitted to final coding. Such inter-coder reliability checks were performed in each country to insure further data for the evaluation of intra- and inter-country reliability of coders.

Coded responses by question were tallied by sex, SES, and grade and then summed for sub-totals and totals. Interview data were analyzed and used variously in the national reports.

E. Data Analysis

The study was designed to allow analysis of the data by sampling divisions within and between countries. The major questions to be answered for each national sample were: (1) what variations occur in the data by age (grade), sex, and SES; and (2) what are the relationships among the variables--e.g., between perception of various features of authority figures and classroom behavior--by age (grade), sex, and/or SES.

To respond to these questions univariate statistics (i.e., means, standard deviations, and percentage or frequency distributions), used to describe the level of responses to YIAPR and PNI items, were computed by sampling cells (i.e., by sex, by SES, by grade) and summarized by SES by grade, sex by grade, and total grade. Summary means and/or percentages were computed as the average of the appropriate cells, e.g., Grade 4, Total = (Grade 4, Low Status, Girls + Grade 4, Low Status, Boys + Grade 4, High Status, Girls + Grade 4, High Status, Boys)/4.

Tests for significance of variations observed in the data by sampling divisions (e.g., by grade, sex, SES) were computed using a multivariate analysis of variance technique (ANOVA) to be described in Section C of this chapter.

Analysis of the relationships among YIAPR variables and between YIAPR and PNI variables was based on computation of Pearson's product- moment correlation coefficients by sex by grade only.

To integrate the data in conceptually meaningful ways and facilitate analysis of the influences of sampling factors (e.g., age, sex, SES, ethnicity) on the level of responses, besides computation of univariate statistics for responses to individual items, summary or index scores were constructed by combining responses to individual YIAPR and PNI items. The analysis of variance was performed only on univariate statistics computed for index scores. Correlations were computed between both individual item scores and index scores.

Cross-national comparisons were based on the results of the analysis of variance within countries and on univariate statistics computed for each ethnic sample for individual items and/or index scores. For each substantive area of inquiry covered by the YIAPR questionnaire, the rank order of means (for ordinal items) and of percentage or frequency distributions (for nominal items) within each country was the basis of comparison with other countries. In other words, cross-national comparisons were based on relative rather than absolute levels of means and/or frequencies of responses. To assess the generality of patterns of associations among YIAPR and PNI variables, the cross-national analysis also included comparisons of national correlational data.

E1. YIAPR Index Scores

The construction of YIAPR index scores depended on the content of the items to be combined and their nature --e.g., ordinal or scaled, nominal or nonscaled of various types. The list of index scores constructed for YIAPR data is presented in Appendix 10. YIAPR items 240, 241, 243-250, 271, 420, and 421 are not part of any index score. Data on these items were analyzed on the basis of individual means and/or percentages.

The score for an index based on combination of ordinal or scaled items was the mean or responses to the items comprising that index. In computing means for individual ordinal YIAPR items, "Don't know" and "No response" were excluded. However, in computing means for summary or index scores, "Don't know" responses were given the midpoint value (3.5) of the response scale used for ordinal YIAPR items; for nonresponders to an individual item constituting part ofan index, the mean of the cell for that item was substituted. With these substitutions all available information was used in computing index scores. The scale range for all YIAPR ordinal index scores was 1 to 6, i.e., it was the same as for individual YIAPR ordinal items.

Index scores based on nominal items were obtained by counting the number of "Yes" responses to as many items (alternatives of figures and/or actions) as those comprising the index. No substitutions for "no response" or "Don't know" responses were necessary for the construction of nominal indices, since only "Yes" responses were counted. The range for means computed for nominal indices was 0 to n, where n=number of items (i.e., figure and/or action alternatives) to which "Yes" responses were accounted for by the index and 0=no "Yes" responses to any of these items (see Appendix 10).

The YIAPR sets of items designed to assess children's methods of handling (1) peers' disobedience of rules of authority figures and (2) their reactions to unjust pronouncements of authority figures presented the option "I would do nothing and tell no one" first. In responding to these questions some children answered "Yes" to the "Do nothing" option, then also answered "Yes" to one or more of the subsequent action-oriented options.

These data were processed in two ways. When percentages were computed by individual figures for each option, "Yes" responses to the "Do nothing" option were counted regardless of whether the S had also answered "Yes" to subsequent action-oriented alternatives. However, in computing index scores for (1) "Do nothing" in response to peers' disobedience of rules of all authority figures combined in one index, and (2) "Do nothing" in response to injustice by parents, teacher, other authority, and total authority, only Ss who answered "Yes" to this option and "No" or "Don't know" to all other subsequent options were counted.

The differences that may be observed when comparing national index scores for the "Do nothing" option in response to peers' disobedience of rules of all authority figures and the percentages of "Yes" responses to the "Do nothing" option by individual authority figures, are due to these different computations (see Tables 1-40, 1-41; 2-42, 2-43; 3-38, 3-39; 4-32, 4-33; 5-50, 5-51; 6-27, 6-28; 7-27, 7-28).

Means for YIAPR nominal indices were not directly comparable since each index score had a variable range depending on the number of items (figures and/or actions) accounted for by the index. To compare such indices within and across countries, means were converted into percentages by dividing the mean for each sampling entry by the number of items (figures and/or actions) contained in that index.

E2. PNI Index Scores

In responding to the PNI items, Ss nominated as many or as few classmates as desired on 21 of the 22 PNI items; Question 1, "Who are you?" was used only for identification. Since our interest was in nominations received by each S on each PNI item, a specially constructed program was used to convert nominations given to nominations received by S by PNI question. Because the number of Ss present and giving nominations during the PNI testing sessions affected the magnitude of the scores, the number of nominations actually received by each S on each question was expressed as the percentage of classmates nominating a S on each PNI item. The following formula was used:

$$\text{S's Score} = 100 \times \frac{\text{Number of nominations received}}{\text{Number of Ss giving nominations}}$$

This procedure made the scores of a S in a small classroom group directly comparable to those of a S from a large classroom group. In computing percent scores by sampling divisions the nominees' SES position was taken into account by noting nominations received from classmates from different SES levels and from the total classroom group. To account fof exclusion of self-nominations the actual N for each nominee's SES group and for the total classroom group was reduced by 1.

Six index scores were constructed to summarize nominations received by individual Ss (and by sampling groups) on 18 of the 22 PNI items. The construction of these scores was based on an a priori grouping of PNI items into Peer-to-Peer positive (PP+), Peer-to-Teacher positive (PT+), Peer-to-Peer negative (PP-), and Peer-to-Teacher negative (PT-) behavior.* Each of the

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*This grouping of PNI items was partially supported by the results of a principal component factor analysis of national data which indicated that the positive and negative items loaded highly on different factors. Items dealing with peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher behavior were not generally differentiated by the principal component analysis. Correlations among the six PNI scores by sex by SES by grade for each country are found in Section C (PNI) data of the national chapters.

positive PNI scores was based on four individual PNI items respectively; their summary constituted the Total Positive Score (Tot. +). Each of the negative PNI scores was based on five individual items respectively; their summary yielded the Total Negative Score (Tot. -). Appendix 11 presents the list of the individual PNI items comprising each of the four summary (set) scores and the two total scores. Data from PNI items 2, 3, and 4 were not used in the present analysis.

E3. The Analysis of Variance

Variations observed in the data by sampling divisions (e.g., grade, sex, SES) were tested for statistical significance using a multivariate analysis of variance technique (ANOVA), developed by Professors Darrell Bock and David Wiley at the University of Chicago and known as MESA 95 (UCSL 600). The ANOVA design treated age, sex, SES, and ethnicity as the independent variables and the test scores as dependent variables. This technique provided information about both main effects and interactions among the variables. Figure 1 lists the hypotheses used in the ANOVA design for main and interaction effects in the order in which they were tested.

Figure 1

ANOVA Main and Interaction Effect Hypotheses

Hypothesis No.	Hypothesis Content
	Main Effects
1.	Grand mean omitted
2.	Sex differences
3.	SES differences
4.	Grade differences (linear)
5.	Grade differences (curvilinear)
	Interactions
6.	Sex by SES
7.	Sex by grade
8.	SES by grade
9.	Sex by SES by grade

Tests for significance of response variability were performed on the 73 YIAPR and 6 PNI index scores (see Appendices 10 and 11) grouped into eight YIAPR sets and two PNI sets (or ANOVA problems) depending on the scores' content and nature.

E4. Criteria for Selection of Significant Variations in the Data*

The ANOVA results indicated that for a large number of variables the F statistics were nominally significant for both interaction and main-effect hypotheses. In such cases, the significance of the interaction effects was related partly to the low within-cell and within-classroom variance. The latter was due to the nature of the national samples which were composed of classroom groups which might be more homogeneous than groups of children randomly selected.

Because of the resulting uncertainty about the actual significance levels of the F statistics, the selection of variations in the data to be analyzed in the national reports was based on: (1) identification of all variables for which the analysis of variance yielded F statistics (for main and/or interaction effects) corresponding to p levels of .00X, .001 or less; and (2) evaluation for each individual variable of the relationship of the F statistics to the interaction and main-effect hypotheses. For variables for which both interaction and main-effect hypotheses yielded F statistics corresponding to p levels of .00X or less the following criteria were used for selection of the effects to be analyzed:

a. If the univariate F statistic of an interaction was substantially smaller (three times or less) than the univariate F statistics of both main effects comprising the interaction, then the main effects were selected for analysis and the interaction excluded.

b. If the F statistic of one of the main effects comprising an interaction was large (three times or more) in relation to the F statistic of the interaction while the other main effect was equal to or smaller (three times or less) than that of the interaction, then the small main effect and the interaction were excluded and only the large main effect was selected for analysis.

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*These criteria were developed with the assistance of Professor Darrell Bock of the University of Chicago.

c. If the F statistic of an interaction was large in relation to both main effects comprising the interaction, then the interaction effect was selected for analysis and both main effects excluded.

Variations significant at higher probability levels were sometimes reported by individual investigators, if judged important for theoretical reasons; in such cases the p levels were indicated.

F. Stability of Responses

Two types of reliability tests were performed. One concerned the reliability of responses to items selected from the group-administered instruments; the other, the reliability of coding categories developed for cross-national coding of interview items and the reliability of coders.

F1. Reliability Tests for YIAPR and PNI Items

The YIAPR and PNI parts of the reliability instrument are shown in Appendix 4. The original YIAPR contained 207 items, i.e., 207 possible responses. Of these, 50 items (11 ordinal and 39 nominal) were included in the YIAPR reliability instrument. In the original YIAPR, 101 items provided a "Don't know" option; of these, 26 were included in the reliability YIAPR. Five of the 22 items contained in the original PNI were included in the reliability PNI.

A percent-agreement analysis was used to test reliability of responses to YIAPR questions. For scaled items, percent agreement between responses to Test 1 and Test 2 was calculated within one deviation (0 ± 1) from perfect agreement. For nominal items, percent of perfect agreement (0 deviation) between responses to Test 1 and Test 2 was calculated. For each item the ratio of Ss meeting the above criteria to total Ss answering both Test 1 and Test 2 yielded an average percentage of agreement by grade, SES, and country. Ss answering on either test, 1 or 2, "Don't know" or "No response" were excluded from the percent-agreement calculation. The average percentage agreement of "Don't know" and "No response" on Test 1 and Test 2 was calculated separately for both ordinal and nominal YIAPR items.

For PNI items, Pearson's product-moment correlation coefficients were computed by item between ranking of Ss on Test 1 and Test 2.

F2. Summary of Reliability Results for YIAPR and PNI

YIAPR. Tables A-4 through A-10 (Appendix 12) show the reliability results for YIAPR ordinal and nominal items by grade and SES across all countries. Table A-11 (Appendix 12) presents the rank order of national total average percent agreement for each of the YIAPR item sets analyzed in Tables A-4 to A-9. Over all types of items the highest reliability was observed in the U.S., Denmark, and Greece, and the lowest in India; Italy and Japan were in a middle position. Differences among countries seemed somewhat related to the type of items considered. On most types of items, reliability increased with age, especially in the low SES groups (see Tables A-4 to A-9). Age trends were more noticeable in the U.S., India, and Japan. SES differences, although less noticeable than grade differences, indicated a higher reliability for high than for low SES groups; in Greece, however, the opposite SES trend was often observed. In general, reliability tended to increase with age for low SES and change curivilinearly for high SES groups.

Considering the range of sample size and the use of 0 or 0 ± 1 deviation standards, depending on the type of items, the YIAPR instrument showed moderately high reliability across all items for all countries (see Table A-11, Appendix 12).

PNI. Data in Table A-12 (Appendix 12) indicate that only 8.1 percent of the item reliability coefficients were not significant at the p .05 level; 92.9 percent of the coefficients were significant at the .05 level, and 88.8 percent were significant at the .01 level. No consistent differences were observed among the items.

Data in Table A-13 (Appendix 12) indicate that the countries with the highest percentage of reliability coefficients ranging between .75 and 1.00 across grades and SES groups were Denmark, Greece, and the U.S. The country with the highest percentage of reliability coefficients in the range between -.08 to .49 was India. Grade trends indicated a tendency for the sixth grade to be the least reliable, but this was not true for all countries. No substantial SES differences in level of reliability were observed across grades and countries.

The PNI was the most reliable of the three group-administered instruments.

F3. Interview-Coding Reliability

Reliability checks on the interview coding aimed at determining: (1) whether the form of cross-national coding categories precluded ambiguous interpretations and allowed discrete rather than overlapping classifications; and (2) the coders' tendency to remain unbiased and consistent.

Both intra-country and inter-country reliability checks were performed on a sample of six interviews per country selected so that two Ss from each grade in each country were nonidentical in sex and SES. Agreement figures were computed between pairs of coders. An agreement percentage was calculated for each interview coded in common by dividing the number of judgments agreed upon by the total number of judgments. The following figures of agreement were calculated: (1) a percentage agreement for the whole interview, i.e., all response categories and all judgments made; (2) a percentage agreement on all categories and judgments made on which coders basically agreed that a codable response was given, i.e., excluding judgments coded "Don't know," "No response," and "Response non-applicable"; (3) a percentage agreement on the non-codable responses. The results of these reliability calculations are shown in Table A-14 (Appendix 12).

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PART B

NATIONAL FINDINGS

FINAL REPORT

Project No. 2947

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AUTHORITY, RULES, AND AGGRESSION

A CROSS-NATIONAL STUDY

OF THE SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN INTO COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS

1. DANISH DATA

SVEND SKYUM-NIELSEN
The Royal Danish School of Educational Studies
Copenhagen, N.V., Denmark

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A. Introduction

Within a highly organized and complex society, children and young people are introduced into the community life by a series of primary and secondary socializers. Children get sluiced into their roles as citizens through successive socialization processes. Without any doubt, the first phase of the socialization process, and presumably the most weighty one, takes place within the family. Here, the first and most important set of norms and values about one's own and another person's behavior is taken over, or rather it gets gradually collected, piece by piece. Later, in the kindergarten and in the school, the child may meet other sets of norms built on conditions quite different from the rules at home. The result may be a clash of norm sets which causes doubt in children's minds about what the adults' opinions and expectations really are. Within the peer group, and in parallel with the marking from home and school, another influence is also taking place, often in the shape of corrections or interpretations of commands and rules from the adults, but also as a peculiar influence which may be very important for the young teenager.

Within the more distant circles, when viewed with the child as the center, there also appear adult social agents representing, for instance, the religious system, the administration of justice, and the political life. In Denmark, even older children usually are in rather distant relationships with these social systems and their representatives; at any rate, these are mainly functioning as secondary socializers.

It seems appropriate to begin the introduction to the Danish part of the study by sketching some characteristic traits of the society in which Danish children of today are living and which they are going to take over and improve. First and foremost, the Danish society is small. And Denmark's five million inhabitants feel strong personal attachment to people in other Scandinavian countries. Danes have something important in common with these neighbors, namely, a parliamentary government and a rather stable political pattern. Further, the monarchy in Norway, in Sweden, and in Denmark has an old tradition behind it.

During the last two generations, a considerable democratization has taken place in all sectors of functioning of the Danish society--political, economical, educational, and cultural. Of course, one can still observe certain dividing lines in the social structure (Svalastoga, 1959 and 1961). However, when one compares the present situation with that in earlier days and with the situation in many other countries, these dividing lines appear to have small dimensions. A significant levelling of incomes has taken place, and a network of social security devices has been developed. When people from abroad talk kindly about Denmark, it sounds like a society "en miniature" characterized by wealth and social welfare. However, when regarded from the inside, the Danish society may still give reasons for a good deal of criticism.

In considering children's perceptions of and attitudes toward the more important authority figures and authority systems within the Danish society, one should keep in mind that our research group was selected from urban schools. In Denmark urbanization is both high and still continuing; the proportion of the rural population of the country is still decreasing. Therefore, the following reflections may be regarded as reasonably valid for the larger part of Danish society.

The family structure has substantially changed during the last two generations. The extended family household tends to disappear along with the reduction of the rural population; the mothers' work away from home has become more and more common, in the bigger cities involving up to 50 percent of the homes; further, the number of children who grow up in non-typical family situations (broken homes) is increasing.

The immigration from rural districts to cities and suburbs, together with the changes in the family structure has contributed to the emergence of conflict between two sets of norms and values, that from the former village-milieu and the norms fostered by the life conditions in the metropolitan areas. Certain changes in family life have, therefore, emerged in our society during the last generation. Perhaps the most important of these changes is that less organic fellowship occurs within the family, and rather much influence has moved from the family circle to the outer groups. The patterns of upbringing practices changed and are still changing a good deal. Adults feel less sure as to the orientations they should give to their children's upbringing, and children and the young in general are nowadays much more debating and reasoning with their parents than was the case only 25 years ago.

These lines of the picture do not pretend to express anything decisive about what is the cause and what is the effect. We only note some observable tendencies. Unfortunately, the studies undertaken up to now on the patterns of upbringing practices within contemporary Danish families are still in the form of attempts or pilot studies (Damkier and Helweg-Nielsen, 1958; Vedel Petersen, 1968). Nor do we have any definite knowledge about the balance of parental power in matters of child upbringing. Therefore, it may be argued from one side that lower class parents are more authoritarian in their child-rearing practices than are higher class parents, and that the dominant authority figure is the father, whereas the opposite opinion may be maintained from another side.

Even though no formal evidence is available, there are several informal indications suggesting that during the last 25 to 30 years, the authority of parents has been reduced to a considerable extent in the majority of Danish families. Of course, it is not possible to establish how much of the parents' power has been given up voluntarily (for instance, as a result of parental adherence to new ideas concerning the value of democratic parent-child relationships), and how much power has been forced from the parents.

Important changes took place also within the school system and resulted in a better offer of education and a democratization of the educational process. Changes in school structure and teaching methods resulted in an increase of the average number of years of school attendance: in city areas up to 95 percent of students attend school for at least 8 years. In the Copenhagen area about 70 percent of the students attend school for at least 9 years, although the compulsory education comprises only 7 years. One generation ago the extended and better schooling was primarily found among the better-off segments of the community; now, longer schooling is common among almost all socioeconomic levels of our society.

The training of teachers has also improved and various new educational duties are now assumed by the school. In recent years many of the school's functions may be regarded as aiming at direct socialization training. Students are not merely oriented toward future roles in community life but are encouraged to actively assume some of these roles. As a result, the relationship between teacher and students has also changed a good deal. The majority of the teachers, especially the younger ones, have come down from the master's desk, so to speak, and appear to be less authoritarian than their predecessors. A reasonable dialog between the teacher and his or her students

is now a common practice, especially at the middle and the higher grade levels. Student boards are being formed in many schools, both public and private, especially in city areas. This tendency also reflects a growing obligingness on the part of the teacher toward his pupils' wishes and opinions.

In recent years Danish children generally seem to be more happy by going to school than were their parents. The contacts between home and school tend to become more frequent and more organized. The need for such contacts is now felt even more than before because the teaching methods have changed considerably, and parents are often puzzled with the schools' educational practices. A close contact and a constructive dialog between these two socializing agents are necessary also on account of the recent tendency for children from lower SES families to obtain now extended schooling. Because of this change the SES composition of the classroom groups with which most teachers have to work is very often more heterogeneous than before.

Unfortunately, only sparse research data are available on teachers' attitudes toward their students and on peer-to-peer relationships within student groups. A relatively recent study performed among trainees at teachers' colleges and dealing with their attitudes toward child-rearing practices found that future teachers from well-off families significantly more often express authoritarian attitudes than do their fellow teachers coming from middle class and lower class homes (Skyum-Nielsen, 1965). In another study dealing with peer preferences in the classroom, it was found that the rather massive barrier by sex which affected peer preferences in the younger grade levels was considerably reduced for the oldest age group (eighth grade) (Jensen and Sigsgaard, 1961). Pilot studies of teachers' behavior in classroom situations have been performed but no publications are available. Finally, a limited study of the relationships between the mother's work away from home and children's social and educational adjustment in school (Sjolund, 1964) found that children of mothers working half-time away from home show a better social adjustment in the school than do children of mothers either with full-time work or with no work away from home.

According to sociological studies, the position of the church in the Danish society may be described as relatively weak, and this position has been further weakened during the last generation. About 95 percent of the population are members of the National Church (Evangelical

Lutheran), but the frequency of church attendance is low, and, for an essential part of the population, attachment to the church seems to be of conventional and traditional character (Salmonsen, 1966 and 1969). However, in many rural districts the church as an institution is still respected to an essential degree, and the vicars--the church's representatives--still possess a certain influence as authority figures.

It seems difficult to assess the position of the administrative system of justice in the Danish society. There are no systematic studies concerning the population's perception of and attitudes toward this system. On the other hand, there seem to exist rather varying attitudes among the citizens as far as jurisdiction and authorities of imprisonment are concerned. Generally it may be said, however, that there exists a very watchful attitude toward infringements from the jurisdiction's side as well as from the system of imprisonment and the police force.

It has been maintained that the authority of the police system was reduced after World War II, and the duties of the police force are probably more difficult now than before. At any rate, conflicts between groups of citizens (mainly those from the younger age levels) and the police force are not infrequent. On the other hand, the Danish policies concerning criminality have been softened (humanized) essentially during the last 20 years.

As regards the position of the political authorities in Danish society it is obvious that the mass media have had considerable influence in promoting more openness between the population and the political representatives at both the local and the national level. There seems to be a widespread understanding of the difficulties connected with running a complicated and highly organized society, difficulties which meet the politicians both at the national level and in the local areas. However, these topics have not been systematically studied.

There are indications that several years ago, the membership participation in political organizations has declined, although this does not seem to be true for some leftwing parties. We do not have studies which could verify whether the political interest within the younger age groups is less intense than before World War II. It seems justified to say that the political interest of the majority of the population is fairly alert, although it does not always manifest itself in direct membership of political organizations. Approximately 90 percent of the

voting population participated in the most recent election of members of the Parliament. Obtaining the right to vote has been lowered from age 25 (in 1945) to age 21 (in 1961).

In general, it seems justified to maintain that during the last generation the functioning of the Danish society became increasingly more democratic. Democratization is apparent in the functioning of all social systems. Part of the decline of traditional, authoritarian schemes of functioning of social institutions appears to have the character of a secularization process. The conflict between an older, but not effete, set of norms on one side and a newer, but not fully developed, set of norms on the other side may affect children's and young people's relationships with authority figures and systems.

In recent years, the young groups' opposition to the authority systems characterizes to an important degree our public debate about community matters. Now and then this oppostion is mentioned as a real youth revolt turned as well against the near authority figures and systems as against the more distant ones. It seems difficult to clarify how much of this opposition or revolt stems from real dissatisfaction for which good reasons may be given, and how much is to be referred to dissatisfaction aroused through certain kinds of channels and certain ways of describing the authority figures' power and their ways of using it. As suggested earlier, the mass media may play a decisive role in that connection. When children and young people watching television programs, for instance, are faced with open criticism of institutions and persons with authority, it is reasonable to assume that part of the criticism gets internalized, or that the children and the young people realize that authority figures and systems are not inviolable. It is also reasonable to expect that the adults' debate on and criticism of the authority systems are further analyzed and interpreted by the young people within their peer groups.

We do not have a deeper knowledge about how and to what extent such a confrontation with criticism of the ways of functioning of authority systems affects children's perception of and attitudes toward the various authority figures. However, it seems reasonable to hypothesize that the mass media exercise little influence upon children's images of and attitudes toward authority figures with whom they are in daily, face-to-face rapport, especially their parents.

Concluding, we should like to stress that the sociological and psychological research performed in Denmark up to now does not provide many data explicitly relevant to the main topic of this study. In fact, this study is the first systematic attempt to determine how Danish children perceive the various authority figures and systems.

B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System

B1. Images of Authority Figures

a. Affective Attachment

The child's views on the helpfulness of authority figures and his personal liking for them constitute an important part of the cluster of his attitudes toward authority. It does not seem necessary to justify this basic assumption by means of a sophisticated psychological theory, since many daily life experiences provide support for this assertion.

The two sets of questionnaire items which were used to assess the child's affective attachment to various authority figures were in positive association. Correlations were consistently significant for the older children, but at all grades the magnitude of correlations varied within a quite wide range (see Table 1-1). Of the single figures the teacher and the Prime Minister show the most constant level through grades.

As indicated in Figures 1-1 and 1-2 there is a clear difference between the two item sets in the responses given by the Danish children, when the responses to each type of question are separately summarized for each authority figure in the form of mean scores at each grade level.

The first pattern of interest to notice pertains to ratings of three non-family figures: policeman, teacher, and Prime Minister (religious leader and friends are not included in the set of items concerning personal liking). There is a generally higher rating of the willingness of these figures to give help if needed than of the children's reported personal liking for them.

Another striking pattern is the greater scattering of scores indicating children's personal liking for the various figures, as compared to the scores indicating the degree of the figures' helpfulness. The differences in attitudes toward parents and non-family figures is much greater in the former set of items than in the set concerning helpfulness.

Also worthy of comment is the isolated psoition which the rating of the Prime Minister represents. On both scales, the scores for that figure are below the scores

pertaining to all other figures. This relationship is most marked in the liking set where the attitude expressed by the two older age groups is almost negative.

As Figure 1-1 shows, the decline with grade in children's personal liking for non-family authorities is significantly greater than that for either father or mother. A decline in the ratings of the teacher, policeman, and Prime Minister is apparent in both scales. However, the decline in the perceived willingness of these figures to help is smaller than the decline in children's reported personal liking. On the former scale the Prime Minister is scored higher at grade eight than at grade six.

Across all grades, the policeman is seen as the most helpful of all figures, being rated higher than both parents. This opinion about the policeman is shared by children from both social status levels, but appears to be stronger among high status children. With increase in grade his popularity declines almost equally for children in the two status groups, and for boys and girls.

At grade eight the religious leader is the highest scored figure concerning willingness to help. It seems reasonable to interpret this rating as a consequence of the fact that only the older students have a real personal background for assessing this figure because the preparation for Confirmation takes place just at that level.

The independent variables of the study (grade, social status, and sex) were associated with affective attachment in several ways. The differences among the sampling subgroups were tested for significance only for the indices, where father and mother were combined into a single "parents" variable, and where non-family authorities, except the teacher, were grouped in an "other authority" variable. For the "liking" items, "other authority" included the Prime Minister and policeman, and for the set about helpfulness it also included the religious leader. Ratings of the teacher and friends were individually analyzed.

Data concerning liking for figures indicated that increase in grade was accompanied by a significant shift downward in children's reported liking for all figures, including parents (see Figure 1-1). However, the level of reported positive feelings toward parents remains very high. This general drop may be interpreted as a tendency for older children to conceal their feelings of

personal affection, and for that reason it may be interpreted as a resistance to express these feelings, when asked under conditions such as those in this study. The report of personal liking for parents does not differ by sex or by social status, even though there is a tendency for the higher status children to give to parents higher scores than do low status children.

For the teacher, the drop of means through the grades is very marked. At grade eight the mean response borders on the negative part of the scale (see Figure 1-1). No differences by sex or by social status affected liking for the teacher.

The index combining ratings of the policeman and Prime Minister on the "liking" scale shows significant effects by all three main variables (see Table 1-2). Younger children, girls, and lower status students gave the highest scores. For the policeman the data show that only the grade and sex differences were appreciable (see Table 1-3), whereas for the Prime Minister all three sampling variables affected children's responses (see Table 1-4). As mentioned above, girls gave more positive answers than boys to both figures, and children from the low status group were more favorable toward these two figures (especially toward the Prime Minister) than were high status children. With respect to the policeman, social status differences interacted with grade; among younger children those of low status showed a higher degree of respect for the policeman, while at grade eight, high status children reported more favorable feelings than their low status peers (see Table 1-3).

For the items inquiring about the authority figures' presumed willingness to help, the following conclusions may be drawn from the Danish material.

The attitude toward the parents differed significantly by social status and by grade (curvilinear); the highest scores were given by high status children and sixth graders. No sex difference affected the ratings of parents' helpfulness (see Table 1-5).

For the teacher the only significant effect was that by grade, the younger children giving the most favorable responses (see Figure 1-2). The index for "other authority" figures which combines ratings for the policeman, Prime Minister, and religious leader showed significant differences by sex and social status (see Table 1-6). Across all grades the girls' means were the highest, and so were the ratings of the high status group. No significant grade difference appeared for that index. However,

the pattern varies when ratings of each of the three figures combined in this index are considered separately. For the religious leader all three parameters affected the ratings; older children, girls, and the high status group gave him the highest scores (see Table 1-7). The rise of the religious leader's rank position at grade eight was primarily due to the considerable rise of his ratings by high status boys and by girls from both SES groups.

The SES difference which affected the index combining ratings for non-family and non-school authorities was apparent on the ratings of the policeman (see Table 1-8). However, there were small sex differences in the ratings of the policeman's helpfulness. On the other hand, trust in the policeman's helpfulness declined with age for both sexes and both SES groups. The SES differences across all grades, but especially among the younger children, suggest that the tendency to regard the policeman as a bogeyman is more pronounced in the low status than the high status group.

Variations by sampling factors on the Prime Minister's ratings were also quite complex. The sex differences which affected the index combining ratings of all non-family and non-school authorities were large for the Prime Minister as they were for the religious leader; across all grades girls demonstrated more confidence than did boys in his willingness to help. Sixth graders rated the Prime Minister lower than did fourth and eighth graders and this age trend was apparent in both boys' and girls' ratings. On the other hand, while at grades four and six, high status children showed more trust than their low status agemates in the Prime Minister's helpfulness; at grade eight the SES difference reversed direction (see Table 1-9). The mixed picture reflected in this grade by SES interaction may indicate that the two younger age groups tended to rate the Prime Minister in the "right way," perceiving him as the representative of an institution, whereas the older age group, with its presumed deeper insight in the existing political situation, perceived him as a person with a certain name representing a certain political party (in this case the Labor Party). The change with age in the attitudes of the two SES groups may reflect the emergence of political orientations and preferences toward political parties and leaders.

The above analysis by individual figures indicates that the index for "other authority" confounded the varying trends by grade in the ratings of the policeman and the religious leader, since there was a substantial decline with age in children's appreciation of the policeman's helpfulness, but a substantial increase of trust toward the religious leader.

Children's views about their friends' willingness to help showed no significant variations by any sampling factor. The level of means for friends was at the positive part of the scale, a bit more than 4.00 for all grades (see Figure 1-2).

Relationship between attachment to figures and classroom behavior. Peer nomination indices reflecting children's reputation among classmates for behavior toward peers and the teacher were substantially related to their reports of attachment to authority figures. The magnitude and the direction of the relationship varied, of course, with the authority figures in question and the children's age (see Tables 1-10 and 1-11). In general, children reporting affective attachment to either the father or the teacher or the policeman (or to all three figures) were likely to be seen as cooperative in school.

Of the three age groups, sixth graders showed the closest connection between their ratings about the authority figures and the nominations they received from their classmates.

The most interesting figure in the connection here discussed seems to be the teacher. Tables 1-10 and 1-11 indicate that there is a rather marked relationship between the peer nomination indices and children's reported attachment; perception of the teacher as helpful and liking for him (or her) was in positive association with cooperative behavior and in negative association with noncompliant behavior toward both the teacher and peers. The relationship was more often significant at grades six and eight and more for girls than for boys.

As to the policeman and the Prime Minister there is a tendency in the same direction, but not so marked. However, for sixth and eighth graders the relationship between peer nomination indices and liking for the policeman is remarkable. It seems tempting to combine the relationship just stressed for the teacher with this for the policeman, but it also seems difficult to interpret it in a quite convincing way.

Summary. The fourth grade children, compared to the older ones, were most positive in their expressions of personal regard and confidence toward all authority figures. The only marked exception to that pattern was in connection with the religious leader on the "willing to help" item, where the oldest group gave the most positive answers. With increase in grade, the change in attitudes was most marked for the policeman and the teacher, with the strongest decline being noted on the scale of liking. Differences between family and non-family figures appeared primarily on the responses to this item. To a certain extent the ratings of the Prime Minister represent a unique situation, this figure ranking on both scales markedly lower than the other authority figures.

Social status differences were very clear for the item concerning willingness to help, the higher status group giving higher ratings to all figures, including parents. On the liking items social status differences were minimal for parents, the policeman, and the teacher; however, there was a social status difference in liking for the Prime Minister, the lower status group giving the higher rating.

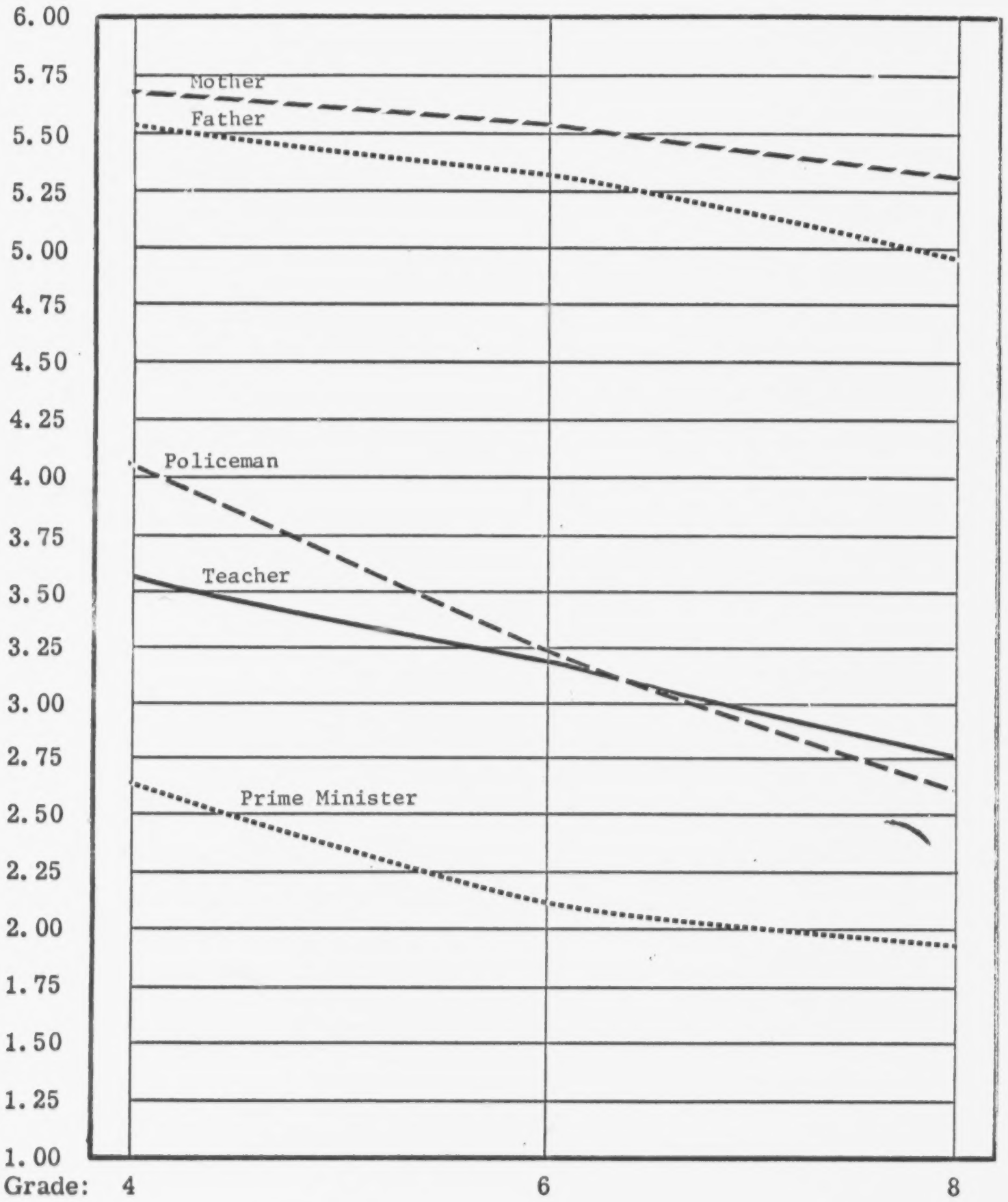
No sex difference appeared for either type of item as far as the parents and the teacher are concerned. For the other authority figures, except the policeman, girls did show more positive regard than did the boys, on both sets of items. The sex difference was especially marked on the ratings of the Prime Minister. No sampling differences were apparent in the ratings of friends.

At grade eight the data indicated a ranking of attachment to authority figures in this order: parents, religious leader, policeman, teacher, and the Prime Minister, the last figure ranking far below the other figures.

In the relationship between attachment to figures and classroom behavior, a rather close connection did appear. Children reporting strong affective attachment either to the father, the teacher, or the policeman--or to all these figures--were more likely to be seen as cooperative in the classroom. Of the three age groups, sixth graders in general showed the closest connection between their ratings about the figures and the nominations received. For the teacher, this relationship was especially remarkable. It seems that perception of

the teacher as helpful and liking for him (or her) enhances cooperative behavior in the classroom toward both peers and the teacher. This is true for sixth and eigth graders, especially the girls. Liking for the policeman appeared to have a similar effect on the behavior of sixth and eight graders, especially girls.

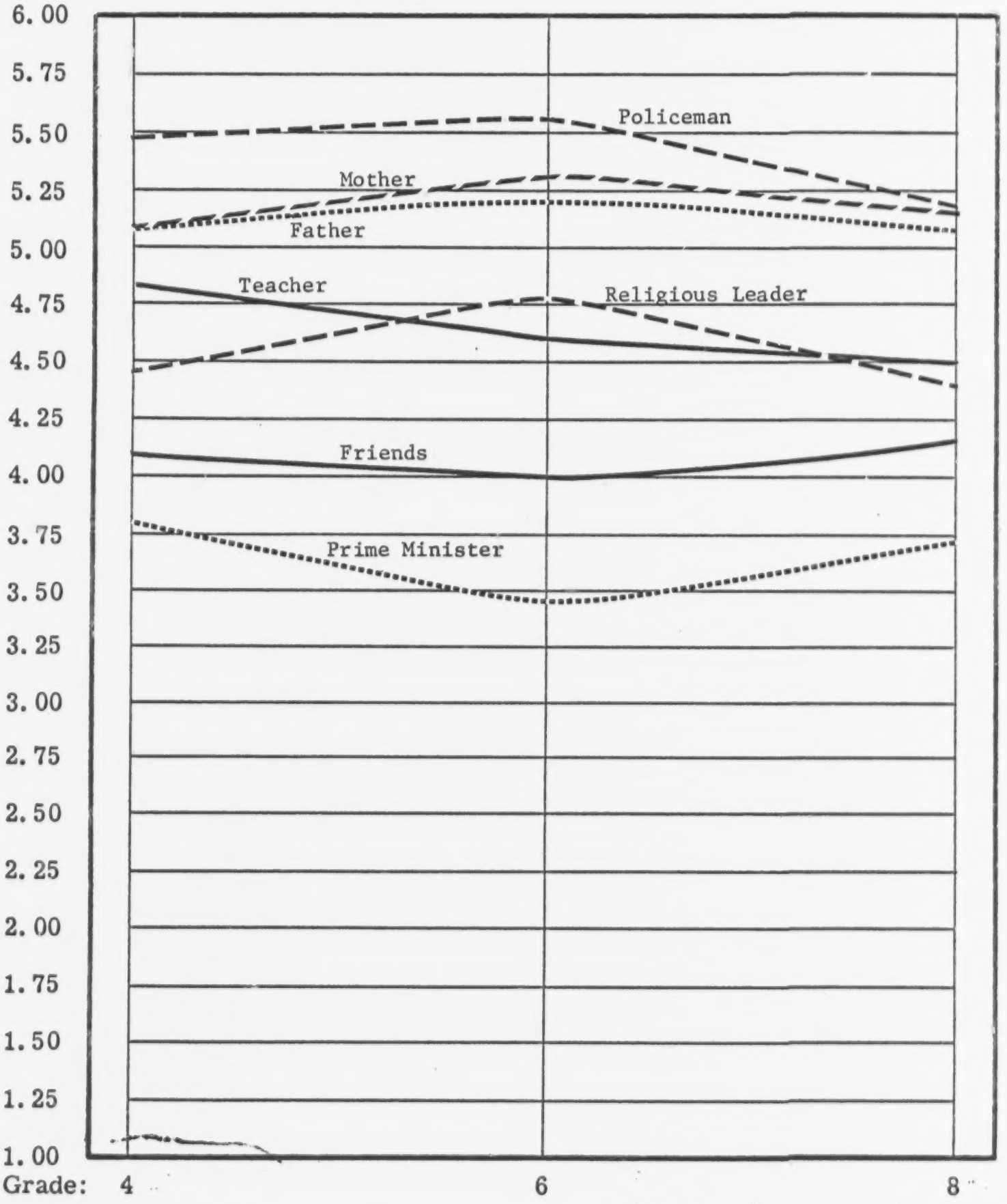
FIGURE 1-1
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT
TO AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE
(DENMARK)



Item: Do you like (figure)?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

FIGURE 1-2
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE
(DENMARK)



Item: Does (figure) want to help you when you need it?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 1-1

CORRELATION BETWEEN LIKING FOR AUTHORITY FIGURES AND PERCEPTION OF THEM AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

FIGURES	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	.04	.11	.41*	.34*	.43*	.56*
Mother	.31*	.22*	.11	.44*	.39*	.24*
Teacher	.44*	.23*	.35*	.35*	.42*	.28*
Policeman	.06	.27*	.28*	.28*	.46*	.32*
Prime Minister	.44*	.51*	.37*	.35*	.36*	.50*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 1 - 2

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.43	3.74	3.39	3.56	3.23	3.27	3.25	3.52	3.34
SIX	2.85	3.10	2.89	3.01	2.89	2.47	2.68	3.00	2.66
EIGHT	2.49	2.62	2.20	2.44	2.67	2.42	2.52	2.64	2.34
TOTALS				3.07			2.80	3.07	2.80

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SES, SEX. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "DO YOU LIKE POLICEMEN (THE PRIME MINISTER OF DENMARK)?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH

TABLE 1 - 3

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO POLICEMAN, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.06	4.46	3.84	4.13	3.91	4.02	3.96	4.23	3.91
SIX	3.21	3.39	3.04	3.25	3.31	3.03	3.17	3.35	3.04
EIGHT	2.62	2.64	2.24	2.46	2.88	2.67	2.76	2.75	2.50
TOTALS	3.34			3.40			3.28	3.48	3.20

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) GRADE, SES, SEX. ITEM: "DO YOU LIKE POLICEMEN?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH

TABLE 1 - 4

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF ATTACHMENT TO PRIME MINISTER, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	2.62	2.94	2.81	2.87	2.16	2.42	2.31	2.61	2.53
SIX	2.10	2.53	2.30	2.44	2.08	1.57	1.80	2.32	1.85
EIGHT	1.92	2.15	1.69	1.95	2.20	1.69	1.90	2.17	1.69
TOTALS				2.47			1.98	2.36	2.09

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) GRADE, SES, SEX. ITEM: "DO YOU LIKE THE PRIME MINISTER OF DENMARK?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH

TABLE 1 - 5

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF PARENTS AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.03	5.04	4.85	4.94	5.14	5.19	5.16	5.08	4.99
SIX	5.23	5.12	5.01	5.08	5.46	5.29	5.37	5.28	5.17
EIGHT	5.02	4.86	4.73	4.81	5.14	5.22	5.19	4.99	5.04
TOTALS				4.95			5.25	5.13	5.06

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES, CURV. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "DOES YOUR FATHER (MOTHER) WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER ; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 1 - 6

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF SEVERAL AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.31	4.34	4.06	4.20	4.51	4.44	4.47	4.41	4.22
SIX	4.25	4.31	4.03	4.20	4.42	4.19	4.31	4.36	4.12
EIGHT	4.38	4.30	4.24	4.27	4.56	4.41	4.47	4.42	4.35
TOTALS				4.22			4.41	4.39	4.23

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES, SEX. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 3 ITEMS: "DOES THE PRIME MINISTER (POLICEMAN, RELIGIOUS LEADER) WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER ; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 1 - 7

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF VIEW OF RELIGIOUS LEADER AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.59	4.56	3.93	4.20	5.04	4.85	4.93	4.75	4.39
SIX	4.79	4.71	4.20	4.55	5.26	4.74	5.03	4.96	4.51
EIGHT	5.35	5.45	5.04	5.28	5.42	5.39	5.40	5.43	5.28
TOTALS				4.59			5.16	5.05	4.69

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) SES, SEX. ITEM: "DOES THE RELIGIOUS LEADER WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER ; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 1 - 8

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF POLICEMAN AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.48	5.39	5.29	5.34	5.71	5.65	5.68	5.52	5.44
SIX	5.56	5.53	5.44	5.50	5.62	5.61	5.62	5.57	5.54
EIGHT	5.16	5.00	4.86	4.94	5.29	5.38	5.34	5.14	5.18
TOTALS				5.29			5.54	5.43	5.38

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) SES, SEX. ITEM: "DO POLICEMEN WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 1 - 9

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF PRIME MINISTER AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.89	4.13	3.09	3.61	4.48	3.84	4.13	4.29	3.41
SIX	3.42	3.44	3.00	3.28	3.73	3.38	3.55	3.57	3.23
EIGHT	3.72	4.06	3.75	3.89	4.04	3.37	3.63	4.04	3.49
TOTALS				3.51			3.75	3.92	3.38

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) SES, SEX. ITEM: "DOES THE PRIME MINISTER OF DENMARK WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 1-10

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTACHMENT TO AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.06	.21*	.12	.19*	-.03	-.02	-.11	.02
	6	-.02	.04	.05	.13	-.31*	-.24*	-.27*	-.21*
	8	.10	.01	.23*	.05	.08	-.06	-.01	-.04
Mother	4	.00	.18	.09	.06	.03	.03	.04	.09
	6	-.02	.01	-.01	.11	.06	-.25*	.04	-.28*
	8	.16	.09	.10	-.02	.01	.09	.06	.04
Teacher	4	-.01	.03	.12	.09	-.05	-.08	.00	-.08
	6	.25*	.17	.34*	.28*	-.25*	-.24*	-.40*	-.34*
	8	.35*	.22*	.43*	.13	.06	.04	-.08	-.03
Policeman	4	-.01	-.08	.09	-.13	-.09	-.01	-.04	.06
	6	.15	.08	.31*	.20*	-.09	-.25*	-.21*	-.24*
	8	.24*	.24*	.34*	.43*	-.02	-.15	.00	-.22*
Prime Minister	4	-.04	.13	-.04	.19*	.16	.10	.15	.09
	6	.07	.06	.24*	.16	.12	-.06	-.07	-.16
	8	.06	.18	.08	.20*	-.08	-.08	.11	-.18

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 1-11

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.14	.18*	.13	.21*	-.13	-.20*	-.12	-.21*
	6	.07	-.01	.08	.05	-.06	-.13	-.04	-.02
	8	.25*	-.03	.17	-.08	.06	.08	-.02	.08
Mother	4	.11	-.01	.15	.00	-.25*	-.14	-.12	-.05
	6	.07	.12	.12	.07	-.02	-.15	-.01	-.19*
	8	.25*	.12	.17	.09	-.04	-.04	.00	-.03
Teacher	4	.11	-.04	.15	.03	-.19*	-.03	-.08	.00
	6	.19*	.11	.23*	.06	-.21*	-.14	-.31*	-.08
	8	.29*	.21*	.26*	.04	-.04	-.04	-.09	.06
Policeman	4	.18	.02	.16	-.01	-.16	.05	.01	.19*
	6	.09	.08	.11	.02	-.04	-.10	-.01	-.09
	8	.16	.13	.15	.20*	.07	-.05	.04	-.01
Prime Minister	4	.06	.11	-.01	.13	-.14	.05	-.09	.02
	6	.03	.28*	.12	.25	-.07	-.28*	-.18	-.28*
	8	.04	.20	.04	.22	-.29*	-.24	-.22	-.07
Religious Leader	4	.06	.05	.09	.07	-.25*	-.01	-.17	.03
	6	.15	.06	.20	-.03	.17	.04	.07	-.04
	8	.02	-.08	.04	.19	.12	.10	-.02	.14

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Perception of the Power of Authority Figures to Punish Noncompliance

The child's perception of adults' right and power to punish is an important component in the process of socialization. Even if a child is not aware of the formal aspects of the authority figures' punitive power, he has, however, an idea of or a belief about the extent of the power of these figures. One of the sources of such an understanding is the child's direct learning as adults exert this power. How the child then perceives the various authority figures is, among other things, dependent on its own psychological state, which may magnify or distort the information and the experience he obtains about the relative punitive power of adults.

Children's ratings of the punitive power of the various figures are shown in Figure 1-3. The most obvious pattern in that graph is the low position of the Prime Minister, religious leader, and friends. Across all grades these three figures were regarded as much less powerful than the other figures.

The assessment of the Prime Minister does in a way correspond to the weak affective attachment expressed toward that figure in the "willing to help" and "like" items. However, the low position of the religious leader on the scale of power to punish suggests a quite different image; the religious leader, who was perceived as quite helpful, at least by the oldest children, was not at all regarded as possessing punitive power. The children seem to be able to distinguish among different qualities or dimensions in rating the figures in question.

In the group of figures who received high scores we of course find the parents, but they are exceeded by the judge. This pattern is interesting, indicating that the children are aware of the strength of some aspects or components of the legal system, and that they probably perceive the judge as representing a superior system, in which punishment is a very serious matter.

The five figures in the high-scoring group were rated quite close to each other, and there is no change in their rank positions across the three age levels. Further, the students did not make a clear distinction between family and non-family authorities. The most marked drop in scores within the top group pertains to the teacher.

The data shown in Figure 1-3 indicate that discrimination among figures in terms of their relative power to punish does not increase as children grow older. However, as already mentioned for the religious leader, with increasing age children seem to discriminate quite effectively among the various attributes of the figures.

Age, sex, and SES differentiated quite markedly children's perception of the authority figures' power to punish noncompliance. On all indices pertaining to adult figures, i.e., the parents, teacher, and "other authority"(the latter index combining ratings of the policeman, Prime Minister, judge, and religious leader), the analysis of variance indicated significant differences by grade, with all index scores declining with age (see Tables 1-12 through 1-14). For the teacher, the grade effect was complicated by an interaction with SES; for the low status group, the means declined linearly from grade four to eight, while for the high status group the means changed curvilinearly with grade, increasing from grade four to six and then declining at grade eight to a level lower than that of both previous grades; thus, at grade four, low status children attributed to the teacher more punitive power than did high status children, while at grades six and eight the SES difference reversed direction (see Table 1-13).

The index combining ratings of non-family and non-school authority figures showed significant differences by grade and sex, with younger children and girls across all grades giving the highest scores. However, inspection of the ratings of individual figures comprising that index reveals some interesting departures from the overall pattern.

Sex differences were substantially more marked on the ratings of the Prime Minister and the religious leader than in the ratings of the policeman and the judge. (The girls' mean at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 4.03, 2.93, and 2.67, respectively, for the Prime Minister; 3.41, 2.37, and 1.58, respectively, for the religious leader; 5.25, 5.03, and 4.80, respectively, for the policeman; and 5.45, 5.27, and 5.42, respectively, for the judge. The corresponding means of boys were 2.96, 2.26, and 1.79 for the Prime Minister; 2.39, 1.81, and 1.62 for the religious leader; 5.19, 4.74, and 4.67 for the policeman; and 5.57, 5.40, and 5.42 for the judge.)

Ratings of the Prime Minister and the policeman also showed SES differences. Across all grades low status children demonstrated a higher regard for the Prime Minister's punitive power than did their high status counterparts. (The low SES children's means at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 3.57, 2.91, and 2.25, respectively; the corresponding means of high SES children were 3.24, 2.34, and 2.13.) The policeman's ratings differed by SES in interaction with grade. At grade four, low status children showed a higher regard for the policeman's power to punish than did high status children; at grades six and eight the SES difference reversed direction; (the low status children's means at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 5.40, 4.74, and 4.62, respectively; the corresponding means of high status children were 4.98, 5.06, and 4.82). These data suggest that children's tendency to regard the policeman as having strong power to punish (which probably stems from the parent's inclination to evoke the policeman as a bogeyman) is more pronounced among younger than older children and among the younger children most pronounced for the low status group. These SES differences are congruent with the SES differences observed in the ratings of the policeman's willingness to help (see Section B1a). The finding that the punitive power attributed to the policeman declined less rapidly with age for the high status than for the low status group may indicate that the former SES group is more inclined that the latter to regard the policeman as a representative of the legal system, i.e., as belonging to the same area of authority as the judge.

In connection with the above, ratings of the judge's power to punish showed practically no variation by any dimension of the sample. An analogous overall lack of significant variations by grade, sex, or SES was also apparent on the ratings of friends' power to punish.

Relationship between view of authority figures' power to punish and classroom behavior. It seems to be a reasonable assumption that children who see authority figures as having much power to punish would also be more likely to conform to rules and expectations concerning their conduct in the school. However, Danish data do not provide a basis to argue that such a relationship generally exists (see Table 1-15). In particular, there is no significant relationship between peer nomination indices of classroom behavior and regard for the teacher's power to punish. An analogous lack of significant correspondence is apparent between peer ratings of behavior in the school and regard for the

punitive power of the father, the policeman, and the Prime Minister. The only patterns that seem worth mentioning concern sixth grade boys with high scores on mother's power to punish and fourth grade girls with high scores on the judge's power to punish; both these groups are very unlikely to be seen by peers as displaying negative behavior toward peers and the teacher. It may be that it is a matter of perceived concentration of power within and outside the family, which leads to a cautious and compliant behavior in the school. Perhaps a maternal super-ego is ruling boys in the first stages of the puberty, but this of course is only a tentative and not a verifiable interpretation.

As reported in the beginning of this section, the peer group was not perceived as possessing much power to punish. However, a rather clear relationship between this perceived power and the classroom behavior seems to exist. For the two older age groups the data indicate that students with high regard for the friends' punitive power are very likely to be seen by peers as displaying cooperative behavior in the school. This is especially the case for boys at grade six, where the tendency is strengthened by the finding that a negative correlation with the nominations concerning negative behavior exists.

Summary. The Prime Minister, the religious leader, and the friends' group appeared to be regarded as much less powerful than the other figures. The judge got the highest scores; he is probably perceived as a specific representative for the legal system. No clear distinction was found between family and non-family authorities.

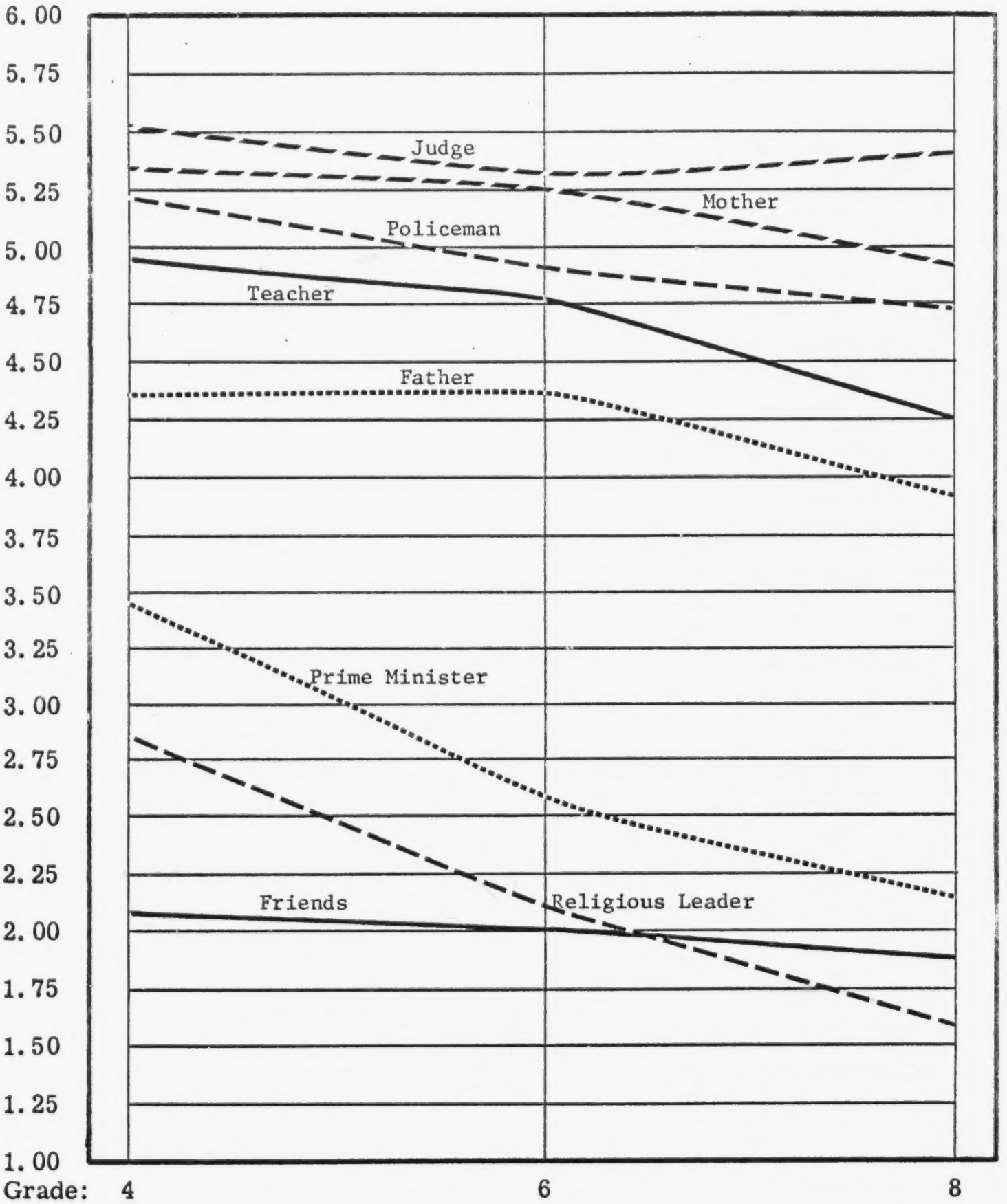
Through the grades the decline in perceived punitive power was most marked for the Prime Minister and the religious leader; ratings for the teacher, parents, and policeman also declined significantly with grade. No change with age affected the judge's ratings.

The most marked differences by sex were found for the Prime Minister and the religious figure, with girls having given higher scores than boys; a less pronounced sex difference in the same direction was also noticeable for the policeman,but not for the judge.

The Prime Minister's ratings differed also by SES, the children from the lower status group giving him higher scores across all grades. Further, there was a social status by grade difference for the teacher, indicating that in the youngest age group low status children perceived the teacher as more powerful than did high status children, while in the older age groups the opposite was true.

Correlations between "power to punish" items and PNI indices of classroom behavior suggested that the correspondence between the two sets of variables was insignificant for most grade and sex groups and for most authority figures.

FIGURE 1-3
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH, BY GRADE
(DENMARK)



Item: Does (figure) have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 1 - 12

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF PARENTS' POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.27	5.42	5.33	5.38	5.02	5.24	5.13	5.25	5.29
SIX	5.25	5.05	5.42	5.20	5.28	5.30	5.29	5.16	5.35
EIGHT	4.80	4.65	4.67	4.66	4.78	5.01	4.92	4.71	4.89
TOTALS				5.12			5.12	5.06	5.18

NOTE. SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS; GRADE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS; "DOES YOUR FATHER (MOTHER) HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 1 - 13

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF TEACHER'S POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.91	5.17	5.04	5.10	4.72	4.58	4.65	4.98	4.84
SIX	4.77	4.46	4.82	4.60	5.03	4.84	4.94	4.73	4.83
EIGHT	4.25	3.97	4.04	4.00	4.46	4.44	4.45	4.20	4.29
TOTALS	4.66			4.63			4.68	4.66	4.66

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE. ITEM: "DO TEACHERS HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 1 - 14

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF SEVERAL AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.19	4.44	4.02	4.22	4.19	4.12	4.15	4.33	4.06
SIX	3.87	4.04	3.62	3.87	3.94	3.81	3.88	3.99	3.73
EIGHT	3.67	3.79	3.58	3.70	3.72	3.58	3.64	3.76	3.58
TOTALS				3.96			3.88	4.04	3.80

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SEX. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 4 ITEMS; "DOES THE PRIME MINISTER (POLICEMAN, JUDGE, RELIGIOUS LEADER) HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 1-15

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PERCEPTION OF THE POWER OF AUTHORITY FIGURES TO PUNISH NONCOMPLIANCE AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	-.04	.12	.00	.09	.03	.06	.04	.05
	6	-.01	-.02	-.04	.00	-.02	.01	.02	.04
	8	.09	.09	.13	-.01	.11	.05	.11	.15
Mother	4	.04	.03	.04	-.06	.06	.05	.02	.06
	6	.00	.05	.06	.15	.04	-.31*	.06	-.27*
	8	.05	.00	.05	.16	.02	-.18	-.04	-.10
Teacher	4	-.05	-.05	-.01	-.07	.02	.10	.03	.09
	6	-.05	.01	-.04	.01	.04	-.01	.06	.01
	8	.10	-.02	.13	.03	-.05	-.06	-.04	.06
Policeman	4	.06	-.16	.05	-.11	.07	.02	.10	-.03
	6	-.09	.03	-.11	.04	-.08	-.17	.01	-.09
	8	.16	-.06	-.02	.12	-.13	.05	-.05	.01
Prime Minister	4	-.10	.02	-.18	.04	.05	-.18	.07	-.07
	6	-.09	.15	.03	.11	-.01	-.23*	-.12	-.13
	8	.05	.00	.07	-.11	-.01	-.03	-.08	-.04
Judge	4	-.01	.08	.03	.01	-.19*	.01	-.29*	-.03
	6	-.23*	-.10	-.17	-.11	-.03	.13	.15	.19*
	8	-.15	-.10	-.24*	-.14	.03	.08	.12	.07
Religious Leader	4	-.01	-.08	-.12	.03	.07	.08	.13	.12
	6	.03	.16	.09	.16	.12	-.19	-.09	-.16
	8	.06	.13	.04	.02	-.09	-.04	.02	-.01
Friends	4	-.08	-.04	-.11	.01	.01	-.10	.09	-.06
	6	.18	.19*	.15	.28*	-.05	-.20*	-.08	-.13
	8	.17	.14	.03	.14	-.07	-.16	-.04	-.25*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

c. Children's View of the Consequences of Non-compliance--Inevitability of Punishment

Most children experience the more or less unpleasant consequences of noncompliance with the rules and expectations of authority figures. Expectations of punishment as a special kind of consequence undoubtedly play an important role in shaping children's behavior and in orienting their socialization process.

The item used to assess children's beliefs in the inevitability of punishment by authority figures for disobedience of rules and laws is cited in Figure 1-4. A comparison of this graph with Figure 1-3 shows that the grade means for the various authority figures are clustered more closely together on the scale of inevitability of punishment than on the scale of power of authority figures to punish noncompliance. The range of means across all grades is approximately 1.50 on the scale of inevitability of punishment, while on the scale of power to punish the difference between highest and lowest means is 3.44 at grade four, 3.33 at grade six, and 3.82 at grade eight.

The two sets of items were in positive correspondence for all grade and sex groups (see Table 1-16). For parents, all correlations were significant and quite high; for the policeman only one coefficient (for eighth grade girls) was nonsignificant. However, for the teacher, the relationship between regard for his punitive power and belief in the inevitability of his (or her) punishing disobedience was less strong; three of the six coefficients (for girls at grade four and for both sexes at grade six) were nonsignificant.

Another remarkable trait on the data concerning beliefs in inevitability of punishment following noncompliance is that the means for father, mother, and the teacher declined significantly through the grades while expectations of punishment for not obeying the laws and/or rules of the city, government, and the policeman remained stable or even increased with age (see Figure 1-4).

The only figure whose ratings showed significant differences by all main dimensions of the sample (i.e., grade, sex, and SES) was the teacher (see Table 1-17). Apart from the finding that expectations of punishment by the teacher for disobedience of his (or her) rules declined with age, boys and low status children appeared to hold a stronger belief than girls and high status children that noncompliance with the teacher is inevitably punished by him (or her). Both sex and SES differences were most pronounced at grade four.

Relationship between beliefs in inevitability of punishment and classroom behavior. Correlation coefficients between the two sets of variables are shown in Table 1-18. Only ten out of the 144 coefficients in this table were significant. In addition, these correlations are scattered throughout the table, forming no clear patterns justifying any assertion about whether or not belief in the inevitability of punishment for noncompliance with authority figures' rules influences children's overt behavior in the classroom setting. In addition, the direction of correlations was often ambiguous.

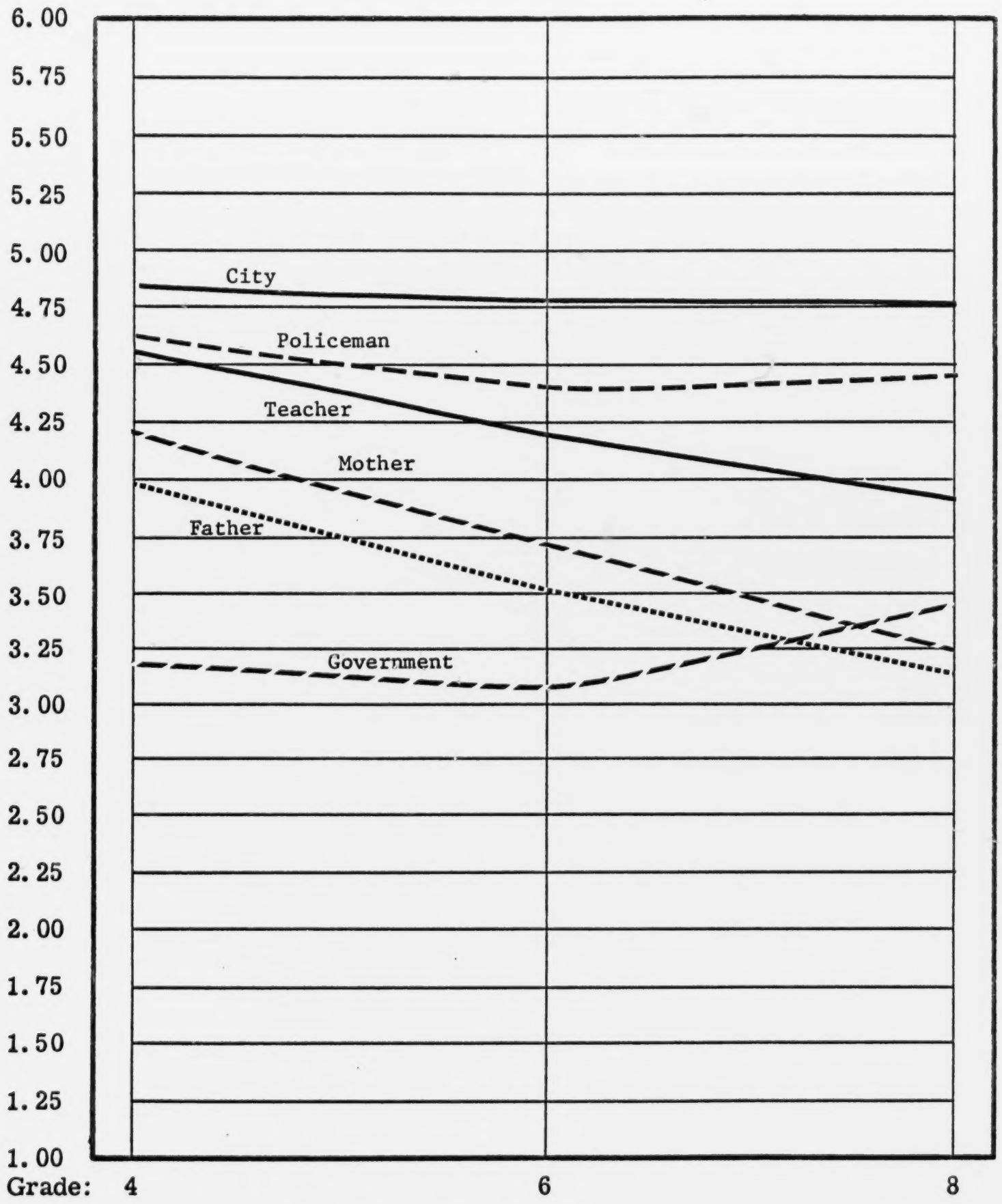
Correlations for two subgroups seem worth mentioning. Eighth grade boys reporting high expectations of punishment from parents for noncompliance with their rules were more likely to be nominated by their peers for compliant than for noncompliant behavior toward the teacher. An analogous relationship was significant for sixth grade boys holding strong beliefs in the inevitability of punishment by the policeman and government officials in the case of disobedience of their rules and laws; again, this group of children were very likely to receive nominations for compliant behavior toward the teacher and very unlikely to be seen by peers as noncompliant with the teacher.

Although eight of the ten significant correlations in Table 1-18 pertain to boys at grades six and eight, they do not offer a basis to argue that the relationship in question presents sex and/or grade differences. Rather, data suggest that expectations of punishment do not influence overt behavior in the sense of determining its quality (cooperative vs. noncooperative). Perhaps other dimensions of children's images of authority figures are more decisive antecedents of children's compliant or noncompliant behavior in the school.

Summary. The only figure whose ratings showed significant differences on this item by all three main dimensions of the sample was the teacher, with the youngest children, the boys, and the low status group giving him (or her) the highest scores. For parents there was a significant decline through the grades, but no difference by sex or social status. The index for "other authority" figures showed no significant differences by any dimension of the sample.

The relationship between belief in inevitability of punishment and the children's classroom behavior appeared to be rather unclear.

FIGURE 1-4
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT
FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH AUTHORITY FIGURES' RULES, BY GRADE
(DENMARK)



Item: If you do not obey the laws or rules of (figure), does he punish you?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 1-16

CORRELATION BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH AND BELIEF IN INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUP
(DENMARK)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	.37*	.31*	.30*	.40*	.51*	.33*
Mother	.23*	.31*	.23*	.45*	.32*	.35*
Teacher	.12	.25*	.11	.06	.29*	.34*
Policeman	.31*	.27*	.20*	.41*	.16	.36*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 1 - 17

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH TEACHER'S RULES BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.55	4.66	4.86	4.77	4.19	4.30	4.25	4.46	4.62
SIX	4.19	4.05	4.55	4.25	4.12	4.16	4.14	4.08	4.32
EIGHT	3.92	3.78	4.04	3.89	3.89	3.97	3.94	3.83	4.00
TOTALS				4.35			4.10	4.12	4.33

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SEX. ITEM: "IF YOU DO NOT OBEY YOUR TEACHER'S RULES, DOES YOUR TEACHER PUNISH YOU?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 1-18

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF IN INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOR DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND SYSTEMS AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	-.11	.08	-.06	-.04	-.06	.05	.08	.14
	6	.00	-.09	-.05	-.03	-.13	-.06	-.11	.05
	8	.00	-.06	.11	.14	.14	-.17	.15	-.23*
Mother	4	.06	.04	.09	-.06	.04	.04	-.10	.08
	6	-.18	-.09	-.14	-.04	-.15	-.08	-.07	-.16
	8	.03	.02	.14	.27*	-.04	-.18	-.03	-.21*
Teacher	4	-.13	.09	-.09	.07	.08	.15	.06	.16
	6	-.12	.00	-.22*	.00	.03	-.05	.17	-.07
	8	-.12	-.06	-.10	.02	-.04	-.03	.07	.00
City	4	.01	.04	.02	-.04	-.05	.04	-.06	.10
	6	.04	.00	.20	.07	-.06	-.18	-.16	-.12
	8	.07	-.02	-.04	.08	.01	.06	-.09	-.01
Government	4	-.08	-.01	-.14	.06	-.01	-.11	.07	-.07
	6	-.14	.10	-.10	.26*	.15	-.18	.03	-.25*
	8	.01	-.18	-.02	.02	.13	.03	.04	-.04
Policeman	4	-.04	.04	.01	.06	.06	-.01	.07	-.04
	6	-.15	.16	-.03	.19*	-.13	-.30*	-.14	-.28*
	8	.24*	.11	.08	.13	-.01	-.11	.06	-.05

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

d. Inter-System Support for Sanctions Against Noncompliance

Another important issue that this study attempted to clarify concerned children's perception of the various authority figures' domain and competence on matters related to discipline. Presumably, a child learns quite early that disobeying one of his parents may induce punishment from both parents, and possibly also from other adult relatives. Afterwards, the belief may be developed that cooperation and mutual support also exists among family and non-family authorities.

The child's perception of the adult world as a coherent unit in which the parts stick together in case of noncompliance towards one of them was studied through the items cited in Tables 1-19 and 1-20 and Figures 1-5 through 1-9.

Data in Table 1-19 and Figures 1-5 through 1-9 give a quite clear picture of the Danish children's perception of the distribution of mutual support among authority figures in reinforcing each other's discipline. The data show that children across all grades expect their parents' discipline to be reinforced by the parents themselves and to a substantially lesser extent by other family members, "anyone else," the policeman, the teacher, and the religious leader. Expectations that the latter three figures would reinforce the discipline of parents through additional punishment or criticism of the transgressor were expressed by rather few children across all grades, and the frequency of these beliefs declined with age. Even other adult relatives were mentioned by relatively few children as eventual reinforcers of parents' discipline, but the percentages of children holding this belief remained relatively stable with age (see Tables 1-19 and 1-20 and Figure 1-5).

While few children appeared to expect their parents' discipline to be reinforced by other figures, expectations that parents will reinforce the disciplinary acts of all non-family authorities were expressed by considerably higher percentages of children across all grades. Moreover, no evident discrimination among non-family authorities as recipients of parental support was found. Furthermore, the belief that parents support all non-family authorities remained relatively stable with age (see Tables 1-19 and 1-20).

Expectations of support of the teacher's discipline by other authorities were distributed in an analogous way. However, apart from the high percentages of children expecting their parents to reinforce the teacher's discipline, an even higher percentage in each grade cited the principal and other teachers as reinforcers of the teacher's discipline. Expectations that "anyone else," other family members, the policeman, the religious leader, and the peer group would reinforce the discipline of the teacher were expressed by considerably fewer children across all grades; in addition the frequency of children holding these beliefs declined with age for all figures except friends (see Figure 1- 6 and Table 1-20).

Expectations of support of the policeman's disciplinary acts were placed primarily on parents and the judge, with the frequencies of children citing other adult relatives, the teacher, "anyone else," the religious leader, and friends ranking substantially below those who nominated parents and the judge (see Table 1-19 and Figure 1-7).

Reinforcement of punishment for disobedience of the laws and rules of the city was also expected most often from parents, substantially less often from the teacher and other adult relatives, and least often from friends and the religious leader (see Table 1-19 and Figure 1-8). However, the most interesting feature of the data shown in Figure 1-8 is that the number of children expecting "anyone else," i.e., unspecified adults to reinforce punishment for disobedience of rules and laws of the city, was quite high at grade four and increased substantially with age. Perhaps in children's view, "anyone else" denotes the public opinion. The finding that "anyone else" appeared to be expected to reinforce primarily the city rules and laws and to a lesser extent the rules and laws of other figures seems to support this hypothesis.

Finally, expectations of additional punishment reinforcing the disciplinary acts of government officials were placed primarily on the judge, policeman, and parents, and much less often on "anyone else," the teacher, friends, and the religious leader (see Table 1-19 and Figure 1-9).

Overall, the patterns of responses indicate that the large majority of Danish children see their parents as the figures vested with the responsibility and the authority to control the behavior of their offspring in all kinds of situations. Danish children also seemed

to believe that mutual support is more likely among figures belonging to the same system than among figures of different systems. Although they saw their parents as highly supportive of the rules and laws of all non-family systems and figures assessed, they appeared to expect that within each system certain figures are more competent (or more responsible) than others to see that the system's rules and laws are obeyed. Thus, the principal and other teachers were nominated more often than parents as the figures expected to support the discipline of the teacher; similarly, the judge was expected almost as often as parents to support the discipline of the policeman and both judge and policeman were expected more often than parents to enforce compliance with governmental rules and laws.

The statistical significance of variations in children's responses to these items, depending on their age, sex, and SES, was tested only for the index scores combining the frequencies of "Yes" responses to the various alternatives. These index scores are shown in Table 1-20. The results of the analysis of variance for each index are also listed in this table.

Data show that significant variations by grade, sex, and/or SES were found only for four of the ten indices. Grade effects indicate that the frequency of children expecting non-family authority figures to reinforce the disciplinary acts of parents and the teacher declined significantly with age. On the other hand, beliefs in non-family authorities' support of each other's disciplinary acts changed curvilinearly with grade, their frequency declining from grade four to six and increasing again at grade eight.

Sex differences were significant only on the indices for parents' support of non-family authority figures and for non-family authorities' support of one another; across all grades, more boys than girls expressed such expectations.

The frequency with which children appeared to expect non-family authority figures to reinforce the discipline of parents and the teacher differed also by SES; across all grades more low status than high status children expressed such expectations.

Correlations between beliefs about inter-system support and peer ratings of classroom behavior. Few of the correlation coefficients between the two sets of indices were significant (24 out of a total of 264).

Many more of these significant coefficients pertained to boys than to girls (19 vs. 5). There are two instances in which the significant coefficients form patterns worth commenting on. First, for sixth grade boys, belief that parents reinforce the discipline of one another as well as the discipline of non-family authorities correlated positively with compliant behavior and negatively with noncompliant behavior toward peers and the teacher. Further, for sixth grade boys, belief in the total family's support of the school's discipline was positively (and significantly) associated with cooperative behavior toward peers and negatively associated with nominations for noncompliance with peers. Finally, for the same subgroup (sixth grade boys) belief that non-family authorities reinforce each other's disciplinary acts correlated positively and significantly with peer nomination indices of compliant behavior with peers and the teacher. These data suggest that for sixth grade boys cooperative behavior in the classroom is enhanced by a conviction that authority figures support each other's discipline and that parents in particular are active supporters not only of one another but also of non-family authorities, including the teacher (see Table 1-21).

However, for fourth grade boys, belief in non-family authorities' support of the disciplinary acts of parents and the teacher correlated positively (and significantly) with peer nomination indices of noncompliance with peers and the teacher. A possible interpretation of these associations may be that at this age level boys may develop distrust toward the school system if they believe that school authorities, as well as parents, are outer-directed, i.e., supported or even ruled by non-family authorities.

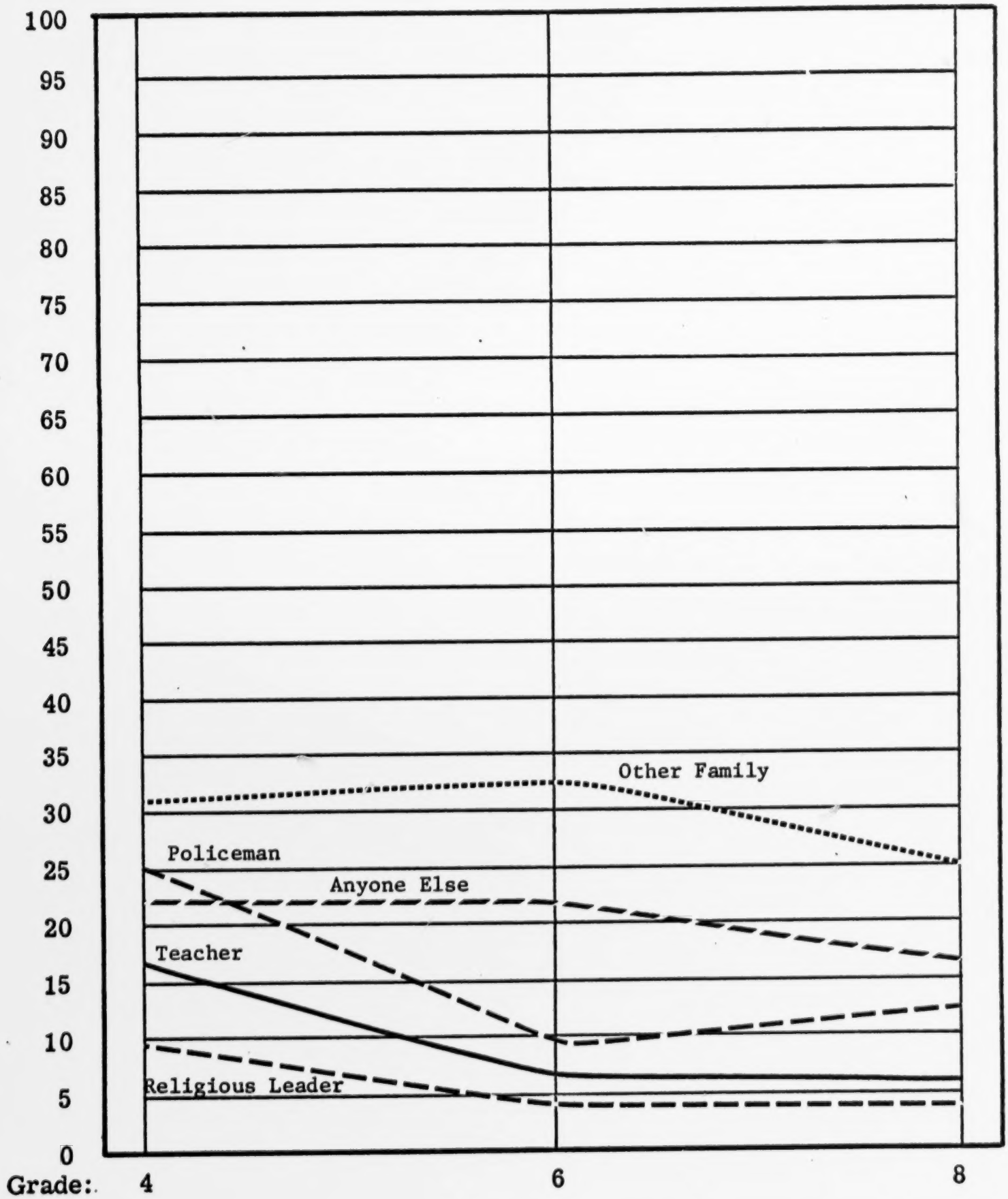
Summary. The expectations of Danish children about mutual support among authority figures in punishing noncompliance appeared to be centered on parents. Punishment from any authority figure was expected to be reinforced mainly by parents and, for non-family figures, by authorities connected with the system, such as the principal and other teachers in the case of discbedience of teacher's rules, the judge in the case of disobedience of the policeman's orders, and both judge and policeman in the case of violations of rules and laws of the government. In children's view, the major supporters of city rules and laws, besides city officials, are the parents and other unspecified adults designated as "anyone else," a response category which may denote the public opinion.

While there was considerable agreement among children of all grades that parents are likely to support all non-family authorities with no clear discrimination among them, few children appeared to expect that non-family authorities (and even other adult relatives) would provide comparable support to parents. The finding was interpreted as indicating children's awareness of the fact that the main responsibility for children's conduct, whether in the home, school, or elsewhere, is assigned to parents.

With age, belief in non-family authorities' support of parents and the teacher became less frequent. Across all grades more low status than high status children appeared to believe that non-family authorities would reinforce the disciplinary acts of parents and the teacher. Finally, more boys than girls across all grades appeared to expect parents to reinforce the discipline of all non-family authorities and to expect non-family authorities to support each other.

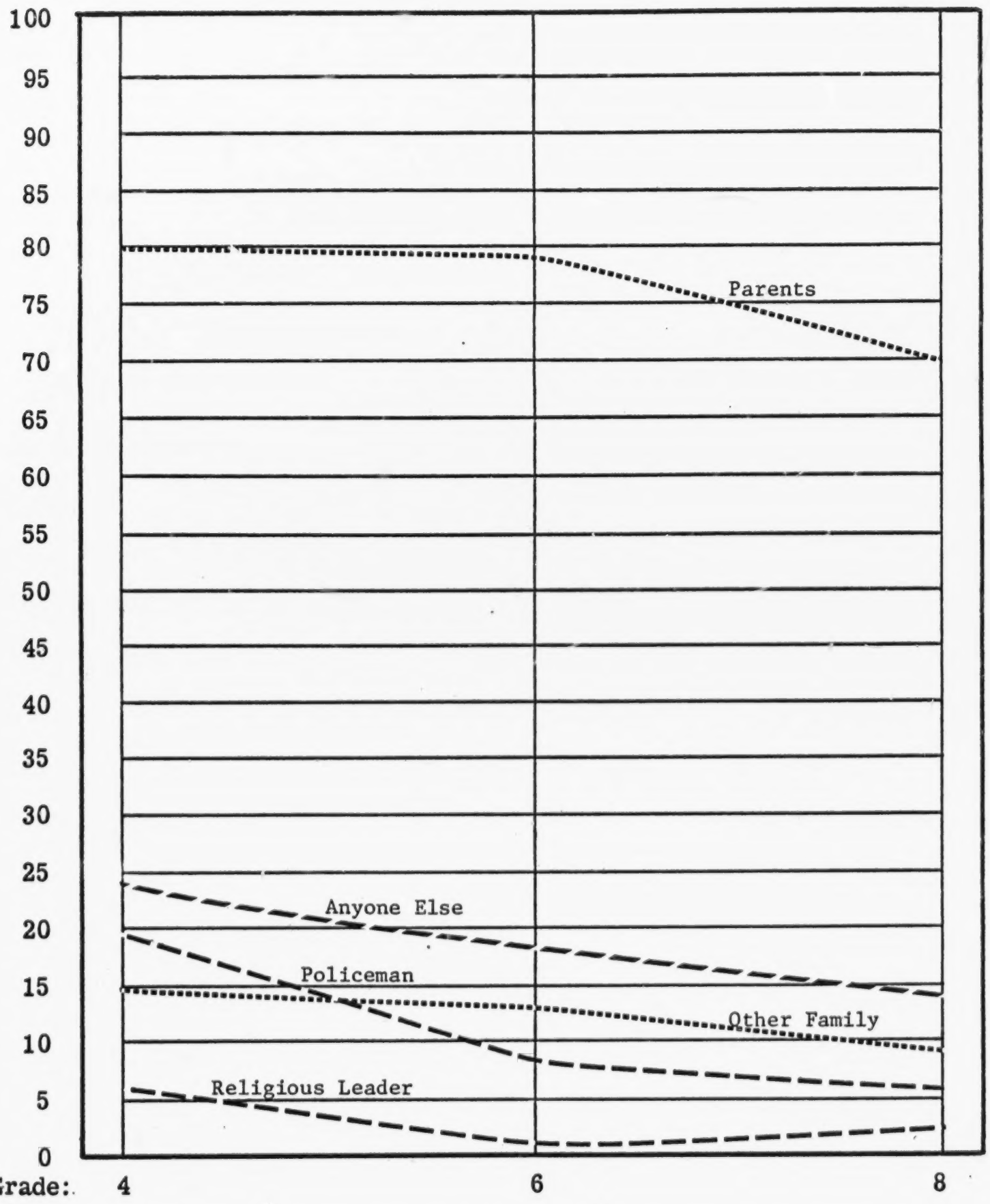
Beliefs about inter-system support appeared to have some impact on classroom behavior only as far as boys are concerned. At grade four, belief that non-family authorities support the discipline of parents and and the teacher was in positive association with boy's noncompliant behavior. For sixth grade boys, belief in parents' support of each other and of non-family authorities and belief in the total family's support of the school's discipline appeared to enhance cooperative behavior toward peers and the teacher; tentative interpretations were proposed.

FIGURE 1-5
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF PARENTS, BY GRADE
(DENMARK)



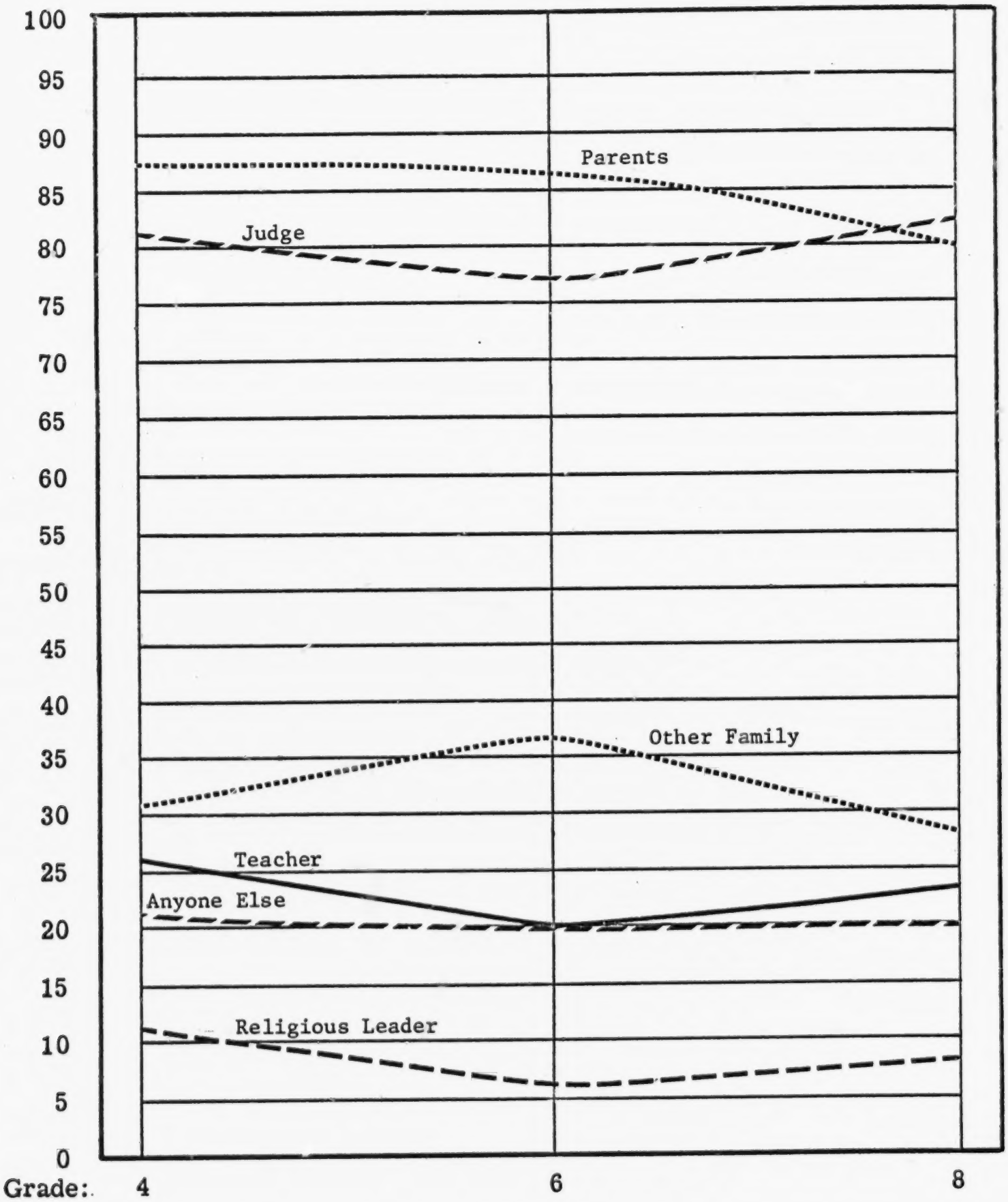
Item: Index based on combination of 2 items: "Besides your father (mother), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your father's (mother's) rules?"

FIGURE 1-6
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE TEACHER, BY GRADE
(DENMARK)



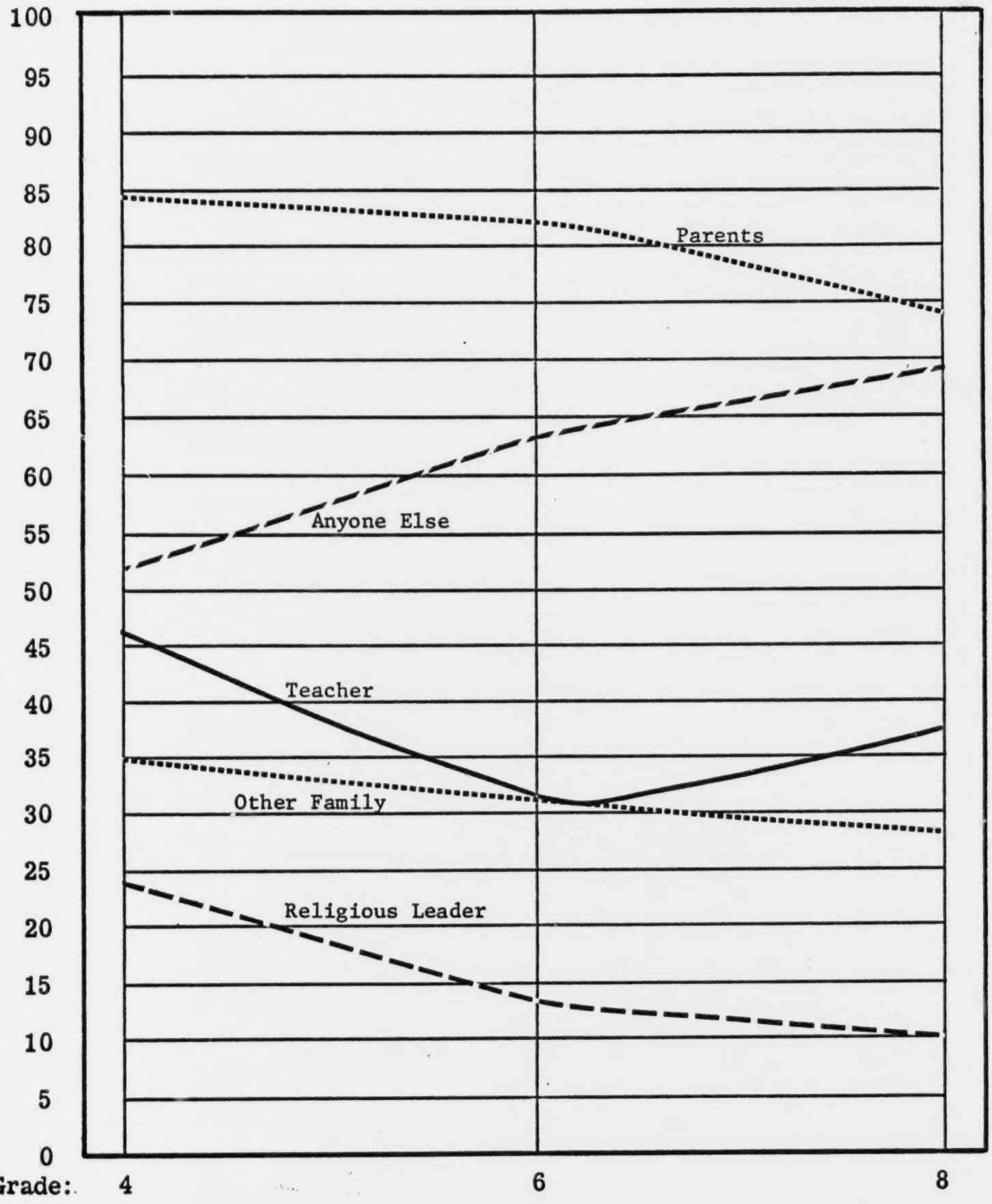
Item: "Besides your teacher, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your teacher's rules?"

FIGURE 1-7
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE POLICEMAN, BY GRADE
(DENMARK)



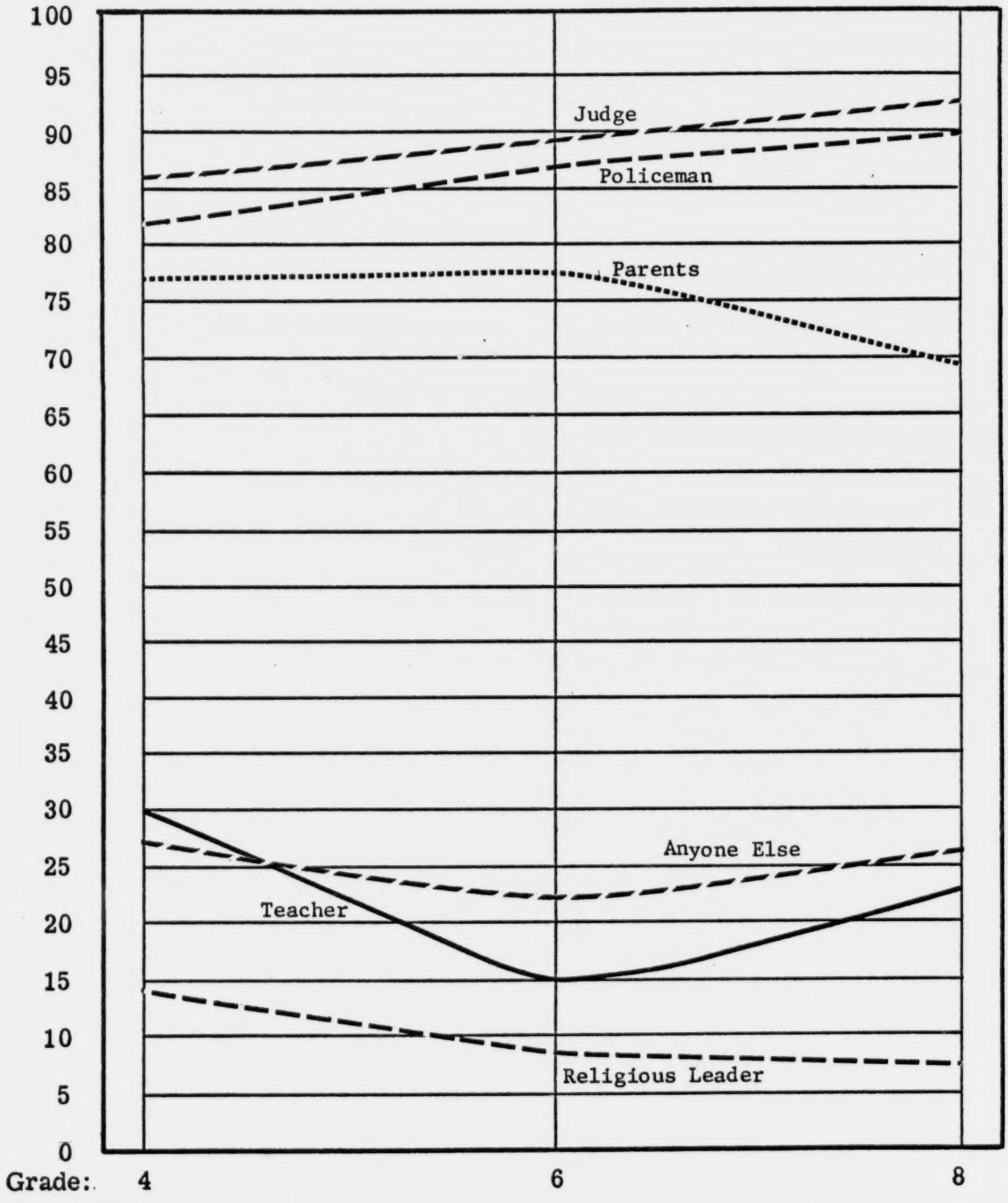
Item: "Besides policemen, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey policemen's orders?"

FIGURE 1-8
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CITY, BY GRADE
(DENMARK)



Item: "Besides city officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the city's laws or rules?"

FIGURE 1-9
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT OTHER
AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE THE DISCIPLINE OF
THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, BY GRADE
(DENMARK)



Item: "Besides government officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the laws or rules of Denmark?

TABLE 1-19

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON EXPECTATION THAT PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WILL BE REINFORCED BY OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES
(PERCENTAGE OF "YES" RESPONSES)
(DENMARK)

FIGURE ALSO PUNISHING	SYSTEM OR FIGURE WHO IS DISOBEYED																	
	MOTHER			FATHER			TEACHER			POLICEMAN			CITY			GOVERNMENT		
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8
Mother				84	86	77	81	80	73	86	87	79	86	82	75	77	78	71
Father	88	90	81				79	79	68	89	88	80	83	82	73	76	79	68
Other Family	31	38	27	31	28	23	15	13	9	31	37	28	37	31	28			
Teacher	14	5	3	20	8	9				26	20	23	46	30	37	30	14	23
Principal							89	88	92									
Policeman	16	6	6	34	13	19	19	8	6							82	87	90
Judge										81	77	82				86	89	93
Religious Leader	6	4	3	13	4	3	6	1	2	11	6	8	24	13	10	14	8	7
Friends	3	5	4	7	6	4	11	13	14	5	6	7	10	14	13	7	9	12
Anyone Else	20	19	13	25	24	20	24	18	14	21	20	20	52	63	69	27	22	26

Note. Item: "Besides your mother (father, teacher, policeman, city officials, government officials) who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your (mother's, teacher's, etc.) rules (laws, orders)?" Alternatives: Mother, Father, Other adult relatives, Teacher, Principal, Policeman, Judge, Religious Leader, Friends, Anyone else.

TABLE 1-20

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE, BY TOTAL GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(DENMARK)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS		
Parents for Non-family Authority Figures	4	5.77	5.51	6.13	5.30	6.22	0-8	Sex
	6	5.77	5.61	5.93	5.66	5.91		
	8	5.29	5.09	5.45	5.17	5.40		
	Total		5.43	5.82	5.40	5.86		
Other Family Members for Parents	4	.53	.45	.61	.54	.52	0-2	None
	6	.55	.49	.60	.46	.63		
	8	.45	.44	.46	.47	.42		
	Total		.46	.56	.49	.53		
Other Family Members for Non-family Authority Figures	4	.66	.53	.80	.68	.65	0-3	None
	6	.66	.66	.67	.54	.79		
	8	.57	.49	.66	.59	.55		
	Total		.56	.71	.60	.66		
Total Family for School	4	1.55	1.58	1.50	1.41	1.68	0-3	None
	6	1.50	1.51	1.49	1.47	1.54		
	8	1.34	1.24	1.42	1.39	1.29		
	Total		1.47	1.47	1.43	1.51		

TABLE 1-20 (CONTINUED)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Non-family Authority Figures for Parents	4	.89	1.16	.53	1.07	.73	0-6	Grade, SES (Curvilinear)
	6	.33	.42	.24	.27	.40		
	8	.37	.47	.29	.29	.44		
	Total		.72	.34	.54	.53		
Non-family Authority Figures for School	4	.41	.48	.31	.37	.45	0-3	Grade, SES
	6	.21	.27	.15	.19	.23		
	8	.17	.19	.15	.10	.23		
	Total		.32	.20	.21	.31		
Non-family Authority for Non-family Authority	4	4.29	4.45	4.08	4.02	4.55	0-12	Sex, Curvilinear
	6	3.76	3.55	3.97	3.57	4.00		
	8	4.28	3.85	4.64	4.08	4.47		
	Total		3.99	4.23	3.87	4.35		
Anyone Else for all Authority Figures	4	1.19	1.22	1.16	.90	1.48	0-6	None
	6	1.20	1.36	1.04	1.11	1.28		
	8	1.17	1.16	1.19	1.17	1.18		
	Total		1.25	1.13	1.06	1.31		

TABLE 1-20 (CONTINUED)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Friends for School	4	.10	.07	.13	.10	.10	0-1	None
	6	.11	.11	.10	.12	.10		
	8	.13	.12	.13	.12	.13		
	Total		.10	.12	.11	.11		
Friends for All Authority Figures (Except School)	4	.27	.30	.24	.30	.25	0-5	None
	6	.34	.36	.33	.41	.28		
	8	.37	.30	.43	.32	.41		
	Total		.32	.33	.34	.31		

Note. Item: "Besides your mother (father, teacher, policeman, city official, government officials) who else might scold or punish you, when you do not obey your (mother's, father's, etc.) rules (laws, orders)?" Alternatives: Mother, Father, Other Adult Relatives, Teacher, Principal Judge, Religious Leader, Friends. Index: Number of "Yes" responses for appropriate alternatives of reinforcing figures by number of supported figures or systems, grouped as mentioned in each index label.

TABLE 1-21

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(DENMARK)

WHO ELSE WOULD PUNISH?	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Parents for Parents	4	.00	.10	.06	.05	-.12	-.07	-.09	-.06
	6	-.02	.19*	.02	.23*	-.21*	-.29*	-.11	-.31*
	8	.09	.03	.19*	-.04	-.18	-.05	-.18	-.08
Parents for Non-family Authority	4	.06	.16	.06	.15	-.06	.00	-.17	.00
	6	-.02	.23*	-.04	.20*	-.11	-.23*	-.07	-.19*
	8	.04	-.01	.12	-.08	-.18	.08	-.11	.05
Other family for Parents	4	.06	.03	-.01	.07	-.01	-.06	-.04	-.07
	6	-.09	.07	-.09	.13	.15	-.18	.11	-.16
	8	.20*	.19*	.04	-.06	-.11	.07	.03	.00
Other Family for Non-family Authority	4	.10	.03	.05	.13	-.15	-.04	-.13	-.05
	6	.06	.03	.02	.12	.10	-.10	.07	-.21*
	8	.18	.04	.13	-.12	-.14	.12	-.04	.08
Total Family for School	4	-.04	.12	-.04	.17	-.16	.04	-.16	.00
	6	-.04	.24*	-.03	.13	-.07	-.22*	-.06	-.13
	8	.00	-.07	.17	-.10	-.21*	.16	-.10	.11
Non-family Authority for Parents	4	-.18	-.13	-.17	-.03	.11	.31*	.15	.21*
	6	-.02	.07	-.03	.03	-.07	-.04	.04	-.06
	8	-.06	.02	-.06	-.05	-.06	.06	-.08	-.06

TABLE 1-21 (CONTINUED)

WHO ELSE WOULD PUNISH	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS
Non-family Authority for School	4	-.19*	-.14	-.16	-.09	.11	.25*	.06	.19*
	6	-.13	.07	-.06	.10	-.03	.06	-.05	.02
	8	.01	-.03	.05	-.13	-.02	.09	-.05	-.02
Non-family Authority for Non-family Authority	4	-.01	-.08	.02	.08	-.02	.24*	-.05	.09
	6	-.05	.19*	-.09	.20*	-.07	-.14	.03	-.08
	8	.12	.18	-.03	.12	-.15	.04	-.02	-.09
Anyone Else for All	4	-.10	-.08	-.10	-.04	.06	.07	.03	.05
	6	-.08	.05	-.09	.06	.06	.06	.09	-.02
	8	-.02	.10	-.01	-.01	.04	-.02	.06	-.10
Friends for School	4	.06	-.06	.01	-.09	-.03	.15	-.08	.08
	6	.08	.01	.01	.16	.02	-.07	.08	-.08
	8	.10	.16	.02	.13	-.08	-.10	-.16	-.15
Friends for All Except School	4	-.06	-.04	-.09	.00	01	.16	.00	.06
	6	.04	-.01	.00	.09	.08	-.01	.11	-.02
	8	.16	.12	.01	.09	-.17	-.03	-.09	-.13

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

B2. The Child's Conception of Rules and Laws

a. The Nature of Rules and Laws

To understand children's socialization it is important to clarify their conceptions of rules and laws. The opening questions in the interview dealt with that topic. Children were asked to define rules and laws, specify the differences between the two concepts, and imagine the consequences of absence of rules.

Definition of rules and laws. The Danish interview data gave clear evidence that children, even when they are about 14 years old, have difficulties in verbalizing the characteristics of a law and a rule, and in explaining in which respects they are different. General statements appeared very often, covering the answers of one-third to one-half of all the interviewed children. The following interview excerpts may illustrate the point:

> "A rule it is a rule, really, something you have to obey. You have to observe it." "Well, a law, it is something in the community. It is also a kind of rule, you see; however, it is something in the society, by the adults. . ." (Low status boy of grade 4).

> "A rule, it is something you have to follow, a rule--if you get a rule then you have to do what it tells you, what is in it." "And a law, it is something you have to . . . well, a law is something which tells you what you may do and what you may not." (Low status girl of grade 8).

This tendency to give general statements when trying to define the concepts was somewhat less pronounced among the older children, especially as far as rules are concerned.

With increasing age, the general statements were replaced by definitions indicating that rules and laws were conceived as prescriptions and prohibitions, regulating people's behavior and involving obedience. About half of the interviewed children from grades 4 and 6 together defined rule as a prohibition or a statement indicating forbidden conduct. For all three age groups there was a similar but not so marked tendency when defining law; about one-third of the interviewed eighth graders defined law with words involving prohibition and obedience.

Punishment as a probable consequence of rule-breaking was mentioned quite often; however, about half of the eighth graders gave no such response.

The number of children who saw no difference at all between rules and laws declined with age, but the proportion of those who were not able to specify any such difference did not decrease through the grades. About half of the oldest children could not specify the difference. However, with age, there appeared a certain tendency to define rules as more special and laws as more general. Very few children made any distinction regarding the sources of rules and laws--for instance that laws are created by governmental authorities.

Our data indicate that children's difficulties in distinguishing between laws and rules were due to their vague conception of what laws are. An overwhelming majority of the interviewed children, many of whom belonged to the oldest group, could not specify the consequences of disregarding laws. This may be a result of irrelevant or even bad performance of the interviews, but we have some reasons for thinking that a genuine conceptual confusion lies behind these difficulties.

Function of rules. A clear majority of the interviewed children, when asked "What would happen if there were no rules at all?" gave responses which seem to have more to do with laws than with rules, as many adults would perceive these concepts. This finding also suggests that most children were not able to distinguish between rule and law. For instance, the following response categories to this question occurred rather often: physical violence and crime would increase, and anarchy, disorder, and chaos would rule.

The most common response to the question about what would happen if there were no rules at home was that a state of domestic anarchy would result. To the corresponding question concerning the school system, the younger children more often answered that no learning would take place, and that it would be difficult to maintain the school building. The oldest children shared this opinion, but their most common response was that children would not come to school. A difference by social status appeared here as this consequence of no rules in the school was foreseen most often by the low status children.

Summary. Although a certain conceptual confusion appeared in the children's answers to the interview questions designed to assess their concepts of rule and law, with increasing age general statements about these concepts were replaced by responses defining rules and laws as prescriptions and prohibitions regulating people's behavior and involving obedience. The functions most often attributed to rules were to preserve order, impede violence and destruction, and facilitate learning.

Hierarchy of rules and laws. What are the children's views on the relative seriousness of different types of offenses of rules and laws? Such offenses may be directed against persons, property, or the social order of a system. In the questionnaire, examples of these three types of anti-social behavior were presented as committed within five social systems--the family, peer group, school, community, and religion--and children were asked to indicate which type of offense was the worst. Data for these items are shown in Figure 1-10 and Tables 1-22 through 1-24.

Figure 1-10 shows that between two-thirds and three-fourths of the total sample chose actions against property as the worst alternative, all the systems involved regarded together. Actions against persons and the social order of the systems were chosen by significantly lower percentages of children at all grade levels. Respect for property rights seems for the children to be very fixed and quite unquestionable.

As shown in Table 1-22, over all grades actions against property were chosen as the worst, most frequently when presented as committed within the school and the family, the other three systems ranking somewhat lower and rather close to each other; yet, the proportion for the peer group was a bit lower than for the religious system and the community. The most noticeable variation through grades for any of the five systems appeared for the community where the eighth graders presented a substantially lower frequency than the younger groups. A similar but not so marked drop appeared for the peer group and the family, probably due to the fact that a rather high proportion of the oldest group chose actions against persons as the worst alternative within these two systems (see Table 1-23 and discussion of data on actions against persons).

Despite the variations mentioned, the children appeared to possess already at grade four a rather generalized and stable attitude toward actions against property, regardless of the nature of the social systems within which such an offense may take place. This attitude was generally maintained through the grades.

Across all grades, more low status than high status children chose offenses against property as the worst of the three types of anti-social behavior. The SES differences were more pronounced on responses referring to anti-property acts in the family, community, and church than in the school and the peer group. Variations by grade and sex were not significant (see Table 1-22).

The distribution of frequencies with which offenses against persons were pointed out as the worst of the three alternatives indicates that with age, evaluation of the wrongness of these acts became a function of the social setting within which such offenses take place. Offenses against persons were condemned by the older children with substantially higher frequency when committed in the community, the peer group, and the family than in the other systems (see Table 1-23). Apparently, the older children regarded personal offenses as more serious when committed within the peer group and the community. A person's honor may be offended thereby. Moreover, high status children were generally more critical than their low status counterparts toward offenses against persons; across all grades more high status than low status children condemned this type of anti-social behavior, especially in the family, the community, and the peer group. The frequency of these responses did not vary significantly by sex.

The interview data confirm the indications of the questionnaire findings that children, as they grow older, become more sensitive to personal offenses. When asked "Which is worst--to hit, steal from, or say something bad about a person?" half the interview sample answered that saying bad things about a person was the worst; within the oldest group a clear majority chose this alternative as the worst. Stealing was chosen as the worst by only one-fifth of the interviewed children (12 in all), primarily from the youngest age group. Hitting was chosen as the worst by only five children, all of whom were fourth graders.

Actions against the rules of the systems in question were condemned significantly less often as children grew older (see Table 1-24). Across all grades actions against the religious system were condemned more than actions against the rules of all the other systems; the family ranked last on this alternative. The most remarkable drop in percentages by grade occurred for the community system, but the decline for the religious system was also marked (see Table 1-24). This may be due to changes with age in children's experiences about these systems' consistency in enforcing rules and/or their infallibility.

No significant variations by social status or sex affected the composite index of actions against social systems. However, two tendencies ought to be mentioned; first, more boys than girls seemed to regard actions against the rules of the school as the most serious offense, whereas the opposite was the case for the religious system; second, more high status than low status children regarded actions against the rules of religion and the peer group as the most serious offenses, while the opposite SES trend was apparent in the choices of offenses against the rules of the community and the school.

Within each of the systems considered, offenses against the rules were condemned less often than offenses against property. However, if we compare the scores for actions against rules and against persons within each of the five systems an interesting pattern emerges. In the family, the community, and the peer group personal offenses appared to be seen as more serious than offenses against the social order of these systems; this was especially the case for the older children. Perhaps interpersonal relationships within these three systems are regarded as a very important matter. However, the situation is different for the school and the religious system where respect of the ideology and the social order of the system appeared to be regarded as more important than the individual's rights.

Relationships between judgments concerning the relative seriousness of different types of offenses and classroom behavior. Eight out of a total of 72 correlation coefficients between these two sets of variables were significant (see Table 1-25). All of these significant coefficients pertained to eighth graders and most of them to girls; perhaps judgments about the relative seriousness of different types of anti-social behavior have a greater bearing on the conduct of older children, especially girls. The data indicate that

eighth graders, especially girls, who judged anti-person acts as the most serious offenses were likely to be seen as displaying cooperative behavior toward their peers. Further, eighth grade girls who judged anti-system acts to be the most serious type of offenses were seen by peers as displaying cooperative behavior in the school, especially toward the teacher. On the other hand, eighth grade girls who judged anti-property acts as the most serious offenses were likely to be seen as noncompliant with both peers and the teacher.

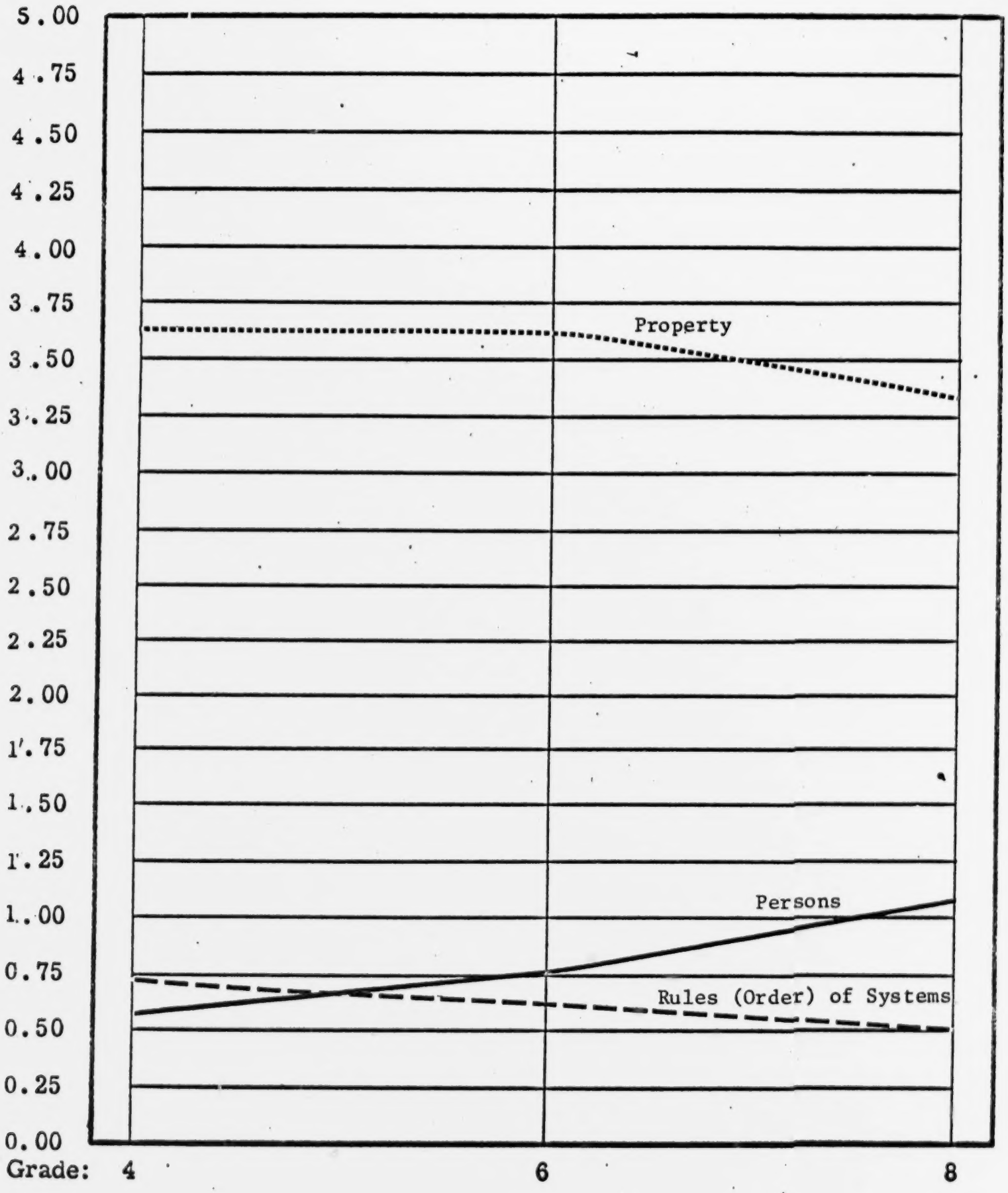
Summary. Over all grades anti-property acts were considered as the most serious of the three types of offenses, especially when committed in the school and the family. Low status children condemned this type of offense significantly more often that did high status children. No significant variations by grade or sex affected the frequency of these responses.

Anti-person acts were chosen as the worst by substantially fewer children over all grades. However, there appeared a significant difference by grade, as the oldest group more often judged these offenses to be the worst, especially when committed in the peer group and the community. There was also a significant SES difference, the high status group condemning personal offenses more often than the low status group. Sex differences were nonsignificant.

Anti-system acts were judged as the least serious of the three types of offenses; this tendency was particularly marked for the oldest age group. Across all grades, offenses against the rules of religion were regarded as the most serious of all anti-system acts. The composite index for anti-system acts showed a significant decline with grade; this decline was most apparent for offenses against the rules of the community and religion. Variations by sex and SES were not large nor in the same direction across the five systems considered.

Judgments about the relative seriousness of the three different types of offenses appeared to have a significant bearing on the classroom conduct of the older children, especially girls. Eighth grade girls, having a reputation among their classmates of being cooperative in the school, tended to judge offenses against persons and/or the order of social systems as more serious than offenses against property. The latter type of offenses was more often condemned by eighth grade girls regarded by their peers as uncooperative with teachers and peers.

FIGURE 1-10
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEWS OF WHICH IS WORST:
OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS, AGAINST PROPERTY,
OR AGAINST THE RULES (ORDER) OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE
(DENMARK)



Item: Which is worst?

TABLE 1-22

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PERSONS OR THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(DENMARK)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	88	85	92	90	86
	6	83	88	79	83	83
	8	87	83	90	94	80
	Total		85	87	89	83
Community	4	70	73	68	72	69
	6	70	74	66	72	68
	8	58	64	51	58	57
	Total		70	61	67	65
Family	4	85	87	82	86	83
	6	83	92	74	84	82
	8	74	83	64	76	72
	Total		87	74	82	79
Peers	4	64	59	69	63	65
	6	64	69	59	63	65
	8	54	60	49	52	57
	Total		62	59	59	62
Religion	4	62	66	57	59	65
	6	62	62	63	60	65
	8	70	74	66	70	70
	Total		68	62	63	66

Note. Significant Effects: (Property) None. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To take or steal something in the school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: Number of choices of offenses against property as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 1-23

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PROPERTY AND THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	3	2	3	3	2
	6	5	3	8	5	5
	8	3	4	2	2	4
	Total		3	4	3	4
Community	4	14	7	20	13	14
	6	26	20	31	24	27
	8	39	32	45	38	40
	Total		20	32	25	27
Family	4	12	9	15	11	14
	6	14	6	21	13	14
	8	21	12	30	19	24
	Total		9	22	14	17
Peers	4	24	29	18	27	20
	6	26	23	29	26	26
	8	37	33	42	41	33
	Total		28	29	31	26
Religion	4	7	10	3	6	7
	6	7	12	2	6	9
	8	7	5	10	6	8
	Total		9	5	6	8

Note. Significant Effects: (Persons) Grade.
Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To fight with, insult, or say something against a person in the school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: Number of choices of offenses against person as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 1-24

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PROPERTY OR PERSONS, ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	9	13	5	7	12
	6	11	9	13	11	12
	8	11	13	8	5	16
	Total		12	9	8	13
Community	4	16	20	13	15	17
	6	4	5	4	4	5
	8	4	4	4	4	3
	Total		10	7	8	8
Family	4	3	4	3	3	3
	6	3	2	5	3	4
	8	5	4	5	6	4
	Total		3	4	4	4
Peers	4	13	12	13	10	15
	6	11	8	13	12	9
	8	9	8	10	7	11
	Total		9	12	10	12
Religion	4	32	24	39	35	28
	6	31	26	35	34	27
	8	23	21	25	24	22
	Total		23	33	31	25

Note. Significant Effects: None. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To disturb, break, disobey, refuse to follow or say something against the rules (order) of school, community, family, peer group, religious group. Index: Number of choices of offenses against the system rules (order), as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 1-25

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDICES OF PERCEPTION OF THE RELATIVE SERIOUSNESS OF THREE TYPES OF OFFENSES AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

WHICH IS WORST INDICES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Anti-Person Acts	4	-.05	-.05	.00	-.01	.14	-.07	.06	-.03
	6	.11	.00	.09	-.08	-.06	-.06	.02	-.03
	8	.22*	.21*	.06	.03	-.19*	-.10	-.09	-.03
Anti-Property Acts	4	.06	.04	.06	-.01	-.10	-.03	-.04	-.09
	6	-.09	.02	-.03	.05	.09	.08	-.05	.04
	8	-.26*	-.12	-.24*	-.01	.24*	.08	.19*	-.02
Anti-System Acts	4	-.13	.00	-.11	.05	.01	.04	-.02	.10
	6	-.02	-.04	-.10	.03	-.08	-.05	.06	-.02
	8	.15	.01	.23*	.00	-.17	.01	-.17	.11

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Origin of Laws and Rules

Rule-making in the family. Children's perception of the rule-makers in their families was assessed through the questionnaire item cited in Table 1-26. The distribution of frequencies of responses to the four alternatives shows that about equal proportions of the total Danish sample reported that their family rules were made by the father and the mother together, and by the whole family (respectively, 42 percent and 38 percent).

Few children thought that one of their parents was the sole rule-maker in the family. Twelve percent of the total research group perceived their mothers in this function, with a somewhat lower number for grade six than for the other two grades, and 7 percent attributed unilateral rule-making functions to the father.

The proportion of children thinking that rule-making is a whole family matter increased substantially through grades (see Table 1-26). This expression was the most common among the eighth grade children; it was given by almost half of the eighth graders (46 percent) By contrast, the proportion of children who see their fathers and mothers as ruling the family together decreased a good deal from grade six to grade eight; 33 percent of the eighth graders gave this response.

This shift in the perceived locus of rule-making power within the family was apparent in the responses of both social status groups and both sexes, but it was somewhat more marked for the girls and for the higher status group; however, these differences by sex and social status were not substantial.

At all grade levels more girls than boys saw rule-making at home as a whole family activity, whereas the perception of mother and father as ruling the family together was more frequent among boys than among girls, especially at grade six. Also noticeable is the tendency for the perception of the father as the sole rule-maker to become with age less frequent among girls but more frequent among boys.

It seems profitable to compare the children's responses to this item with those regarding their own participation in making decisions at home. For children of both SES groups participation appeared to increase significantly as they grew older, even though there appears to be a significant overall grades difference by social status, with high SES children ranking their personal efficacy in making family decisions higher than do low

SES children (see Section B5). However, the children from the low SES group, primarily the girls, showed a more marked increase, which possibly reflects that low status children, as they grow older, get more opportunities to extend their social experiences. Through a communication with children from high status families they probably realize what their roles within the family might be and then they try to change the family decision-making processes.

Summary. Children's perception of rule-makers in the family changed in the same direction for both sexes and for both social status groups: from the father and mother combination as the prevailing pattern at grade four to the whole family rule-making as the most common at grade eight. This shift in the perceived rule-making functions of family members was most marked for girls and for the high SES group.

Across all grades, more boys than girls thought that their families are ruled by both parents acting together. By contrast, more girls than boys maintained that rule-making in their families is a process involving all its members. Also, perception of the father as the sole rule-maker in the family became more frequent with age among boys, a further indication that the boys, especially the older ones, saw the rule-making activity in their homes in a way somewhat different from that of the girls. Perhaps boys perceived the family as functioning in a rather authoritarian fashion, while girls had a more democratic image of the family power structure. It may be that this difference by sex reflects an aspect of boys' and girls' expectations about their future roles as rule-makers at home.

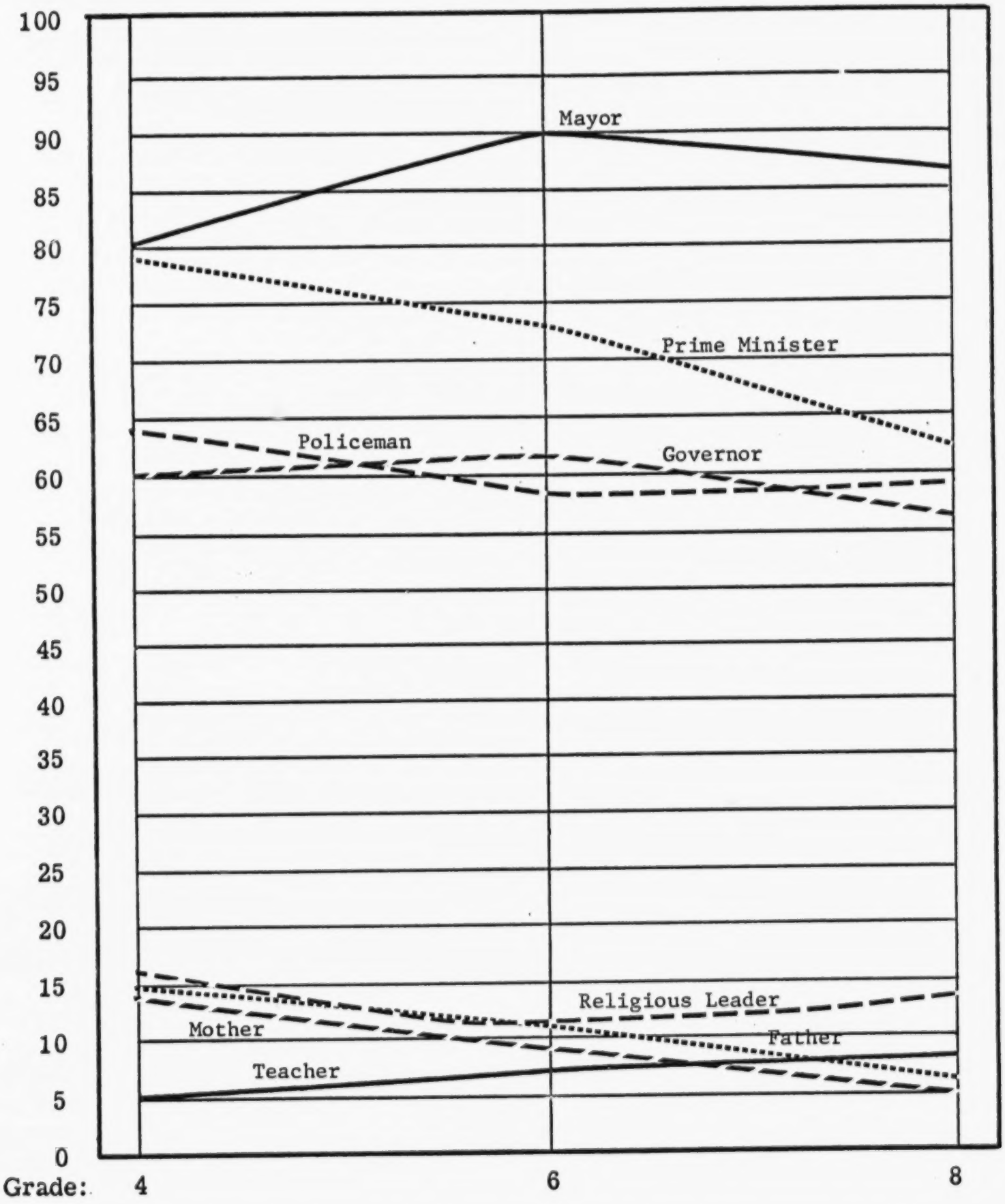
Rule-makers in the neighborhood. The eight authority figures compared and the format of the questionnaire item used to assess children's perception of rule-makers in the neighborhood are cited in Table 1-27 and Figure 1-11. The data show that about 85 percent of the children in the sample, regardless of their age, sex, or social class backgrounds, think that the mayor participates in making the rules and/or laws of their neighborhood. The second most frequent nominations were given to the Prime Minister, governor, and policeman, the last two figures ranking very close to each other. Many of the children were not able to give answers about some of these authority figures' participation in rule-making in the part of the city where the children live; about 40 percent of the children gave no answer or answered "I don't know" concerning the governor while for the policeman there were 30 percent nonresponders or children responding "I don't know."

The Prime Minister was nominatd substantially more often by low status children and girls than by low status children and boys; the governor and the policeman received more nominations by high status children and girls than by their counterparts. Also, the idea that the Prime Minister participates in rule- and law-making in the neighborhood was expressed more often by younger than by older children.

The other four authority figures in question, namely both parents, teacher, and religious leader, were seldom regarded as endowed with rule-making functions in the neighborhood. The religious leader was cited more often by girls than by boys, especially at grade four.

Even though there appeared to be a not unessential confusion about some of the authority figures' domain, particularly among the youngest children from the lower social group, data seem to justify the conclusion that the actual community rule-makers were recognized by the majority of our research group. It is notable that children from the high status group knew more about the governor as an authority figure and therefore were more inclined to ascribe him power as a rule-maker than were low status children. The Prime Minister as an authority figure is presumably equally well-known among children of both SES groups; therefore, the finding that more low SES than high SES children ascribed rule-making power to him in the neighborhood may indicate some conceptual confusion of power with domain of competence. Children attributing rule-making functions in the neighborhood to the Prime Minister might have thought that he is such a great person that he probably also has something to do with rule-making in their neighborhood.

FIGURE 1-11
PERCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
IN RULE AND LAW-MAKING, BY GRADE
(DENMARK)



Item: "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live--like your neighborhood?"

TABLE 1-26

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN MAKING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	8	10	6	7	9
	6	6	9	4	5	8
	8	7	6	9	4	11
	Total	7	8	6	5	9
Mother	4	15	17	13	14	16
	6	9	10	8	11	8
	8	13	17	10	16	11
	Total	12	15	10	13	12
Father and Mother Together	4	46	41	52	47	45
	6	48	46	50	40	56
	8	33	30	36	32	34
	Total	42	39	46	40	45
Whole Family	4	31	32	30	32	30
	6	37	35	38	44	29
	8	46	47	45	49	44
	Total	38	38	38	42	34

Item: "Who usually makes the rules in your family?"
Item scale: Percentage choice of one alternative.

TABLE 1-27

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES IN RULE-AND LAW-MAKING IN THE COMMUNITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Mother	4	14	18	10	17	11
	6	9	11	7	9	9
	8	5	6	5	8	3
	Total	9	12	7	11	8
Father	4	15	18	11	18	11
	6	11	10	12	10	12
	8	6	8	5	7	5
	Total	10	12	9	12	9
Teacher	4	5	7	3	8	1
	6	7	8	7	6	8
	8	8	7	8	10	5
	Total	7	7	6	8	5
Policeman	4	64	63	64	74	54
	6	58	53	63	60	56
	8	59	49	68	54	63
	Total	60	55	65	63	58
Mayor	4	80	74	86	78	81
	6	90	88	93	91	89
	8	87	85	89	89	84
	Total	86	82	89	86	85
Governor	4	60	46	74	67	53
	6	62	60	63	63	60
	8	57	47	67	63	51
	Total	60	51	68	64	55
Prime Minister	4	79	82	75	84	74
	6	73	89	56	79	66
	8	62	72	51	70	54
	Total	71	81	61	77	65
Religious Leader	4	16	14	19	22	11
	6	10	12	7	11	8
	8	14	13	14	18	9
	Total	13	13	13	17	9

Item: "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live, like your neighborhood?" Alternatives: "Yes", "No", "Don't know". Item scale: Percentage responding "yes" to each of the figures listed.

c. Justice of Rules and Laws

One of the most important dimensions of children's conception of rules and laws is that of justice. Presumably, the quality of their behavior (i.e., compliant or noncompliant with rules and laws) as well as the internalization of rules and laws in the form of personally valued principles which orient behavior in the absence of external incentives such as reward or punishment depend to a large degree on whether or not children see rules and laws as fair.

Two sets of data will be discussed in this section: (1) children's views on the qualification of a fair rule; and (2) their ratings of the fairness of rules of various authority figures and systems. Data on the latter were collected from the entire research group through questionnaire items whose format is cited in Figure 1-11. Data on "What is a fair rule?" were collected from the interviewed children (a 10-percent sample of the total research group).

Many of the interviewed children, especially from the younger age groups, were not able to verbalize the qualifications of a fair rule, or expressed the absolute judgment that all rules are fair. With increasing age there was a tendency to emphasize a rule as fair if the persons who must comply with it agree with it.

About half of the sixth graders maintained that general applicability (i.e., that a rule affects everyone equally) is a prerequisite of fairness. The majority of these children belonged to the low status group. About one-third of the total sample mentioned this qualification.

Two response categories indicating that fairness of rules is perceived as depending on its source (i.e., that a rule is fair if it is created by a trusted authority figure or if it is congruent with an external system, e.g., religion or government) did not appear at all in the Danish interview data. Apparently, although younger children tended to take the fairness of rules for granted, none of the responders thought that the fairness of a rule depends on its source.

In short, the most common definitions given by the interviewed children seemed to identify fairness with equality and generality of application on the one side and with group consensus on the other.

Children's ratings of the fairness of rules of various authority figures are shown in Figure 1-12. At all grade levels the mother's rules ranked highest, followed by the rules of the policeman and the father, the last two figures ranking very close to each other; the rules and laws of the city and government, also clustered together, ranked next, followed by the rules of the teacher; ratings of the fairness of friends' rules ranked substantially below those of all other figures.

Figure 1-12 also shows that with grade the means pertaining to all authority figures declined, while the means pertaining to friends' rules remained constant between grades four and six, and then increased somewhat at the eighth grade. The analysis of variance indicated that the decline of means for parents, the teacher, and other non-family authorities was significant, while the increase in the friends' ratings was nonsignificant. The grade effect on the index for "other authority figures" was particularly apparent on the policeman's scores.

None of the scores pertaining to the seven figures and systems in question was significantly differentiated by sex. Significant SES differences were found only for the ratings of friends' rules. Across all grades, high status children demonstrated a higher regard for the fairness of their friends' rules than did their low status counterparts. (The low status children's means at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 2.60, 2.58, and 2.76, respectively; the corresponding means of high status children were 2.93, 2.87, and 3.24.)

The fact that the means pertaining to rules and laws of the city and government were almost identical on each grade level is particuarly striking. Earlier, it was mentioned that many of the interviewed children were not able to verbalize their ideas about rules and laws and that such difficulties were particularly pronounced with respect to rules and laws of non-family authorities. Perhaps the similarity of responses pertaining to rules and laws of the city and government which denotes a tendency for children to give response sets reflects their confusion about the concepts involved in these items.

Overall, the findings suggest that children, as they grow older, develop a less idealized perception of rules of all sources of authority. They seem to realize that some rules and laws may not be fair, regardless of their source. On the other hand, although the interview data did not give indications that children associate in

any way the fairness of rules with their source, the ranking of figures on the scale of fairness of rules suggests that, in fact, children tend to discriminate among authority figures in estimating how many of each figure's rules are fair. However, the reasons behind the ranking of figures are not clear. It is not clear, for example, whether the fact that the parents' and the policeman's rules were rated higher than those of the city and government and also higher than those of the teacher means that children regarded more of the former's rules as based on group consensus or as more often applying to everyone equally. Apparently, other factors also may contribute to these differential ratings. Differential attachment to and trust in the benevolence of different authority figures, as well as differing beliefs and expectations about the figures' punitive powers, may substantially influence children's ratings of the justice of their rules.

Relationships between estimates of the fairness of rules and other dimensions of authority figures. The correlation coefficients shown in Table 1-28 indicate that there is a positive and strong relationship between children's estimates of the fairness of the various figures' rules on the one side and their perception of the figures as likable and willing to help on the other side. These relationships do not allow one to decide what is the cause and what the effect. Perhaps belief in the figures' benevolence and liking for them derives from perceiving them as making and enforcing fair rules; maybe the opposite is the case. However, Table 1-28 reveals that there was a rather weak relationship between the "rules fair" and "power to punish" variables and practically no association between perception of the figures' rules as fair and beliefs in the inevitability of their punishing disobedience. In fact, for some subgroups expectations of punishment as an inevitable consequence of noncompliance with rules of some of the figures in question (especially the teacher) correlated negatively (though nonsignificantly) with a high regard for the justice of the figures' rules.

In conclusion, for the Danish research group high regard for the fairness of rules of authority figures coexisted with trust in the figures' nurturance and liking for them, while beliefs and expectations about the figures' punitive power and punitive behavior were practically not associated with beliefs about the fairness of their rules. The significance of this finding will be further explored in subsequent sections of this report (see sections B3 and B4).

Relationship between perception of rules as fair and classroom behavior. The picture emerging from the correlations between the two sets of variables is rather variegated, but it contains some interesting tendencies. For the youngest boys, the relationship between belief in the justice of father's rules and peer ratings of classroom behavior is significant and in the expected direction toward peers as well as toward the teacher. This tendency is weaker for the older boys and for the girls at all grade levels (see Table 1-29).

The most interesting authority figure in this connection seems to be the teacher, not unexpectedly. Especially for the sixth graders there is a clear tendency; children who regard the teacher's rules as fair tend to show positive behavior toward the teacher as well as toward the peers. For the oldest group a similar but somewhat weaker tendency is apparent. There may be several reasons for the fact that this relationship is unclear for the youngest group, but it seems almost impossible to clarify and explain it.

Among "other authority figures," the relationships concerning the policeman and the city also are remarkable, primarily for the boys in grade six. The direction of these correlations indicates a relationship analogous to that found for the teacher. As an example of the rather confusing and contradicting tendencies for several of the authority figures here in question, the coefficients for city and government rules and laws pertaining to eighth graders may be mentioned.

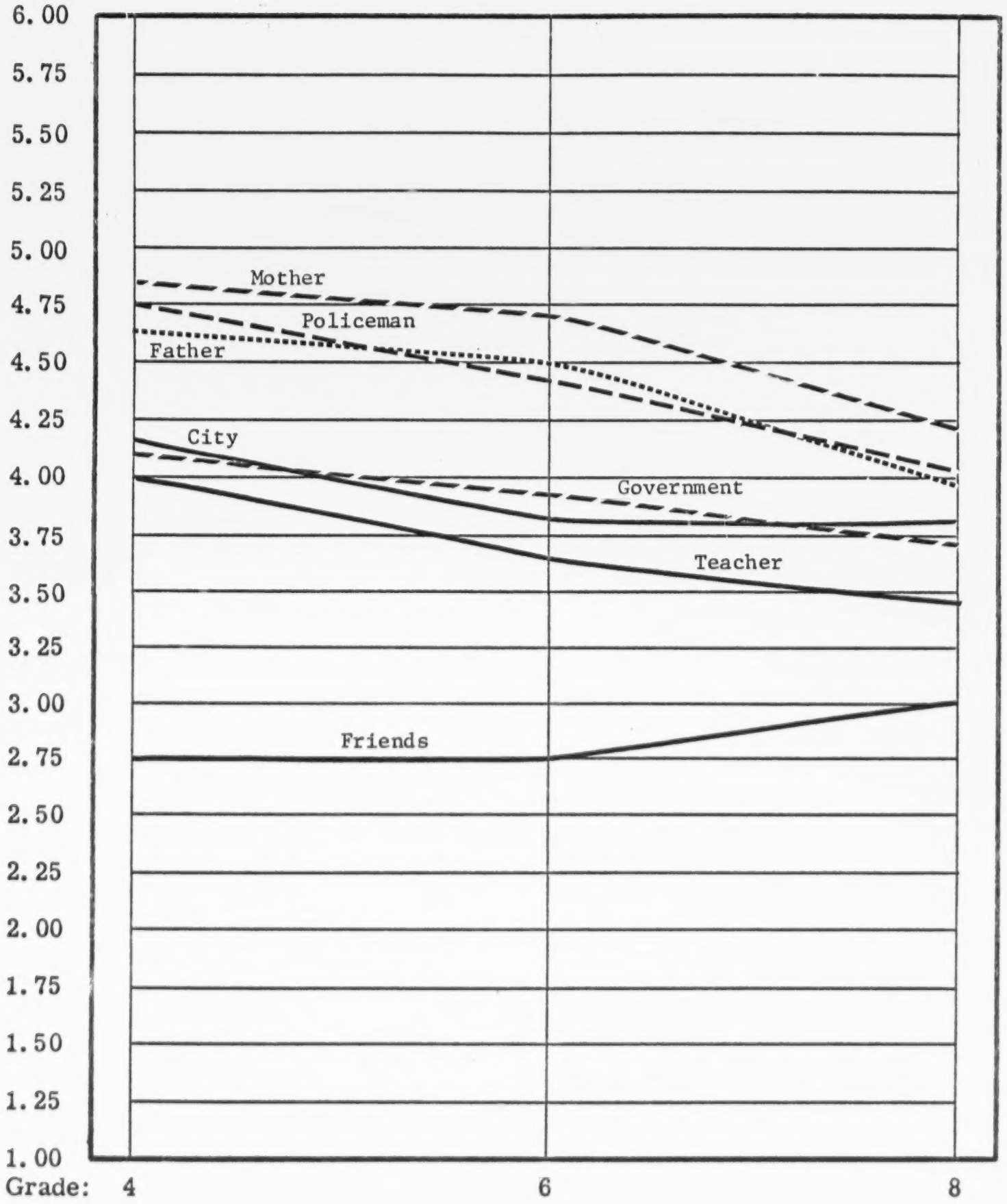
For the friends' rules the only remarkable relationship concerns eighth graders of both sexes as far as positive behavior toward peers is concerned. The higher their trust in the fairness of friends' rules the more likely they are to be cooperative with classroom peers.

Summary. At all grade levels the rules of parents, especially of the mother, were ranked higher than the rules of the other authority figures in question. The friends' rules scored much lower than those of all other figures. Ratings of the fairness of rules of all figures in question, except friends, declined significantly with the children's increasing age.

No significant effect by sex was found for any of the ratings. Only the ratings of friends' rules differed significantly by social status; high status children showed a higher regard for the fairness of their friends' rules.

Correlation coefficients between these items and indices of classroom behavior indicated that belief in the justice of rules of authority figures is in quite close connection with cooperative behavior at school.

FIGURE 1-12
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE
OF FIGURES' RULES, BY GRADE
(DENMARK)



Item: "How many of (figure's) rules are fair?"

Scale: 1 - None; 6 - All.

TABLE 1-28

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF POSITIVE AND PUNITIVE DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND BELIEF IN THE JUSTICE OF THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

JUSTICE OF RULES WITH:	AUTHORITY FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS GRADE FOUR GIRLS	GRADE FOUR BOYS	GRADE SIX GIRLS	GRADE SIX BOYS	GRADE EIGHT GIRLS	GRADE EIGHT BOYS
Willingness to Help	Father	.29*	.14	.36*	.38*	.36*	.47*
	Mother	.04	.28*	.30*	.27*	.35*	.33*
	Teacher	.24*	.20*	.45*	.36*	.40*	.33*
	Policeman	.08	.17	.12	.36*	.46*	.35*
	Government-Prime Min.	.01	.30*	.29*	.44*	.14	.53*
Affective Attachment	Father	.09	.38*	.55*	.54*	.47*	.57*
	Mother	.36*	.21*	.31*	.56*	.44*	.40*
	Teacher	.47*	.52*	.46*	.57*	.51*	.42*
	Policeman	.18	.29*	.26*	.37*	.43*	.30*
	Government-Prime Min.	.27*	.38*	.39*	.31*	.17	.30*
Power to Punish Noncompliance	Father	.08	.08	.38*	.04	.33*	.33*
	Mother	.08	-.04	.29*	.30*	.16	.18
	Teacher	.28*	.08	.00	.10	.10	.23*
	Policeman	.02	.00	.07	.17	.24*	.23*
	Government-Prime Min.	-.01	-.10	.19	-.07	.08	.07
Inevitability of Punishment	Father	.06	-.03	.01	-.01	.06	.12
	Mother	.02	.00	-.07	.17	.10	.07
	Teacher	-.09	-.06	-.13	.05	.01	-.02
	Policeman	-.22	.02	.06	-.03	.08	.23*
	Government-Prime Min.	.14	.10	.02	.10	.25	.02

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 1-29

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF IN THE JUSTICE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	-.03	.17	.04	.22*	.12	-.30*	-.02	-.26*
	6	.06	-.02	.04	.17	-.09	-.24*	-.07	-.30*
	8	.13	.15	.18	.15	.07	-.07	.03	-.08
Mother	4	.04	.07	.05	.14	.06	-.08	-.07	-.02
	6	.06	.02	.13	.10	.12	-.26*	.09	-.26*
	8	.07	.21*	.09	.07	-.01	.05	.13	-.03
Teacher	4	.03	.01	.15	.05	.03	-.18	.02	-.14
	6	.17	.17	.21*	.19*	-.10	-.23*	-.20*	-.22*
	8	.21*	.18	.18	.17	.04	-.10	-.01	-.08
Government	4	-.05	-.02	.07	-.01	-.12	-.02	-.10	-.04
	6	.07	.10	.07	.14	-.14	-.20*	-.10	-.19*
	8	.03	.12	-.07	.11	.12	-.11	.23*	-.03
Policeman	4	.11	-.01	.18	-.02	-.16	-.04	-.14	-.01
	6	.20*	.17	.16	.23*	-.02	-.30*	-.04	-.22*
	8	.24*	.17	.08	.09	.18	-.14	.32*	.00
City	4	-.11	.04	-.07	.12	-.12	-.10	-.01	-.13
	6	.04	.24*	.12	.17	-.01	-.29*	.00	-.31*
	8	.00	.12	-.07	-.05	.08	.13	.18	.16
Friends	4	.12	.09	.10	.17	-.17	-.07	-.12	-.10
	6	.27*	.10	.14	.04	.01	-.03	.10	-.08
	8	.36*	.23*	.12	-.04	.00	.00	.10	.10

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

d. The Enforcement of Rules and Laws

Rule-enforcement in the family. As shown in Table 1-30, where the item about rule enforcement in the family is cited, almost equal proportions of children of the total Danish sample think that both parents enforce the family rules and that the whole family is taking part in this activity. Thirty-eight percent cited the former alternative and 36 percent the latter. The mother was pointed out as sole rule-enforcer by 15 percent of the total research group, whereas the corresponding percentage for the father was only 11.

The alternative chosen most often by eighth graders was "whole family," while "father and mother together" was most often chosen by the fourth graders. The number of nominations given to each of the parents as sole rule-enforcers remained relatively constant through the grades.

More girls than boys nominated the mother as sole rule-enforcer, especially at grade eight. On the other hand, more boys than girls appeared to believe that the father is the sole rule-enforcer in the family. The difference was especially marked in grade six. Regarding the two other response alternatives, the youngest girls were much more inclined to see the parents together as rule-enforcers than were the boys, whereas the "whole family" alternative was chosen substantially more often by the boys than by girls at grade four (see Table 1-30). However, at grade eight the proportion of each of these two alternatives is almost the same by sex, but it seems as if the girls, with increasing age, tended to identify themselves with the idea of the whole family participating in the enforcement of family rules.

Social status differences were particularly interesting. At all grade levels more low status than high status children attributed rule-enforcing functions to one of their parents. In contrast, more high status than low status children at all grade levels thought that their parents work together in enforcing the family rules. For the alternative "whole family" the direction of SES differences changed with grade; at grade six more high status than low status children cited this alternative, while at grades four and eight the trends were reversed.

The interview questions "Who can make you follow rules and laws?" and "Who cannot make you follow rules and laws?" were used to clarify children's views on the conditions permitting a person to enforce rules and require obedience. More than 90 percent of the total interview sample thought that parents have the power to enforce rules, and about

five-sixths of the children ascribed the same power to teachers. The policeman was mentioned by three out of five of the interviewed, while only one-sixth mentioned government officials. Younger persons, such as friends and siblings, were very seldom mentioned.

Responses concerning those who cannot enforce rules upon children also indicated that age status was considered by many children as an important condition for a person to enforce rules. Half of the interview sample maintained that strangers, e.g., people not related by blood, community, or institutional ties, could not enforce rules upon them. It is remarkable that about 10 percent of the sample appeared to think that anyone or almost anyone could make them follow the rules.

Summary. Response patterns concerning rule-enforcers in the family were rather similar to those regarding rule-makers. Almost equal proportions of the total sample appeared to think that both parents enforce the family rules and that the whole family is taking part in this activity. More girls than boys saw the mother as sole rule-enforcer while the latter more often attributed this role to the father. With age, the girls appeared more inclined than boys to identify themselves with the idea of the whole family participating in rule-enforcement at home.

Unilateral rule-enforcing functions were attributed to one of the parents by low status rather than by high status children at all grade levels. By contrast, more high status than low status children at all grades perceived both parents as cooperating in enforcing family rules. No clear SES differences were noted on the frequencies with which rule-enforcement was seen as a responsibility of all members of the family.

In the interviews an overwhelming majority nominated the parents and teacher as rule enforcers, and a somewhat smaller percentage mentioned the policeman.

TABLE 1-30

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN ENFORCING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	13	16	9	13	13
	6	8	13	3	6	10
	8	12	13	11	5	18
	Total	11	14	8	8	14
Mother	4	17	18	15	18	15
	6	14	16	10	20	8
	8	15	20	10	17	13
	Total	15	19	12	18	12
Father and Mother Together	4	41	32	50	49	33
	6	40	39	40	34	46
	8	32	26	39	34	31
	Total	38	32	43	39	37
Whole Family	4	29	33	26	20	39
	6	38	29	47	39	37
	8	41	42	40	44	38
	Total	36	35	38	34	38

Item. "Who sees that the rules of your family are obeyed or enforced?"
Item scale: Percentage choice of one alternative.

B3. The Child's Internalization of Norms

Children meet rules and sanctions within any social system. As they get acquainted with the expectations of the various authority figures expressing the norms in question, a process of internalization takes place. Through this process the child becomes able to act according to these norms as if an authority figure is still present and is giving his imperatives. Important issues in the development of compliant behavior are related to the process of internalization of norms. Two types of reactions are of essential interest in this connection--the child's feelings of guilt and reactions of self-reproach following noncompliance with the rules of authority figures and his desire to impose the rules of authority figures upon other children.

a. Subjective Response to Noncompliance

The child's emotional discomfort over disobedience of rules of authority figures was assessed through the questionnaire items whose format is cited in Figure 1-13. This graph presents a comparison of grade means on reported guilt by authority figures and systems. Data show relatively little discrimination among individual figures. At all grades the parents rank highest, their ratings being undifferentiated. The ratings of the policeman and the government rank next at all grades; at grade four, there is very little difference between the ratings of these two figures and the means pertaining to religion, city, and teacher.

For all figures in question except friends there appeared a significant decline in the means by grade. With age, the rank order of means of individual figures changes somewhat; for instance, religion drops from the third rank position at grade four to the last at grades six and eight; the friends' rank rises from the eighth position at grade four to the third at grade eight. However, the range of means remained remarkedly stable across all grades (1.43 at grade four, 1.39 at grade six, and 1.33 at grade eight).

Social status differences were not significant for any of the figures or systems considered. However, the decline of the mean scores through the grades was more pronounced for the low status than for the high status group. For all the figures in question, the means pertaining to high status eighth graders exceeded substantially the means of their low status agemates (see

Tables 1-31 through 1-34). This pattern of social status differences by grade indicates that the internalization of norms, as assessed by the measure of guilt used in this study, progresses somewhat differently for the two SES groups. It seems much more difficult for the high status children to get rid of their feelings of guilt than it is for the other social group of the same age. The data do not permit us to clarify whether the tendency here described is due to different ways in which rules and obligations are being presented and reinforced to the children from the two social levels, but a relationship of that kind seems reasonable.

Sex differences were significant on all ratings; girls expressed more intense feelings of guilt over breaking the rules of all figures than did the boys.* This consistent difference by sex was particularly marked on the items dealing with mother and teacher. Within the index comprising "other authority figures" the sex differences were largest for religion and the policeman but rather weak for the two official and political systems, namely government and city. For five out of the eight figures in question the discrepancy between boys' and girls' scores was biggest for the youngest age group; only for the mother was the discrepancy at its highest for the oldest group. It may be that a process of identification with a crucial future role is developing rapidly in teenage girls.

Relation of guilt to other variables of the study. What are the correlates of guilt over disobedience? It seems possible to obtain additional understanding of the antecedents of guilt by examining the pattern of correlations between guilt and other measures of the child's view of authority figures, including both affective attachment to the figures and a perception of other traits, as for instance, powerful and punitive.

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*Girls' means at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 3.92, 4.01, and 3.49, respectively, for father; 4.05, 4.12, and 3.55, respectively, for mother; 3.38, 3.02, and 2.23, respectively, for teacher; 3.80, 3.29, and 2.48, respectively, for policeman; 3.32, 2.99, and 2.34, respectively, for city; 3.57, 3.40, and 2.80, respectively, for government; 3.55, 2.74, and 1.99, respectively, for religion; and 2.65, 2.66, and 2.90, respectively, for friends. The corresponding means of boys were 3.81, 3.62, and 3.24 for father; 3.81, 3.61, and 3.12 for mother; 2.78, 2.47, and 2.14 for teacher; 3.39, 3.19, and 2.30 for policeman; 3.01, 2.77, and 2.46, for city; 3.25, 3.30, and 2.75 for government; 2.98, 2.24, and 2.06 for religion; and 2.39, 2.30, and 2.61 for friends.

The correlational data presented in Tables 1-35 and 1-36 show a higher relationship between guilt and both measures of affective attachment (liking and helpful) and measures of perception of the figures' rules as fair than between guilt and the items dealing with the figures' punitive power and children's expectations of punishment for disobedience. The relationship between guilt feeling and perceived fairness of the figure's rules is especially high--88 percent of the correlations between "rules fair" and "feel bad" items were significant. Liking for figures also shows a remarkable relationship with children's tendency to experience guilt over noncompliance with the figures' rules; 83 percent of the correlations between the two measures were significant.

As an interesting detail which goes against the overall pattern just mentioned, for the religious leader a much higher relationship appears between guilt and power to punish than between guilt feeling and perception of this figure as helpful. That is particularly the case for the girls.

The lowest correlations, generally speaking, appear between guilt and likelihood that disobedience of an authority figure will be punished by the figure or the system's officials (see Table 1-36). However, it is remarkable that four out of six correlations for the subgroups by grade and by sex are significant for father and government.

Self-punishment for disobedience. Children's ability to identify with authority figures was also evaluated by assessing the degree to which they think they may punish themselves for noncompliance. Data on this point were obtained in connection with a general question about children's expectations of punishment when breaking the rules of various authority figures (see section B1d). The initial query was followed by an additional question: "Besides . . . (disobeyed figure) who else might punish or scold you?" One of the alternatives to this item was "I (Me)," meaning that the child would be inclined to punish or blame himself for his misbehavior. The alternative "I (Me)" was repeated for six authority figures and systems (father, mother, teacher, policeman, city, government), and the number of times, counted across these six situations, that a child affirmed that he would punish himself for breaking the rules of authority figures gives an index of the tendency to self-punishment.

As shown in Table 1-37, the percentages of "Yes" responses to the alternative "I (Me)" for the various authority figures are grouped closely together, with the

exception of city. The nondifferentiation among most figures and institutions is remarkable; so is the absence of significant changes with age. The pattern of decline with grade in the intensity of reported guilt feeling for undetected rule-breaking did not occur for the responses affirming that the child would blame himself for detected (and presumably punished) disobedience of authority figures. The response to the item dealing with the city shows a slight increase in number of "Yes" answers from grade four to the other two grades.

The data in Table 1-37 show that there is no significant main effect by grade, social status, and sex as far as the overall index for self-punishment is concerned. However, a tendency to a difference by social status appears ($p = 0.06$), foremost due to the fact that upper status eighth grade children gave many more "Yes" answers than their low status agemates. This tendency is in accordance with the tendency found for the guilt items.

Relationships between reports of guilt for undetected rule-violation and reports of self-blame for detected disobedience of authority figures. Table 1-38 presents the relationship between the two sets of items, indicating the number of statistically significant correlations between guilt and punish-self items across the six grade-sex groups. It appears that the relationship in question is rather modest, with only 19 out of 48 possible correlations between guilt and punish-self items being significant. The table also shows that at least two of the other indices pertaining to beliefs in inter-system reinforcement of punishment for noncompliance gave many more significant correlations with the guilt items, namely, the index concerning belief in parents' reinforcement of the discipline of non-family authority figures and the total family's reinforcement of the school's discipline. The number of significant correlations between these indices and guilt items is 28 and 26, respectively, out of 48 possible in each case.

Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that the punish-self items give a somewhat different aspect of the process of internalization of norms. It would be interesting to examine the relationships between children's tendency to punish themselves when they have already been punished for disobedience of rules of authority figures and some crucial personality traits, such as introvertness and self-confidence, but these data do not give the possibility of an analysis of that kind.

Relationship between guilt and classroom behavior. Whether or not guilt is a significant measure of internalization of norms of the system can be evaluated by the

degree to which feelings of guilt influence behavior. Table 1-39 shows the relationships between the two measures of guilt used in this study and peer ratings of classroom behavior. Data show that guilt is in a more marked relationship with indices of compliant behavior than with indices of noncompliant behavior. Thirty-four out of a total 96 correlations between guilt and indices of compliant behavior were significant and positive; only 16 out of the 96 coefficients between guilt and indices of noncompliant behavior were significant and negative. In the case of indices for compliant behavior the significant correlations were almost equally distributed among boys and girls (15 for boys versus 19 for girls across all grades and figures); in the case of indices for noncompliant behavior most of the significant correlations pertained to boys. Moreover, the positive relationship between reports of guilt and compliant behavior at school was much more often significant for eighth graders than for younger children (23 out of the 34 significant correlations in this part of the table pertained to eighth graders); by contrast most of the negative correlations between guilt and noncompliant behavior in school pertained to sixth grade boys.

When data are regarded by individual figures the differences are very small; the number of significant correlations for parents, teacher, and policeman was slightly higher than that for the government, city, religion, and friends.

Unlike reports of guilt for undetected rule-violations, reports of self-punishment for detected disobedience of authority figures appeared to be unrelated to classroom behavior as rated by peers. Only one of the 24 correlations between the punish-self index and the PNI indices of classroom behavior was significant (see Table 1-39).

Perhaps the lack of significant correspondence between the punish-self measure and the behavioral reports from peers may be explained by the difference in the situations which the two types of items present. It is possible that a "normal" degree of internalization of norms is satisfied by feeling bad when an authority figure's rules are broken and no one knows about the misconduct whereas a further punishment of self in situations where the misbehavior has already been punished is "too much." A deeper analysis of the respondents' personality structure might have been useful in this connection also.

Summary. Reports of guilt feelings for disobedience of authority figures' rules declined with age; for friends, changes with age followed the opposite direction but the grade effect was nonsignificant.

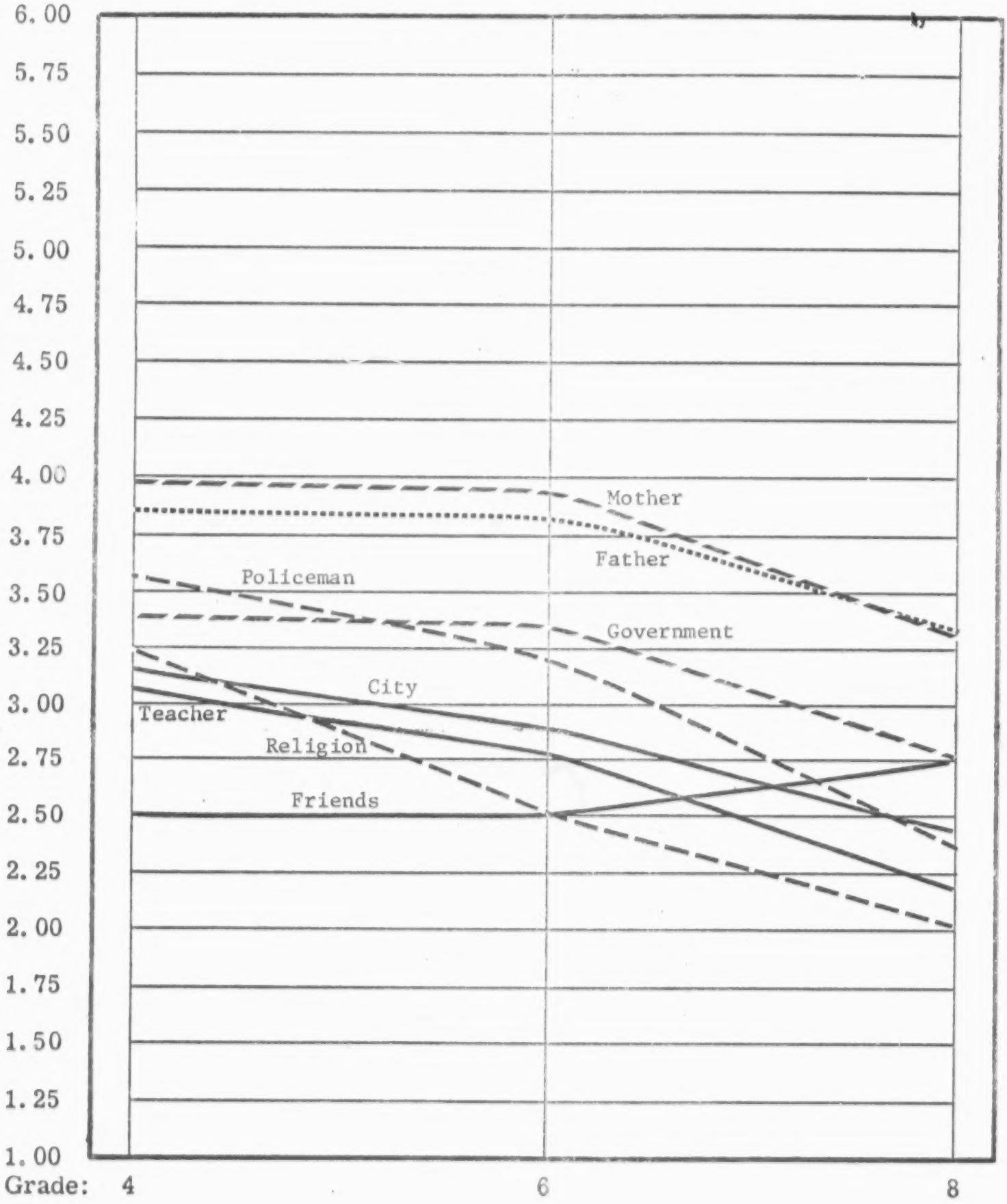
For all figures in question, girls expressed more discomfort over noncompliance than did boys. A tendency to social status differences by grade, which was consistent across all figures, suggested that it is more difficult for high status than for low status eighth graders to get rid of their feelings of guilt when they break authority figures' rules. All the sampling groups reported more intense guilt over breaking the rules of parents than over violation of rules and laws of the government, city, and teacher.

Feelings of guilt show a stronger association with feelings of attachment to figures and perception of them as helpful and fair than with perception of figures as powerful and likely to punish. The religious leader represented an exception to this pattern. The relationship between compliant behavior in the classroom and guilt was more marked than that between noncompliant behavior and guilt.

For the punish-self alternative measure of internalization of norms it is remarkable that no decline by grade was apparent and that the differentiation among figures and institutions was rather small. Although no significant effect by social status was found, more high status than low status eighth graders expressed self-punishing attitudes. No effect by sex appeared for this item.

The relationship between the two measures of guilt was rather weak. It is also remarkable that reports of self-punishment showed no significant relationships with classroom behavior.

FIGURE 1-13
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH FIGURE'S RULES, BY GRADE
(DENMARK)



Item: When you break (figure's) rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

TABLE 1 - 31

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH PARENTS' RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.87	4.03	3.68	3.85	3.84	3.94	3.89	3.95	3.79
SIX	3.83	4.05	3.47	3.82	3.99	3.69	3.84	4.02	3.60
EIGHT	3.34	3.29	2.66	3.02	3.76	3.48	3.60	3.51	3.18
TOTALS				3.62			3.77	3.85	3.53

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SEX. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "WHEN YOU BREAK YOUR FATHER'S (MOTHER'S) RULES AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH

TABLE 1 - 32

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS, FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH TEACHER'S RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.06	3.44	2.76	3.08	3.29	2.81	3.04	3.38	2.78
SIX	2.77	3.21	2.38	2.87	2.81	2.53	2.67	3.02	2.47
EIGHT	2.19	1.95	1.63	1.81	2.54	2.43	2.48	2.23	2.14
TOTALS				2.67			2.71	2.90	2.48

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SEX. ITEM: "WHEN YOU BREAK TEACHERS' RULES AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH

TABLE 1 - 33

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH THE RULES OF SEVERAL AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.34	3.60	3.13	3.36	3.44	3.21	3.32	3.53	3.17
SIX	3.09	3.37	2.95	3.20	2.98	2.98	2.98	3.19	2.97
EIGHT	2.59	2.51	2.05	2.32	2.82	2.82	2.82	2.65	2.54
TOTALS				3.02			3.03	3.15	2.90

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SEX. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 3 ITEMS: "WHEN YOU BREAK POLICEMEN'S ORDERS (CITY'S RULES OR LAWS, GOVERNMENT'S RULES OR LAWS) AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH

TABLE 1 - 34

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH FRIENDS' RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	2.50	2.45	2.28	2.35	2.89	2.55	2.70	2.65	2.39
SIX	2.50	2.68	2.33	2.55	2.65	2.27	2.46	2.66	2.30
EIGHT	2.75	2.68	2.47	2.59	3.16	2.69	2.87	2.90	2.61
TOTALS				2.48			2.67	2.73	2.43

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SEX. ITEM: "WHEN YOU BREAK YOUR FRIENDS' RULES AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH

TABLE 1-35

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, LIKABLE, AND JUST, AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Guilt with: Affiliation (liking for Authority Figures)						
Father	.13	.21*	.33*	.36*	.35*	.46*
Mother	.32*	.25*	.35*	.39*	.34*	.41*
Teacher	.23*	.34*	.13	.27*	.54*	.31*
Policeman	.33*	.41*	.20*	.32*	.47*	.47*
Prime Minister	.40*	.13	.13	.15	.43*	.23*
Guilt with: Perception of Authority Figures as helpful						
Father	.23*	.08	.21*	.26*	.33*	.41*
Mother	.21*	.20*	.18	.28*	.43*	.34*
Teacher	.14	.09	.15	.15	.45*	.26*
Policeman	.22*	.25*	.11	.18	.37*	.27*
Religious Leader	.11	.30*	.10	.37*	.07	.28*
Prime Minister	.33*	.14	.30*	.19	.58*	.22
Friends	.06	.25*	.15	.23*	.17	.15
Guilt with: Perception of Rules of Author. Figures as fair						
Father	.11	.30*	.30*	.43*	.49*	.54*
Mother	.29*	.35*	.31*	.46*	.55*	.55*
Teacher	.23*	.50*	.24*	.20*	.42*	.30*
Policeman	.35*	.42*	.26*	.44*	.42*	.33*
City	.38*	.43*	.38*	.35*	.38*	.30*
Government	.17	.31*	.19	.12	.30*	.39*
Friends	.26*	.29*	.31*	.27*	.35*	.14

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 1-36

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF PUNITIVE DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Guilt with: Power of Figure to Punish						
Father	.13	.14	.21*	.10	.31*	.39*
Mother	.22*	.18	.19*	.27*	.20*	.24*
Teacher	.24*	.17	.12	-.02	.19*	.27*
Policeman	.26*	.10	-.03	.00	-.05	.35*
Religious Leader	.22	.27*	.30*	.43*	.27*	.23*
Prime Minister	.20	.19	.14	.13	-.06	.09
Judge						
Friends	.05	.31*	.06	.18	.23*	.23*
Guilt with: Likelihood that Figure Will Punish Disobedience						
Father	.06	.41*	.27*	.16	.23*	.27*
Mother	.07	.14	.07	.21*	.33*	.29*
Teacher	.06	.15	.04	.14	.15	.04
Policeman	.07	.02	.11	.14	.01	.38*
Government	.46*	.32*	.08	.36*	.15	.26*
City	.45*	.11	.31*	.17	.16	.30*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 1-37

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF Ss REPORTING PUNISHMENT OF SELF FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WITH RULES OF AUTHOPITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

FIGURES	GRADE FOUR					GRADE SIX					GRADE EIGHT				
	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	HIGH	SEX GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	HIGH	SEX GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	HIGH	SEX GIRLS	BOYS
Father	40	41	38	44	36	42	41	43	41	43	36	30	42	32	40
Mother	31	30	32	32	31	38	33	44	39	38	33	26	39	30	35
Teacher	33	33	33	36	30	36	33	39	36	36	29	25	34	22	36
Policeman	33	32	34	35	31	36	31	41	34	38	29	22	35	24	34
City	48	49	48	55	41	53	52	54	52	54	52	44	60	48	56
Government	35	32	38	41	29	37	33	41	37	37	34	26	41	30	38

Note. Significant Effects: (Punish-Self Index) Sex. Item: "Besides (figure), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey (figure's) rules?" Alternative: "I (me). Index: Number of "Yes" responses across 6 figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, city, government). Index scale: 0-6

TABLE 1-38

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF INTERNALIZATION OF RULES AND NORMS OF COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS: BELIEF THAT DISCIPLINE BY ONE AUTHORITY FIGURE WILL BE REINFORCED BY OTHERS AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT MEASURES (ACROSS DIFFERENT FIGURES)	GUILT OVER DISOBEDIENCE TO FIGURES (NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS)								TOTAL SIGNIF. CORREL.	TOTAL POSSIBLE CORREL.
	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	RELIG. LEADER	GOVT.	CITY	POLICE	FRIENDS		
Would punish self	2	3	3	3	3	3	2	0	19	48
Parents for parents	3	3	3	1	1	3	2	1	17	48
Parents for non-family authority figures	4	4	3	2	5	6	3	1	28	48
Other family for parents	3	3	2	1	1	2	3	1	16	48
Other family for non-family figures	1	2	1	2	3	2	3	1	16	48
Total family for school	5	3	3	2	3	4	4	2	26	48
Non-family figures for parents	1	2	0	2	0	2	2	1	10	48

TABLE 1-38 (CONTINUED)

INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT MEASURES (ACROSS DIFFERENT FIGURES)	GUILT OVER DISOBEDIENCE TO FIGURES (NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS)								TOTAL SIGNIF. CORREL.	TOTAL POSSIBLE CORREL.
	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	RELIG. LEADER	GOVT.	CITY	POLICE	FRIENDS		
Non-family figures for school	0	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	4	48
Non-family for non-family	3	3	2	2	3	4	3	1	21	48
TOTALS	22	23	18	16	19	27	23	8	156	432

Note. *Indicates negative correlation.

TABLE 1-39

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GUILT AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.11	.22*	.17	.19*	-.05	-.19*	-.14	-.11
	6	.07	.07	.06	.18	.02	-.29*	-.02	-.22*
	8	.32*	.26*	.20*	.13	.04	-.01	.16	-.05
Mother	4	.19*	.16	.24*	.12	-.07	-.07	-.14	-.03
	6	.07	.02	.10	.16	.11	-.24*	.03	-.22*
	8	.33*	.19*	.24*	.10	-.07	.08	.06	-.04
Teacher	4	.07	.13	.10	.11	-.06	-.09	-.12	-.02
	6	.20*	.18	.11	.28*	.05	-.29*	-.08	-.28*
	8	.38*	.16	.41*	.23*	.00	.01	-.01	-.14
Policeman	4	.05	.19*	.10	.16	-.03	-.12	-.05	-.09
	6	.16	.09	.16	.16	.12	-.17	-.04	-.21*
	8	.25*	.21*	.28*	.35*	-.18	-.09	-.11	-.23*
Religious Leader	4	.09	.15	.07	.09	-.13	-.09	-.18	-.01
	6	-.05	-.01	.03	.11	-.06	-.12	-.15	-.11
	8	.27*	.07	.27*	.20*	.08	.09	.03	-.07
Government	4	.04	.22*	.07	.12	-.04	-.16	-.11	-.03
	6	.10	.05	.11	.19*	-.06	-.20*	-.10	-.26*
	8	.30*	.15	.31*	.22*	-.12	-.02	-.16	-.12
City	4	.06	.22*	.05	.17	.02	-.09	-.07	-.01
	6	.04	.17	.10	.22*	-.01	-.28*	-.13	-.27*
	8	.36*	.10	.29*	.15	-.27*	.02	-.12	-.11
Friends	4	.12	.13	.11	.06	-.10	-.02	-.11	.06
	6	.14	.15	.07	.15	.00	-.24*	.04	-.28*
	8	.27*	.05	.23*	.08	-.09	-.01	-.01	-.07
Punish-Self Index (1)	4	.04	.04	-.04	.17	-.06	-.07	-.05	-.01
	6	.08	.00	.08	.07	.03	-.17	.04	-.13
	8	.16	.12	.20*	-.05	-.16	.12	-.17	.06

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

(1) For content of Punish-self Index see Table 1-37, footnote.

b. Identification with the Norms of the System

The child's identification with the norms of the system and with the authority figures who enforce them was probed by the set of questions cited in Tables 1-40 and 1-41. Data in Table 1-40 show that children, especially the younger ones, do not differentiate much among the various authority figures in responding to these questions. For the oldest age group a certain differentiation occurs for the alternative "Ask why." Across all grades, but especially at grades six and eight, there was also a differentiation among figures with respect to the alternative "Tell the figure concerned." Direct reports to the figure whose rules were violated appeared to be elicited more often when peers disobey the rules of the S's parents than when they disobey rules of religion and the teacher.

For all the figures and systems in question, children show a much stronger tendency to give "Yes" answers to the mild sanctions such as verbal protests against the offender (i.e., "Ask why" and "Tell the offender he is wrong") than to the strong sanctions (i.e., reporting to adults and trying to punish the offender).

As shown in Table 1-41 significant differences by grade occur for all the response categories when the frequencies of citing each type of action across all figures and systems are combined to form index scores. Except for the "Do nothing" alternative, the direction of grade differences was the same; the oldest children gave smaller percentages of "Yes" answers to all types of actions than did the younger children. For the "Do nothing" reaction the oldest group gave much more "Yes" answers than the younger groups.

It seems tempting to conclude that these tendencies mean that the oldest children feel less identification with the norms of the authority figures and systems than do the younger children, and this interpretation of the data is probably the best one, if a single and simple explanation were to be preferred. However, it may also be that the preadolescents perceive that being an authority figure and representing an authority system may be so difficult a job that you should not burden the adults with reporting about peers' violations of the rules, either to the figure itself or to other adults; then it is better and more convenient to react in a more modest way, foremost by protesting verbally against the offender. That the children in the oldest group are very little inclined to punish the offender themselves may mean that they do not trust their own strength in performing such a

punishment, or that they perceive that this type of response to peers' transgressions may be itself a violation of certain rules within the peer group. For that reason, they may prefer to do nothing, a kind of negative reaction which does not absolutely mean a lack of identification with the norms of the authority figures and systems.

If one regards the alternative "Try to punish them myself" as an indicator of identification with norms of authority figures, it seems worthy to comment on the fact that the number of "Yes" answers to that alternative is a good deal higher concerning parents than for the other figures and systems. This trait probably reflects a certain identification with the nearest and most decisive authority figures in the children's world. This conclusion is supported by the finding that of the three types of reactions denoting that the child appeals to adults when peers break rules, "Tell my parents" was chosen more often than the other alternatives of that kind (see Table 1-40).

As shown in Table 1-41 only a single case of significant differences by social status occurs, namely for the alternative "Tell their parents." Low status children appeared to be using this method of enforcing rules upon their peers more often than do high status children. It is doubtful whether this trait reflects a higher degree of identification with authority figures' rules.

Sex differences were not significant. However, girls appeared to be more inclined than boys to react with mild sanctions, primarily with asking why.

Relationships between choices of methods of enforcing rules upon disobeying peers and other measures of internalization of norms. Table 1-42 shows that the responses "Ask why" and "Tell them they are wrong" give many more significant (positive) correlations with measures of guilt than any of the other methods of enforcing rules upon peers. It is noticeable that the relationship is most marked for the more distant authority figures and systems, especially government and city.

The pattern just described seems to indicate that the mild sanctions not only represent more mature attitudes vis-à-vis the situation of peers' breaking rules, but that this type of reaction also expresses a more genuine identification with the norms of authority figures and systems, or, to put it another way, it expresses to a higher degree internalization of the norms.

A substantial number of negative correlations appears in the last row of Table 1-42, indicating that children who say they would do nothing in the face of peers' breaking rules have a low level of guilt over their own noncompliance with rules of authority figures. This tendency is quite the same for boys and for girls. For the two mild sanctions, comprising verbal protest, which are highly positively related to guilt, there is a certain imbalance between boys and girls, as a majority of these correlations appear for groups of boys.

Relationships between choices of methods of facing peers' rule-violations and peer ratings of classroom behavior. Table 1-43 shows that only for two or three of the response alternatives, and only for the older groups, some tendencies of interest appear. For the mild reaction "Tell them they are wrong," sixth grade goys show an interesting pattern: those who are inclined to use this reaction to peers' breaking rules are seen as displaying cooperative behavior, foremost toward the teacher but also to a certain extent toward peers. The same pattern occurs for the "Ask why" alternative.

For the strong and questionable reaction "Try to punish them," the picture is quite different: the sixth grade boys who are inclined to react in this way are seen as noncooperative toward the teacher as well as toward peers. Also, for children from the oldest group who chose the "Do nothing" reaction, a significant negative relationship with cooperative behavior toward peers appears.

The data do not allow an explanation of why just the boys in grade six present these patterns, but the tendencies described suggest that the various ways in which children enforce adults' rules, genuinely internalized or not, may have some relationship to their behavior in the classroom as this is perceived and reported by peers.

Summary. Of the three indicators of internalization of norms, guilt over breaking rules was found to decrease through the grades, while no such tendency appeared for the self-punishment index. On the measure that shows identification with norms of the authorities and with the systems in question by imposing rules upon others, the mild sanctions, in form of verbal protests, were preferred. For these reactions as for the stronger ones, i.e., telling authority figures and trying to punish the offenders, a significant decline with age was found. For the "Do nothing" alternative the percentage of "Yes" answers increased significantly with age.

Sex differences occurred only on the items concerning guilt, the girls expressing more discomfort than boys when breaking rules.

High status children tended to report more guilt than low status children, and, although nonsignificant, the same SES trend was found for the punish-self item. For the third measure of internalization the tendencies to SES differences were contradictory.

Generally the relationships among the three measures of internalization were not convincing; however, for the mild reactions when imposing rules upon others and attempting to enforce authorities' norms, there was a rather high relationship with feelings of guilt.

Of the three internalization measures, guilt correlated positively with compliant behavior and negatively with noncompliant behavior in the classroom whereas the alternative of "Doing nothing" in the face of peers' disobedience of rules correlated negatively with cooperative behavior with peers, especially for eighth graders. For sixth grade boys "Trying to punish offenders" was also in negative relationship with cooperative behavior and in positive relationship with uncooperative behavior toward peers as well as toward the teacher.

TABLE 1-40

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES ON REACTIONS FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY TOTAL GRADE (DENMARK)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	FIGURE OR SYSTEM WHOSE RULES ARE DISOBEYED BY PEERS														
	MOTHER			FATHER			TEACHER			RELIGION			CITY		
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8
Do nothing	62	61	74	63	54	66	69	68	81	68	70	87	73	64	76
Ask why	75	65	62	74	67	64	73	62	50	73	56	44	73	64	60
Tell them they are wrong	71	70	62	71	70	60	78	65	58	78	59	48	78	71	63
Tell my parents	23	18	11	27	19	12	18	14	12	26	15	12	26	21	20
Tell the figure	31	23	18	30	22	18	21	8	2	28	12	5	27	14	9
Tell their parents	20	8	5	27	7	9	17	6	4	19	6	5	24	12	8
Try to punish them myself	26	18	12	29	23	14	19	9	5	20	7	4	21	11	4

Note. Item: "When other children break (figure) rules what do you do?" Percentages of "Yes" responses to each of 7 alternatives for 5 figures (mother, father, teacher, church, city), by total grade.

TABLE 1-41

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON RESPONSES FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(DENMARK)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS		
Ask Them Why	4	3.60	3.61	3.59	3.63	3.58	0-5	Grade
	6	3.11	3.27	2.97	3.22	2.98		
	8	2.76	2.65	2.85	3.01	2.53		
	Total		3.23	3.11	3.29	3.05		
Tell Them They are Wrong	4	3.67	3.58	3.78	3.63	3.71	0-5	Grade
	6	3.29	3.57	3.03	3.35	3.22		
	8	2.85	2.65	3.02	3.03	2.69		
	Total		3.33	3.25	3.35	3.22		
Tell My Parents	4	1.16	1.19	1.12	1.27	1.05	0-5	Grade
	6	.86	.78	.92	.79	.94		
	8	.66	.41	.88	.81	.53		
	Total		.84	.96	.95	.85		
Tell Their Parents	4	1.10	1.37	.72	1.09	1.10	0-5	Grade, SES
	6	.37	.45	.30	.40	.34		
	8	.30	.23	.35	.32	.28		
	Total		.69	.46	.58	.57		

TABLE 1-41 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Tell the Figure	4	1.34	1.51	1.18	1.24	1.45	0-5	Grade
	6	.78	.89	.67	.68	.87		
	8	.52	.38	.66	.65	.39		
	Total		.93	.83	.86	.91		
Try to Punish Them Myself	4	1.16	1.41	.82	1.16	1.15	0-5	Grade
	6	.70	.79	.60	.77	.61		
	8	.40	.25	.53	.31	.49		
	Total		.89	.64	.77	.77		
Do Nothing	4	.46	.47	.44	.50	.42	0-5	Grade
	6	.84	.73	.95	.80	.90		
	8	1.26	1.57	1.00	1.10	1.40		
	Total		.86	.81	.79	.88		

Note. Item: "When other children break (figure's) rules, what do you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to each of seven alternatives for five figures (father, mother, teacher, city, church). Index scale 0-5

TABLE 1-42

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF INTERNALIZATION OF RULES AND NORMS OF COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS: RESPONSES IN REACTION TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND GUILT OVER ONE'S OWN NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(DENMARK)

TYPE OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE	(NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS GUILT TOWARD: FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	POLICE	RELIG.	GOVT.	CITY	TOTAL SIGNIF. CORREL.	TOTAL POSSIBLE CORREL.
Tell my parents	1	3	3	2	3	5	4	21	42
Tell their parents	0	0	0	1	0	1	0	2	42
Tell figure	1	1	2	4	1	3	3	15	42
Ask them why	3	3	3	5	3	5	5	27	42
Tell them they are wrong	3	3	4	5	5	6	6	32	42
Try to punish them	1*	0	0	1	1	0	0	1*/2	42
Do nothing	2*	3*	3*	4*	5*	4*	5*	26*	42
TOTALS	3*/8	3*/10	3*/12	4*/18	5*/13	4*/20	5*/18	27*/99	294

Note. *Indicates negative relationship.

TABLE 1-43

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPES OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

TYPES OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Tell my parents	4	-.02	.08	.05	.02	.14	-.06	-.04	-.01
	6	-.12	.07	-.07	.08	-.02	-.16	.01	-.13
	8	.20*	.08	.27*	.00	-.01	.10	-.05	-.02
Tell their parents	4	-.13	-.06	-.10	-.01	.14	.09	.11	.05
	6	.05	-.02	.04	-.06	.07	-.05	.01	-.02
	8	.07	-.06	.12	-.01	-.08	.15	-.14	.08
Tell (figure)	4	-.10	-.01	-.06	-.05	.20*	.06	.05	.11
	6	-.01	-.08	-.01	-.06	.08	-.05	-.01	-.02
	8	.21*	.05	.17	-.08	.00	.08	-.04	.06
Ask why	4	.02	.08	.08	.01	.10	-.02	-.07	.05
	6	-.11	.13	-.09	.17	-.03	-.28*	-.08	-.23*
	8	.12	.19*	.13	.04	-.09	-.05	.01	-.03
Tell them they are wrong	4	.06	.05	.12	.08	.09	-.06	-.16	.06
	6	-.05	.11	-.06	.19*	.01	-.22*	-.05	-.29*
	8	.15	.16	.12	.12	-.04	-.06	.06	-.13
Try to punish them	4	-.11	-.15	-.10	-.14	.11	.16	-.02	.11
	6	-.08	-.21*	-.13	-.21*	.06	.25*	.03	.24*
	8	.06	-.03	.05	-.10	-.09	.16	-.12	.06
Do nothing	4	-.01	-.04	-.06	-.12	-.11	.09	.10	.04
	6	.09	-.07	.07	-.07	.02	.13	.06	.15
	8	-.29*	-.25*	-.16	-.13	.07	.08	-.05	.10

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

B4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority

Now and then children perceive that authority figures are unfair. Undoubtedly, increasing social experience helps the child gradually realize that authority figures may misuse their power and make unjust demands. It is a very important part of the complex socialization process, after this has passed its first stages, to get awareness of the fact that authority figures are not infallible.

A very decisive determinant for the whole adult-child interaction process may be how the child acquires the necessary insight in the adult's fallibility and how his reactions, when faced with such situations, are met by adults.

This section presents data on children's reactions to hypothetical situations in which authority figures (both parents, the teacher, the policeman, and the country's government) act unjustly on matters that affect children directly or indirectly. The questionnaire items used to obtain the data are cited in Figure 1-14 and Table 1-44.

The data were analyzed and will be presented in two ways: (1) by category of action alternatives across all five authority figures combined in one index called "total authority" index; and (2) by category of action alternatives by figure groupings (i.e., parents, teacher, and other authority, the last index comprising policeman and government). The second type of analysis served to clarify variations in the frequency with which children cited each type of reaction depending on the source of injustice. Additional analyses by individual items were also performed for the indices "Talk to peers" and "Verbal responses" which combine more than one action alternative.

a. Reactions to Injustice from Total Authority

The mean scores for the indices of children's reactions to injustice by "total authority" (see Table 1-45) were converted into percentages which represent the number of children answering "Yes" to each of the six categories of response to injustice across all five authority figures (see Table 1-44). Figure 1-14 shows a comparison of these percentages by total grade. With one exception, the rank order of actions was stable across

grade in the frequency of children who would "Talk to peers" gave this category the second rank position in grade eight, a remarkable change from the fifth rank position in grade four. Another noticeable pattern is represented by the very narrow range of scores for the various categories of responses in grade four, except for "Ask why" and "Do nothing."

Besides "Talk to peers," the categories "Verbal responses" and "Ask why" also increased significantly with age, while the frequency of "Do nothing" decreased significantly. These patterns seem to indicate that as children grow older they become more questioning of adults; that is, they employ a rational approach in response to injustice of authority figures regarded as a unit. Also, with age, siblings and friends apparently increase in importance as consultants, a finding that may indicate growth of independence from adults. The very low rank position of "Do nothing" across all grades, and the increasing rejection of this response with age, support this interpretation.

Although the aggressive "Get even" alternative has the penultimate position in the ranking of all actions, it is remarkable that the frequency of "Yes" scores for that category is rather high and stable across grades. However, the inclination to retaliatory reactions shows significant differences by social status, which is also the case for all the other response categories, except "Do nothing." The fact that five out of the six categories show differences for the two social groups of the study gives this main variable a special placement in the analysis.

Our data indicate that in general low status children show a stronger tendency to oppose injustice from adult authority. It is remarkable that this tendency occurs on the more moderate response category "Ask why" as well as on the more active and even somewhat aggressive reactions, especially the "Get even" category. The only category that high status children chose more often than did low status children was "Talk to peers" (see Table 1-45). Perhaps "Talk to peers" represents a more passive and less risky reaction.

The high status group seems to present more orthodox attitudes, possibly expressing more submissiveness and a stronger belief in the legitimacy of authority than is the case for the lower status children. We do not think this is a matter of different choice of strategy in coping with injustice from authority figures, as the lower status children also chose more often than their counterparts the

moderate and possibly more socially acceptable reaction "Ask why." However, the conclusion does not seem to be supported by the conclusions from the section about authority figures' power to punish (see section B1 b).

Table 1-45 also reveals that the sex variable is salient on three response categories, namely, "Do nothing," "Verbal responses," and "Get even." Boys are clearly more inclined than girls to use verbal and vengeful approaches for coping with injustice, while more girls than boys tend to "Do nothing." For "Verbal responses" the difference between boys and girls is most marked at grade eight whereas the spread between the two sexes decreases substantially by grade for "Get even." Considering that the older girls also show lower scores than boys on the "Ask why" alternative, it seems justified to conclude, concerning the reaction patterns by sex, that the boys are more action-oriented and even more hostile than girls in opposing the totality of adult injustice. The subsequent analysis of the "Verbal response" index by figure and action items should further clarify these overall trends.

Summary. The rank order of actions children would take when authority figures make unjust commands was found to be rather stable across grades. Children would "Ask why" most often, and the frequency of that reaction increased significantly by grade. "Do nothing" was mentioned least often, and the tendency to face injustice in this passive way declined with age. "Verbal responses" and "Talk to peers" were chosen significantly more often as the children grew older.

Children's experiences about coping with injustice from authority figures taken as a unit seemed to be quite different for the two social status groups; low status children were found to oppose such injustice more actively than do high status children. Such SES trends were apparent on both moderate reactions and on more active and aggressive reactions, including the retaliatory response category. Only concerning "Talk to peers" did high status children present a significantly greater frequency.

Boys chose verbal and vengeful approaches for coping with adults' injustice significantly more often than did girls, and they seem to oppose such injustice to a much wider extent than do their female peers.

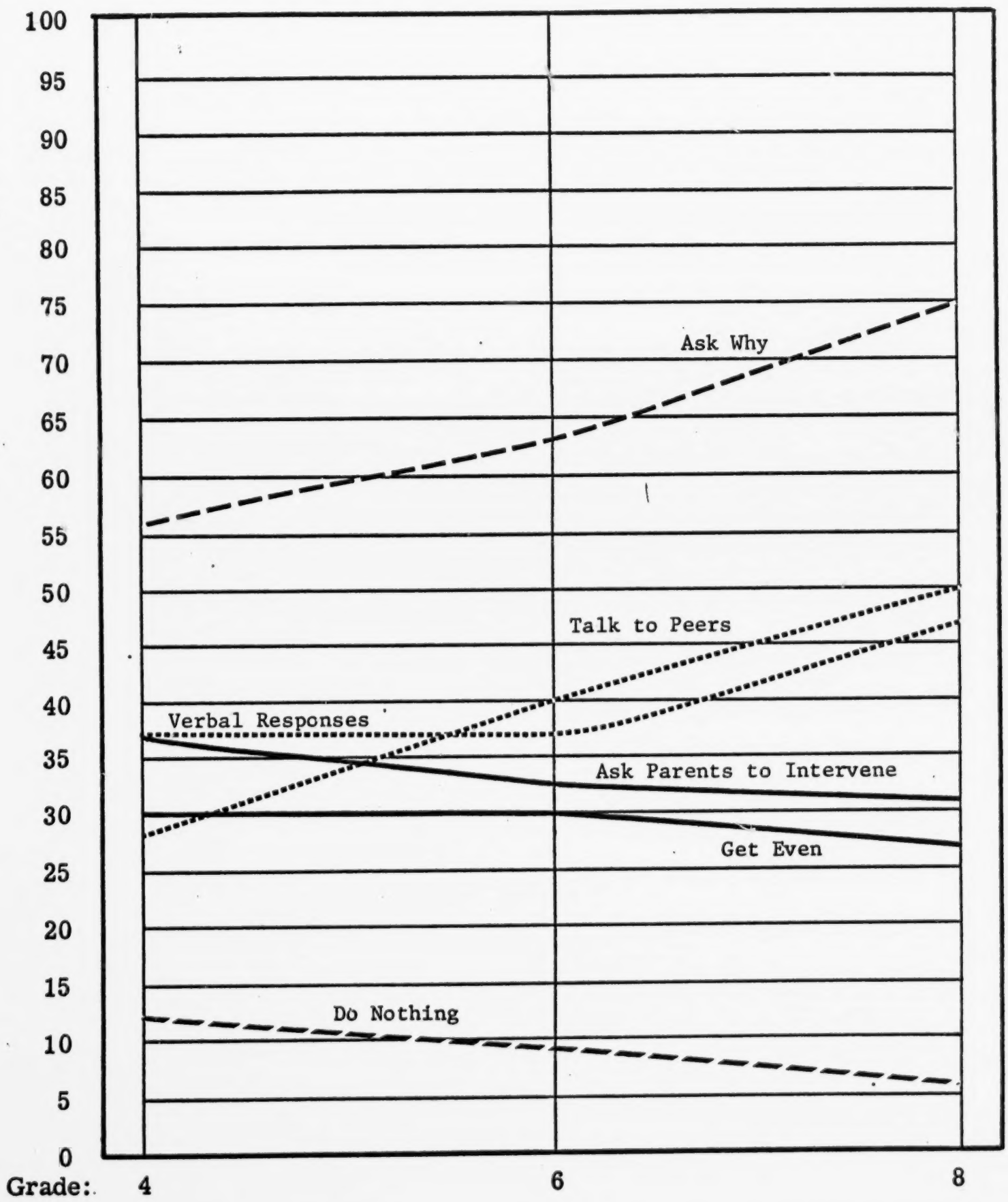
TABLE 1-44

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY FOR FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES), BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (PERCENTAGE OF "YES" RESPONSES) (DENMARK)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
	4	6	8	4		6		8				4		6		8			
				L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
Do nothing (Resp. Alt. 1)	12	9	6	10	14	9	9	7	5	9	9	15	9	10	8	7	5	11	7
Ask why (Resp. Alt. 2)	56	64	76	64	49	74	54	78	73	72	59	58	55	59	68	74	78	63	67
Verbal response (Resp. Alt. 3-6)	37	37	47	43	30	41	33	52	41	45	35	34	39	34	40	43	50	37	43
Talk to peers (Resp. Alt. 7-8)	28	41	51	23	32	39	42	45	56	36	43	26	29	39	43	54	47	40	40
Ask parents to intervene (Resp. Alt. 9-10)	37	33	31	39	36	39	27	32	30	36	31	38	36	32	35	31	31	34	34
Get even (Resp. Alt. 11)	30	30	27	35	26	35	26	32	21	34	25	22	39	27	34	25	28	25	34

Note. Item: "If your father (mother, teacher, a policeman, the government of Denmark) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?" Response Alternatives: (1) "I would do nothing and tell no one (I'd keep it to myself)." (2) "I would ask him (her, them) why." (3) "I would tell him (her, them) he was unfair." (4) "I would tell him (her, them) not to do it again." (5) "I would show him (her, them) my anger." (6) "I would tell other teachers (policeman) that this teacher (policeman) was unfair." (7) "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it." (8) "I would talk to my friends about it." (9) "I would ask my mother (father) or other adult relatives to stop him (her, them) from doing it again." (10) "I would ask my parents or other adult relatives to talk to him (her, them)." (11) "I would get even with or get back at him (her, them)."

FIGURE 1-14
COMPARISON OF ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE
IN RESPONSE TO UNJUST USE OF AUTHORITY, BY GRADE
(DENMARK)



Item: If (figure) did something to you that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?

TABLE 1-45

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY FOR FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES), BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES (Index Labels)	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS		
Do Nothing	4	.60	.49	.71	.76	.44	0-5	Sex, Grade
	6	.44	.44	.44	.49	.39		
	8	.32	.36	.27	.36	.27		
	Total		.43	.47	.54	.37		
Ask Why	4	2.25	2.55	1.96	2.30	2.20	0-4	Grade, SES
	6	2.54	2.92	2.16	2.35	2.73		
	8	3.02	3.12	2.93	2.94	3.11		
	Total		2.86	2.35	2.53	2.68		
Verbal Response	4	6.22	7.34	5.11	5.82	6.63	0-17	SES, Grade Sex
	6	6.28	7.02	5.55	5.78	6.78		
	8	7.91	8.84	6.99	7.35	8.48		
	Total		7.73	5.88	6.32	7.30		
Talk to Peers	4	2.77	2.34	3.20	2.64	2.90	0-10	SES, Grade
	6	4.05	3.93	4.17	3.85	4.26		
	8	5.05	4.49	5.61	5.39	4.71		
	Total		3.59	4.33	3.96	3.95		

TABLE 1-45 (CONTINUED)

RESPONCE CATEGORIES (Index Labels)	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Ask Parents to Intervene	4	1.86	1.94	1.78	1.89	1.82	0-5	SES
	6	1.65	1.93	1.37	1.58	1.73		
	8	1.55	1.61	1.50	1.56	1.55		
	Total		1.82	1.55	1.68	1.70		
Get Even	4	1.52	1.73	1.31	1.12	1.93	0-5	Sex, SES
	6	1.51	1.73	1.30	1.33	1.70		
	8	1.34	1.62	1.07	1.27	1.41		
	Total		1.69	1.23	1.24	1.68		

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives comprising each response category across five figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, government).

b. Variations in Reactions to Injustice as a Function of the Identity of Authority Figures

Table 1-46 presents the percentages of children choosing each of the six behavior alternatives in response to injustice by different authority sources. Our data show that choice of the alternative "Do nothing" is more pronounced, over all grades, in the face of injustice from "other authority" (i.e., policeman and government) than from parents and the teacher. This finding suggests that, in many children's view, opposition to decisions or commands of distant powerful authority figures and systems, such as the government, is rather unrealistic.

Over all grades, the reactions "Ask why" and "Verbal responses" were chosen more frequently in response to injustice from parents, the nearest authority figures, than in reaction to teacher's or other non-family authorities' unjust commands. By contrast, the other three alternatives--"Talk to peers," "Ask parents to intervene," and "Get even"--were chosen more frequently in response to injustice from the teacher than against the other non-family authorities and parents. This pattern also occurs over all grades. Concerning "Get even," our data indicate that children, especially the older ones, realize the senselessness of attempting to retaliate against authority figures which are probably perceived as distant and powerful, such as the government and the police. It may also be that the children's contact with these systems and figures is so limited that vengeful approaches to their injustice are rather theoretical.

Of the patterns here summarized, indicating children's preferences of actions to be taken against the injustice of authority figures grouped as parents, teacher, and other authority, the most interesting finding is the great number of active responses that children say they would give when confronted with injustice by the teacher. At all ages, the teacher appeared to be the adult about whom one first and foremost would talk to peers, ask parents to intervene (although not marked among the oldest group), and have the strongest wishes to seek revenge. In the children's world, the teacher is an important authority figure, and the daily confrontation with him may have a considerable impact on the socialization process. In that light the methods selected for dealing with classroom injustice are particularly interesting.

The analysis of variance by figure groupings further clarified the analysis by "total authority." Remarkable

differences by age, social status, and sex appeared for all six actions, as shown in Tables 1-47 through 1-52. The significant decline with grade which was noted for the "Do nothing" alternative in the "total authority" analysis was primarily due to the response pattern concerning parents and teacher. A supplementary picture appears for the "Verbal responses" category where a significant increase with grade was found for parents and teacher but not for other authority (see Table 1-49). This seems to indicate that passive attitudes toward adults' injustices and avoidance of verbal protests is most persistent as far as distant authority figures and systems are concerned.

For the two other response categories where significant differences by grade appeared on the analysis by "total authority," namely for "Ask why" and "Talk to peers," the pattern was consistent; for all three groupings of authority figures and systems the frequencies of these reactions increased with grade (see Tables 1-48 and 1-50). The generality of these trends across all figure groupings probably reflects a growing need in maturing children for rational communication with the adults and for solidarity with the peer group.

Within the children's world, "Ask parents to intervene" is commonly regarded as a rather questionable kind of reaction toward unjust adult acts or commands. However, it seems noteworthy that the generally shown reduction of this reaction, by grade, is significant only for the teacher (see Table 1-51). Just concerning that authority figure, older children often become very reluctant to appeal to their parents when some conflicts or problems occur.

Finally, for the "Get even" option a significant decline with grade was apparent only for other authority (see Table 1-52); it is not clear whether this finding indicates children's growing sense of unreasonableness of wishing to get even with distant authority figures and systems, or the oldest children's sense of their actual powerlessness vis-à-vis unjust commands of powerful authorities who are out of any kind of control on their part.

The analysis by figure groupings also showed that the SES differences on the "Ask why," "Verbal responses," and "Get even" indices for total authority were primarily due to the fact that more low status than high status children cited these types of responses in reaction to injustices from the teacher and other non-family authorities. No significant differences by social status were

apparent in the frequencies of citing these responses in reaction to parents' injustices. However, SES differences in the frequency of children who would "Ask parents to intervene" were significant in response to injustice from parents and the teacher, but not for the other non-family authorities; more low status children than high status children appeared to appeal to one of the parents to intervene when the other parent makes unjust commands or to both parents when the injustice to be faced comes from the teacher. However, with respect to "Talk to peers," the SES difference was significant for all figure groupings; this type of response was more frequent among high status than low status children, whatever the source of injustice. It seems interesting that this marked tendency to use peers as confidants and seek counsel from them occurs also in response to parents' injustices. The question may be raised whether this pattern expresses a kind of covert aggression, but our data do not allow an exhaustive exploration of this hypothesis.

Concerning the three response categories (i.e., "Do nothing," "Verbal responses," and "Get even") for which the analysis by total authority indicated significant differences by sex, it is remarkable that this effect was due primarily to sex differences in the frequencies of citing these responses in reaction to injustice from non-family and non-school authorities. The girls' higher scores for "Do nothing" in the face of unjust pronouncements of the policeman and the government seem to express a certain passivity, or the girls may, in all, be really disinterested in coping with these figures and systems.

Boys in the Danish research group showed a much stronger tendency than the girls to oppose injustice from the policeman and the government through verbal protests and vengeful wishes; similar tendencies occurred also in response to teacher's injustice but in this case the sex differences were not significant.

A more detailed analysis of the component parts of the index for "Verbal responses" further clarifies the sampling variations already mentioned for that index (see Table 1-53). Of the four response alternatives comprising the index, the frequencies of "Tell the figure he was unfair," and "Show the figure anger" increased with age for all three figure groupings; no clear pattern of increase with grade was apparent, however, for either parents or the teacher or other non-family authorities in the frequencies of "Tell the figure not to do it again" and "Tell other authority figures." The SES differences noted for the index (with more low status than high status

children citing verbal protests in response to teachers' and other non-family authorities' injustices) were confirmed for all four types of verbal responses. Finally, the sex differences (with more boys than girls maintaining that they would verbally protest against injustice from the policeman and the government) were also confirmed for all four individual alternatives comprising the index. However, the sex differences varied in magnitude, being much less marked on the "Show anger" alternative than on the other three types of verbal reactions.

Some noteworthy discrepancies were also found in the frequencies with which "Talk to siblings" and "Talk to friends" appeared to be used with parents vs. non-family authority figures. Parental injustice elicits reports substantially less often to friends than to brothers and sisters, and this is the case for all age groups. On the other hand, injustice from non-family authorities is reported primarily to friends, and the through pattern of differences by age for the "Talk to peers" category is mainly due to the considerable increase of the frequency with which talking to friends takes place. The different patterns for the two components within the "Talk to peers" response category indicate that the children feel solidarity with their family and want to be loyal toward their parents, even when the latter make unjust commands. This attitude seems to be present in children of both sexes and both SES groups.

Relationships between reactions to injustice and other variables of the study. The intercorrelations among the frequencies with which children cited each action category in response to injustice from parents, the teacher, and "other authority" were all positive and, with very few exceptions, significant. The finding suggests that the methods with which children think they would face injustice from authority figures were general rather than figure-specific. In other words, children who tend to face parental injustice with verbal protests, reports to peers, or revengeful behavior are very likely to use these methods also when dealing with unjust pronouncements of the teacher and/or of other non-family authorities. These associations were somewhat weaker for "Do nothing" and "Ask parents to intervene." (see Table 1-54).

In view of this finding, it seems useful to inquire about the antecedents of children's choices of methods of coping with injustice from authority figures in general. The relationships summarized in Table 1-55 reveal to what extent these choices are influenced by children's estimates of the various characteristics of authority

figures. Data show that the types of actions whose frequency was most consistently influenced by children's perception of and attitudestoward authority figures were "Verbal responses" and the "Get even" option. These methods of coping with injustice were in negative association with a high regard for all characteristics of authority figures. However, the relationship was clearly more consistently significant with children's perception of the figures as likable, willing to help, providing fair rules, and inducing guilt over noncompliance with their rules and expectations than with children's regard for the figures' power to punish and punitive behavior. There was a clear tendency for children affectively attached to figures and those who experience guilt over noncompliance with their rules and expectations to avoid both verbal protests and revengeful wishes or behavior when dealing with actions or pronouncements of authority figures that they consider as unfair. Also, children who have confidence in the authority figures' willingness to help and the fairness of their rules appear very likely to avoid revengeful reactions when dealing with their unjust actions or commands.

There appears also a certain tendency for children who have a high regard for the figures' punitive power and/or experience guilt over noncompliance with their rules to face injustice on their part by talking to peers about it. Finally, the "Do nothing" reaction showed only weak relationships with children's estimates about both the positive and the negative dimensions of authority figures.

Relationship between reactions to injustice and peer ratings of classroom behavior. The three most interesting response categories in Table 1-56 are "Verbal responses," "Get even," and "Ask why," and the most interesting authority figure in that connection is the teacher. Concerning the age groups, no remarkable differences are found in terms of number of significant correlations obtained.

Children who chose the more active or even aggressive responses to adults' injustices, namely, "Verbal responses" and "Get even" reactions, are highly likely to have a reputation for noncompliance with both the teacher and their peers. This pattern was quite naturally very marked when the authority figure in question was the teacher. Nominations for negative behavior were in significant positive correspondence with the choice of the "Get even" response in the face of injustice from the teacher for 11 of the 12 sex-grade groups.

Similar tendencies, although not so marked as those found for "Get even" and "Verbal responses," were also apparent for the "Ask why" alternative, especially in connection to the teacher.

Summary. Over all grades, the alternative "Do nothing" was chosen more often in the face of injustice from "other authority" than from parents and the teacher whereas the reactions "Ask why" and "Verbal responses" were chosen more frequently in response to injustice from parents than in reaction to teacher's or other non-family authorities' unjust commands. Over all grades, "Talk to peers," "Ask parents to intervene," and "Get even" were chosen more frequently in response to the teacher's than to parents' and other authorities' unjust pronouncements.

Passive attitudes and avoidance of verbal protests appeared to persist with age in response to injustices from distant authority figures and systems. A significant decline with grade for the "Get even" option was apparent only for non-family and non-school authorities; this may indicate the oldest children's sense of their powerlessness vis-à-vis unjust commands of powerful and distant authorities. For all three groupings of authority figures and systems, the frequencies of "Ask why" and "Talk to peers" increased significantly with grade, probably reflecting a growing need in maturing children for rational communication with the adults and for solidarity with the peer group.

Only with respect to "Talk to peers" was the SES difference significant for all figure groupings; this type of response was more frequent among high status than low status children, whatever the source of injustice. For the other response alternatives, where a significant SES difference appeared for "total authority," such a difference did not hold for all three groupings of figures and systems. The overall significant differences by sex for "Do nothing," "Verbal responses," and "Get even" were primarily due to sex differences in the frequencies of citing these responses in reaction to injustice from non-family and non-school authorities.

Correlational data suggested that the children's methods of facing injustice from authority figures were general rather than figure-specific. A clear tendency was found for children affectively attached to figures, and those who experience guilt over noncompliance with their rules and expectations, to avoid both verbal protests and revengeful wishes when dealing with unfair actions of authority figures. Children with a high

regard for the figures' punitive power and/or guilt over noncompliance with their rules seemed likely to face injustice on their part by talking to peers about it.

Children who chose the more active or even aggressive responses, especially toward the teacher, were found to have a reputation for noncompliance in the classroom, both toward the teacher and their peers.

TABLE 1-46

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, GROUPED AS PARENTS, TEACHER AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(PERCENTAGE OF "YES" RESPONSES)
(DENMARK)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
	4	6	8	4		6		8				4		6		8			
				L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
DO NOTHING																			
Parents	9	5	3	8	10	5	6	4	2	6	6	12	7	6	6	2	4	6	6
Teacher	9	4	3	6	12	3	4	4	2	5	6	12	6	5	2	4	2	7	4
Other Authority	17	15	12	14	20	16	14	12	11	14	15	21	13	17	13	15	9	18	11
ASK WHY																			
Parents	65	76	84	66	63	83	69	81	86	76	72	66	62	72	80	84	83	74	79
Teacher	49	49	67	61	36	63	35	75	58	66	43	49	48	44	54	61	72	52	58
Other Authority	48	53	69	62	34	63	44	75	64	67	47	48	48	47	60	65	74	53	61
VERBAL RESPONSE																			
Parents	41	43	59	42	39	49	44	62	55	51	46	39	42	44	49	59	59	68	50
Teacher	35	35	45	43	27	40	30	52	38	45	42	32	38	32	37	43	47	33	42
Other Authority	34	30	37	44	24	35	24	43	31	41	26	31	37	25	34	30	44	29	38
TALK TO PEERS																			
Parents	25	32	42	21	28	32	32	34	49	29	36	24	26	31	33	48	36	34	32
Teacher	37	55	61	33	40	50	58	56	66	46	55	35	38	56	54	66	57	52	50
Other Authority	26	42	54	21	32	40	44	50	58	37	44	24	28	38	47	55	54	39	43

TABLE 1-46 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
	4	6	8	4		6		8				4		6		8			
				L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE																			
Parents	36	34	32	36	37	40	27	38	27	38	30	39	34	34	34	32	33	35	34
Teacher	47	43	32	57	50	29	45	38	35	35	36	48	46	40	45	31	32	40	41
Other Authority	33	28	30	32	33	32	24	28	30	31	29	32	34	25	30	30	28	29	31
GET EVEN																			
Parents	26	28	29	50	27	36	21	34	25	31	24	22	30	25	32	31	28	26	30
Teacher	41	45	40	49	33	49	42	48	31	48	35	29	53	44	47	38	41	37	47
Other Authority	30	25	18	38	22	27	24	23	13	29	20	20	40	20	30	14	22	18	31

Note. Item: "If ...(figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"
Response alternatives: See list in Table 1-44 footnote.

TABLE 1-47

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "DO NOTHING" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER , AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(DENMARK)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTALS BY SEX TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.18	.19	.11	.15	.26	.15	.20	.23	.13	0-2	Grade(lin.)
	6	.10	.12	.09	.10	.10	.15	.12	.11	.12		
	8	.06	.06	.11	.08	.00	.06	.03	.03	.08		
	Total				.11			.12	.12	.11		
Teacher	4	.09	.06	.06	.06	.17	.07	.12	.12	.06	0-1	Grade(lin.)
	6	.04	.06	.00	.03	.04	.04	.04	.05	.02		
	8	.03	.05.	.04	.04	.04	.00	.02	.04	.02		
	Total				.05			.06	.07	.04		
Other Authority	4	.34	.36	.20	.28	.48	.30	.39	.42	.25	0-2	Sex
	6	.29	.33	.29	.31	.33	.21	.27	.33	.25		
	8	.23	.34	.13	.24	.24	.21	.22	.29	.17		
	Total				.27			.29	.35	.22		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative "I would do nothing and tell no one (I'd keep it to myself)" for Parents (Father, Mother), Teacher, Other Authority (Policeman, Government).

TABLE 1-48

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "ASK WHY" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER , AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTALS BY SEX TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	1.29	1.40	1.24	1.32	1.26	1.25	1.25	1.33	1.24	0-2	Grade(lin.)
	6	1.52	1.58	1.73	1.66	1.31	1.44	1.37	1.44	1.59		
	8	1.67	1.63	1.62	1.62	1.73	1.69	1.71	1.68	1.65		
	Total				1.53			1.45	1.48	1.58		
Teacher	4	.49	.59	.63	.61	.40	.33	.36	.49	.48	0-1	SES, Grade
	6	.49	.60	.66	.63	.28	.42	.35	.44	.54		(lin.)
	8	.67	.72	.79	.75	.51	.65	.58	.61	.72		
	Total				.66			.43	.52	.58		
Other Authority	4	.48	.60	.64	.62	.36	.33	.34	.48	.48	0-1	SES, Grade
	6	.53	.57	.70	.63	.38	.50	.44	.47	.60		(lin.)
	8	.69	.75	.74	.75	.55	.73	.64	.65	.74		
	Total				.67			.47	.53	.61		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative "I would ask why ," for Parents (Father, Mother), Teacher, Other Authority (Policeman).

TABLE 1-49

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "VERBAL RESPONSES" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(DENMARK)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	2.46	2.65	2.43	2.54	2.09	2.66	2.37	2.37	2.54	0-6	Grade(lin.)
	6	2.80	2.88	3.02	2.95	2.44	2.88	2.66	2.66	2.95		
	8	3.53	3.56	3.91	3.74	3.51	3.12	3.32	3.54	3.52		
	Total				3.08			2.78	2.86	3.00		
Teacher	4	1.40	1.62	1.80	1.71	.97	1.21	1.09	1.29	1.50	0-4	SES, Grade (lin.)
	6	1.39	1.54	1.66	1.60	1.04	1.32	1.18	1.29	1.49		
	8	1.79	1.98	2.13	2.06	1.44	1.62	1.53	1.71	1.87		
	Total				1.79			1.27	1.43	1.62		
Other Authority	4	2.37	2.99	3.19	3.09	1.33	1.97	1.65	2.16	2.58	0-7	Sex, SES
	6	2.09	2.33	2.61	2.47	1.33	2.08	1.71	1.83	2.35		
	8	2.59	2.30	3.79	3.04	1.91	2.38	2.15	2.10	3.08		
	Total				2.87			1.83	2.03	2.67		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives: 1. "I would tell (figure) he (she, they) was (were) unfair," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government). 2. "I would tell (figure) not to do it again," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government). 3. "I would show (figure) my anger," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government). 4. "I would tell other teachers or the principal (or other policeman) that this teacher (or this policeman) was unfair," for teacher and other authority (policeman).

TABLE 1-50

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "TALK TO PEERS" IN REACTION TO INJUSTCE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER , AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTALS BY SEX TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.99	.86	.84	.85	1.05	1.21	1.13	.96	1.03	0-4	SES, Grade
	6	1.28	1.23	1.38	1.30	1.25	1.26	1.26	1.24	1.32		(lin.)
	8	1.66	1.61	1.13	1.37	2.18	1.73	1.96	1.90	1.43		
	Total				1.17			1.45	1.36	1.26		
Teacher	4	.73	.59	.72	.66	.81	.79	.80	.70	.75	0-2	SES, Grade
	6	1.09	.98	1.05	1.01	1.25	1.08	1.17	1.11	1.07		(lin.)
	8	1.22	1.27	.98	1.12	1.35	1.30	1.32	1.31	1.14		
	Total				.93			1.10	1.04	.99		
Other Authority	4	1.05	.76	.90	.83	1.21	1.33	1.27	.98	1.12	0-4	SES, Grade
	6	1.68	1.48	1.75	1.62	1.51	1.99	1.75	1.50	1.87		(lin.)
	8	2.17	2.11	1.89	2.00	2.27	2.40	2.33	2.19	2.14		
	Total				1.48			1.78	1.56	1.71		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it," and "I would talk to my friends about it," for parents (mother, father), teacher, and other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 1-51

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER , AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.73	.91	.53	.72	.66	.82	.74	.78	.67	0-2	SES
	6	.67	.87	.73	.80	.47	.61	.54	.67	.67		
	8	.65	.69	.81	.75	.58	.51	.54	.63	.66		
	Total				.76			.61	.70	.67		
Teacher	4	.47	.62	.52	.57	.34	.41	.38	.48	.46	0-1	SES, Grade (lin.)
	6	.43	.52	.48	.50	.29	.42	.35	.40	.45		
	8	.32	.28	.30	.29	.35	.35	.35	.31	.32		
	Total				.45			.36	.40	.41		
Other Authority	4	.66	.69	.61	.65	.57	.75	.66	.63	.68	0-2	None
	6	.55	.63	.63	.63	.38	.58	.48	.50	.60		
	8	.59	.55	.60	.57	.67	.54	.61	.61	.57		
	Total				.62			.58	.58	.62		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative: "I would ask my mother (father) or other adult relatives to stop him (her) from doing it again," for parents (father, mother), and "I would ask my parents or other adult relatives to talk to (figure)," for teacher and other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 1-52

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "GET EVEN" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER , AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX DENMARK)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.52	.53	.46	.49	.34	.74	.54	.44	.60	0-2	None
	6	.56	.63	.79	.71	.35	.49	.42	.49	.64		
	8	.58	.61	.74	.68	.62	.36	.49	.61	.55		
	Total				.62			.48	.51	.60		
Teacher	4	.41	.41	.57	.49	.17	.49	.33	.29	.53	0-1	SES
	6	.45	.46	.52	.49	.42	.42	.42	.44	.47		
	8	.40	.42	.53	.48	.35	.28	.31	.38	.41		
	Total				.48			.35	.37	.47		
Other Authority	4	.60	.62	.89	.75	.17	.70	.44	.39	.80	0-2	SES, Grade (lin.)
	6	.50	.45	.63	.54	.36	.57	.47	.40	.60		
	8	.36	.33	.60	.46	.22	.31	.26	.27	.45		Sex
	Total				.58			.39	.36	.62		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative, "I would get even with or get back at (figure)," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 1-53

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES TO VARIOUS TYPES OF VERBAL REACTIONS TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (DENMARK)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TELL FIGURE HE WAS UNFAIR					TELL FIGURE NOT TO DO IT AGAIN					SHOW THE FIGURE MY ANGER					TELL OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURE				
		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX	
			L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B
Parents	4	45	44	46	43	47	43	49	36	44	42	39	41	38	36	43					
	6	58	59	58	54	63	32	38	26	28	36	53	53	52	54	52					
	8	78	82	75	77	79	40	47	33	36	44	63	67	60	68	59					
	Total	60	62	60	58	63	38	45	32	36	41	52	54	50	53	51					
Teacher	4	41	50	33	36	46	37	46	27	36	37	41	47	35	39	43	23	30	15	20	26
	6	45	52	38	42	48	23	29	16	19	26	53	56	50	57	50	20	24	16	12	27
	8	64	75	53	59	69	35	45	26	33	38	58	63	53	62	55	24	27	21	18	29
	Total	50	59	41	46	54	32	40	23	29	34	51	55	46	53	49	22	27	17	17	27
Other Authority	4	36	46	26	32	40	37	49	25	37	37	33	43	24	32	35	26	35	17	18	33
	6	39	43	35	34	44	26	33	20	20	32	33	37	28	31	35	17	23	11	13	20
	8	53	61	45	45	61	30	38	22	21	39	40	43	36	35	44	18	25	11	10	26
	Total	43	50	35	37	48	31	40	22	26	36	35	41	29	33	38	20	28	13	14	26

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"

TABLE 1-54

INTERCORRELATIONS OF FREQUENCIES OF ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE BY PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

CATEGORIES OF RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS											
	PARENTS						TEACHER					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT		GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
DO NOTHING												
Teacher	.51	.43	.51	.33	.35	.56						
Other Authority	.54	.46	.35	.12	.27	.36	.58	.45	.26	.33	.51	.10
ASK WHY												
Teacher	.41	.43	.36	.21	.31	.49						
Other Authority	.45	.26	.36	.28	.30	.52	.40	.46	.51	.53	.46	.46
VERBAL RESPONSES												
Teacher	.71	.61	.45	.42	.45	.41						
Other Authority	.59	.57	.38	.25	.44	.40	.79	.69	.63	.64	.40	.47
TALK TO PEERS												
Teacher	.64	.44	.67	.59	.65	.57						
Other Authority	.72	.55	.64	.50	.68	.46	.63	.59	.60	.63	.71	.61
ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE												
Teacher	.43	.23	.44	.23	.17	.26						
Other Authority	.39	.32	.34	.22	.23	.34	.40	.24	.33	.35	.47	.38
GET EVEN												
Teacher	.69	.48	.43	.48	.54	.48						
Other Authority	.69	.55	.44	.44	.33	.36	.71	.66	.54	.51	.44	.45

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 1-55

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY FIGURES AND THEIR CHOICES OF METHODS OF FACING AUTHORITY FIGURES' INJUSTICES, ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(DENMARK)

FEATURES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE						TOTAL NUMBER OF CORREL.	
	DO NOTHING	ASK WHY	VERBAL RESPONSES	TALK TO PEERS	ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE	GET EVEN	SIGNIF.	POSSIBLE
Willing to Help		2	4	1*/1		13	1*/20	324
Likable	2*/3	1*/3	14	4	1*/3	20	4*/47	324
Rules Fair			3	2*		12	2*/15	324
Guilt	1*	2	17	4*/1	1*/3	24	6*/47	324
Power to Punish	2	1*/1	2	3*/2	3	7	4*/17	324
Inevit. of Punishment	3	3*	2*/2			2	5*/7	324
Total Signif. Correl.	3*/8	5*/8	2*/42	10*/8	2*/9	0*/78		
Total Possible Correl.	324	324	324	324	324	324		

Note. Number of possible correlations for each cell comprises 54 coefficients computed for three groupings of authority figures (parents, teacher, other authority) across six sampling divisions (two sex groups by three grade levels) (3X3X6).
*Indicates positive relationship.

TABLE 1-56 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
TALK TO PEERS									
Parents	4	-.04	.06	-.10	-.03	.14	.10	.14	.06
	6	.09	-.11	-.08	-.16	.05	.19*	.17	.15
	8	.32*	.04	-.02	-.06	-.09	.06	.04	.04
Teacher	4	.04	.05	.02	.00	.04	.17	-.01	.12
	6	.03	-.11	-.15	-.10	.06	.06	.26*	.05
	8	.13	.16	-.07	.01	-.01	-.01	.03	-.05
Other Authority	4	-.03	.09	-.03	.09	.00	.16	-.02	.07
	6	.05	-.08	-.06	-.09	.02	.14	.15	.09
	8	.20*	.15	-.02	-.05	-.08	.06	.00	.02
ASK PARENTS TO TALK OR STOP									
Parents	4	-.23*	.08	-.23*	.04	.13	.04	.15	.05
	6	-.02	-.13	-.05	-.15	-.05	.17	-.04	.15
	8	.12	-.06	-.12	-.25*	.06	-.03	.04	.07
Teacher	4	-.15	-.10	-.17	-.05	.00	.12	.12	.17
	6	-.23*	-.10	-.25*	-.09	-.03	.18	.05	.08
	8	.09	.02	.03	-.09	-.15	.16	.03	.10
Other Authority	4	-.05	.01	-.08	.04	.04	.11	.03	.06
	6	.05	-.12	-.01	-.12	-.04	.11	-.10	.03
	8	.13	-.03	-.02	-.03	-.02	.11	.10	.13
GET EVEN									
Parents	4	-.11	-.22*	-.13	-.26*	.07	.11	.13	.12
	6	-.13	-.13	-.21*	-.11	.08	.18	.17	.16
	8	.03	-.09	-.11	-.21*	.10	.13	.15	.20*
Teacher	4	-.20*	-.07	-.24*	-.15	.23*	.29*	.31*	.25*
	6	-.18	-.28*	-.23*	-.30*	.23*	.32*	.32*	.31*
	8	-.03	-.12	-.27*	-.23*	.24*	.14	.25*	.20*
Other Authority	4	-.23*	-.14	-.30*	-.17	.24*	.35*	.30*	.26*
	6	-.07	-.28*	-.07	-.24*	.10	.25*	.16	.20*
	8	-.03	-.08	-.15	-.15	.04	.00	.06	-.02

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 1-56

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CATEGORIES OF RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
DO NOTHING									
Parents	4	.07	-.07	.10	.05	-.08	-.10	-.04	-.15
	6	.08	-.04	.14	-.02	-.16	-.02	-.12	-.01
	8	-.08	-.03	.10	.03	-.07	.06	-.12	.05
Teacher	4	.14	.03	.15	.13	.07	-.10	.02	-.14
	6	.09	.06	.16	.03	-.18	-.14	-.16	-.11
	8	.14	-.11	.19*	-.10	-.10	.10	-.17	.09
Other Authority	4	.07	.02	.16	.06	-.08	-.12	-.12	-.18
	6	-.06	.13	.04	.16	.09	-.17	-.01	-.14
	8	-.10	-.07	.10	.09	.21*	.01	.01	-.01
ASK WHY									
Parents	4	-.21*	.17	-.18	.13	-.04	-.12	-.01	-.13
	6	-.07	.03	-.06	-.03	-.02	.00	-.02	.03
	8	.10	-.07	.00	-.27*	.00	.05	.03	.13
Teacher	4	-.09	.05	-.08	-.05	.07	.24*	.10	.24*
	6	-.18	-.11	-.20*	-.16	.17	.12	.06	.08
	8	-.27*	-.01	-.25*	-.23*	.20*	.08	.20*	.12
Other Authority	4	-.16	.00	-.16	-.07	.23*	.16	.28*	.23*
	6	-.10	-.10	-.07	-.14	.07	.17	-.01	.13
	8	-.12	-.14	-.16	-.22*	-.01	.16	.04	.17
VERBAL RESPONSE									
Parents	4	-.12	.09	-.16	.02	.14	.09	.18	.07
	6	-.08	-.08	-.15	-.19*	.09	.26*	.12	.28*
	8	-.06	-.13	-.21*	-.26*	.04	.10	.11	.12
Teacher	4	-.23*	-.06	-.29*	-.12	.20*	.19*	.26*	.20*
	6	-.24*	-.19*	-.28*	-.27*	.26*	.32*	.26*	.25*
	8	-.25*	-.12	-.33*	-.19*	.20*	.17	.20*	.24*
Other Authority	4	-.22*	-.13	-.28*	-.13	-.28*	.30*	.39*	.27*
	6	-.08	-.17	-.07	-.20*	.08	.26*	.05	.15
	8	.02	-.09	-.07	-.18	.03	.01	.04	.06

B5. Involvement and Participation in Authority Systems

"From egoist to citizen" might be the title of a study describing the end points of the socialization process. A person who has obtained full rights as a citizen is expected to participate in the affairs of the adult society. The child may participate in decision-making activities within several systems and obtain decisive experiences as a member of a series of groups. This section presents data about the child's perception of himself as a member of some authority systems and of his involvement in these systems.

a. Participation in the Political System

In considering the political socialization of children it seems most relevant to examine the subjective aspect of their involvement in the political system, i.e., the extent to which they are interested in political affairs and have a sense of political efficacy. As overt political behavior is usually not expected from children, and they are not allowed to vote, it is not very probable that overt action of one sort or another shall often occur.

Political interest and efficacy. Tables 1-57 and 1-58 present the means on political interest and political efficacy, respectively, by grade, social status, and sex. The first pattern worthy of comment is the different level of means for the two items; the scores for political interest were much higher than those for political efficacy. This may be due, at least partly, to the wording of the items used (see Tables 1-57 and 1-58, footnotes).

Political interest showed significant differences by all three sampling variables; data in Table 1-57 indicate that it increased with age, and across all grades was higher for the high SES group and for boys than for their counterparts. The SES trends correspond to the findings of other studies on children's interest in political affairs (Hess and Torney, 1967). It is remarkable that for the Danish sample the difference by social status increases with age. A possible explanation of this pattern may be that the oldest children are able to perceive whether or not their parents are interested in political affairs and that a stronger interest among the parents in higher status homes reinforces the children's interest in these matters.

Boys are more interested in politics than are girls; it is noticeable that the sex difference also is minimal at grade four but increases considerably with age. A possible explanation, although a simple one, may be that most politicians are men and that boys, therefore, more easily identify themselves with these figures than do girls.

As shown in Table 1-58, no significant effects by grade, social status, or sex were found for political efficacy. However, a tendency to higher scores for the children from the higher status group is worth mentioning, and so is the difference by sex for the oldest group, where the boys have expressed more positive views regarding their families' capacity to affect political decisions.

Relationships between measures of political interest and efficacy and dimensions of children's images of authority figures. The distribution of significant correlations among these sets of variables by sex across all grades is shown in Table 1-63. Both political interest and political efficacy were more systematically related to children's high regard for the positive dimensions of authority figures (i.e., willingness to help, justice of rules, and liking) than to their regard for the figures' punitive characteristics (i.e., power to punish and inevitability of punishment). Of all measures of children's orientations toward authority the one denoting internalization of norms (i.e., the measure of guilt over rule-breaking) showed the strongest relationship with political interest and political efficacy. This relationship was most marked for the boys, a not unexpected finding, since boys expressed significantly higher political interest than did the girls.

These findings are not surprising. A person who feels that authority figures, especially those related to the political system, are fair and helpful, and who therefore feels guilt when breaking their rules, is more liable to be affectively attached to the system and to be interested in its affairs. It is also likely that a person with such attitudes will be inclined to think that officials of the system are concerned about his or his family's opinions and feelings. Children who feel that their families have little or no influence on the management of affairs of their society are likely to see authority figures as difficult to deal with, not fair, and tend to distrust them.

Relationships between peer ratings of classroom behavior and measures of political interest and political efficacy. One obtains a mixed picture when inspecting the correlations between peer ratings of classroom behavior and the children's reported political interest and efficacy (see Table 1-62). Regarding political interest, there appears a rather strong relationship between being politically interested and showing positive behavior both toward peers and the teacher. The relationship was significant for boys at grades four and six, and for girls at grades six and eight. At grade eight, some contradictory tendencies appear, as political interest is positively correlated with compliant behavior, especially for girls, but for the boys it is also positively correlated with noncompliant behavior. If we concentrate on the oldest boys, i.e., the group that expressed the strongest political interest, we may conclude that children with such an interest may appear as extremists in terms of classroom behavior, both in the positive and negative direction.

Political efficacy appeared to be related with school behavior only for the eighth graders; belief in the political efficacy of the family correlated positively with cooperative behavior toward the teacher. The explanation may be that children who feel that their families are politically efficacious are more likely to have positive feelings toward authority figures. However, this association does not allow that sense of political efficacy in itself is an important determinant of the type of classroom behavior rated by the peers.

Political activity. The items dealing with political socialization also inquired about children's participation in political activities. The inquiry included activities ranging from passive forms of political behavior, such as reading newspapers or following T.V. programs about political matters, and talking with parents about politics, to more active kinds of expression of political opinion, such as demonstrating preferences for candidates or ideas, and giving direct help to a certain party and/or candidate. The index scores summarizing the frequency of involvement in all types of political activities are shown in Table 1-59. The percentages of "Yes" responses to each type of political activity are presented in Table 1-60.

Data show that only a modest part of the Danish sample expressed personal involvement in political activities (see Table 1-59). The more passive forms of political behavior were reported by considerably more children than the more active ones (see Table 1-60). In

Denmark, the latter kind of actions are not expected from children, and it is remarkable that the proportion of older children reporting involvement in advanced forms of political behavior was about the same as that of the youngest children.

The index for political activity shows significant effects by all three sampling variables (see Table 1-59). The increase with age was mainly due to the increase of the percentages of children ascertaining involvement in the more passive types of actions. The frequency of reading newspapers and following political programs on T.V., for instance, was almost doubled from grade four to eight (see Table 1-60).

Across all grades involvement in political activities was reported more frequently by high status than by low status children, and more by boys than by girls. The differences by SES and sex were most marked for the oldest children; also, sex and SES differences were most pronounced for the two most frequent types of political activities (i.e., reading and talking about political matters; see Table 1-60).

Relationships between political activity and dimensions of children's images of authority figures. The number of significant correlations among the two sets of variables (see Table 1-63) was rather small. Involvement in political activities did not appear to be significantly associated with children's estimates about the various features of authority figures. The only indication worth mentioning is that perception of the figures as helpful, likable, and fair, and guilt over violation of their rules tended to be positively associated with children's tendency to engage in political activities. There was practically no association between political activity and regard for the figures' punitive characteristics. On the basis of these data it seems justified to say that political activity does not seem to be regarded as an act of defiance toward non-family authority figures.

Relationships between political activity and peer ratings of classroom behavior. As shown in Table 1-62, only for eighth grade girls was the relationship between political activity and peer ratings of classroom behavior significant. Personal involvement in political activities appeared to be more likely for girls enjoying a reputation of being cooperative with both their peers and the teacher. The relationship discussed here may, to a certain extent, support the previosly mentioned indication that political activity does not seem to be regarded as denoting defiance toward authority figures.

Before leaving the area concerned with participation in the political system, we can note that a rather strong relationship exists between political interest and political activity (see Table 1-61). The strength of the relationship increases through the grades. On the other hand, the relationship between these two measures of political socialization and the third one--political efficacy--was comparatively weak.

This pattern suggests that the aspects of children's concepts about the political life of the community, which were tapped by the measure of efficacy used in this study, were unrelated to those assessed by the other two measures. Or it may be that we have illustrated that an individual may perceive himself as interested and active within this sphere of community life without really feeling that his interest and activities are of any use, since his family and he himself have no influence upon the decision-makers at the top, i.e., the government and parliament. If the latter interpretation is plausible, one can see a dangerous perspective for the relationship between young citizens in a democracy and the people who run it.

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON POLITICAL INTEREST, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	2.07	2.15	2.00	2.06	1.96	2.18	2.08	2.06	2.08
SIX	2.39	2.21	2.44	2.31	2.07	2.86	2.47	2.14	2.68
EIGHT	2.84	2.25	2.89	2.52	2.69	3.37	3.11	2.45	3.20
TOTALS				2.28			2.58	2.21	2.64

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS ; GRADE, SES, SEX, SEX BY GRADE. ITEM : "HOW MUCH ARE YOU INTERESTED IN READING OR TALKING ABOUT OUR COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE WHO RUN IT ? FOR EXAMPLE, HOW MUCH DO YOU CARE ABOUT WHAT THEY DO AND HOW OUR COUNTRY IS RUN?" ITEM SCALE ; 1 - NOT AT ALL ; 6 - VERY, VERY MUCH

TABLE 1 - 58

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON FEELINGS OF POLITICAL EFFICACY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	1.88	1.90	1.77	1.83	1.90	2.00	1.95	1.90	1.87
SIX	1.85	1.80	1.73	1.77	1.90	1.93	1.92	1.85	1.84
EIGHT	1.89	1.81	1.94	1.86	1.79	1.99	1.91	1.80	1.97
TOTALS				1.82			1.92	1.85	1.89

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS : NONE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: " COULD YOUR FAMILY HAVE ANY PART IN WHAT HAPPENS IN OUR COUNTRY AND HOW IT IS RUN?"AND "DO THE PEOPLE WHO RUN OUR COUNTRY CARE WHAT YOUR FAMILY THINKS?" ITEM SCALE : 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL ; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH

TABLE 1 - 59

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	0.71	0.62	0.61	0.61	0.74	0.95	0.85	0.67	0.76
SIX	0.97	0.96	0.98	0.97	0.82	1.11	0.97	0.90	1.05
EIGHT	1.23	0.75	1.45	1.05	1.09	1.59	1.39	0.91	1.54
TOTALS				0.85			1.08	0.82	1.10

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS ; GRADE, SES, SEX. INDEX ; NO. OF "YES" RESPONSES FOR 4 ITEMS : "I HAVE READ, TALKED, WORN A BUTTON, DONE OTHER THINGS." INDEX SCALE : 0 - 4

TABLE 1-60

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES CITING VARIOUS TYPES OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (DENMARK)

TYPES OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Read Newspapers	4	31	27	35	27	36
	6	43	45	41	37	49
	8	57	52	62	44	70
	Total		41	46	36	52
Talk with Parents	4	32	22	41	35	29
	6	44	39	50	44	44
	8	52	49	54	43	60
	Total		37	48	41	44
Political Activity	4	7	7	7	3	10
	6	4	7	1	2	6
	8	7	4	9	2	11
	Total		6	6	2	9
Advanced Pol. Activ.	4	4	6	2	3	4
	6	6	8	5	7	6
	8	8	4	12	4	12
	Total		6	6	5	7

TABLE 1-61

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THREE MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION	GRADE FOUR GIRLS	GRADE FOUR BOYS	GRADE SIX GIRLS	GRADE SIX BOYS	GRADE EIGHT GIRLS	GRADE EIGHT BOYS
			Political Activity			
Political Interest	.29*	.43*	.40*	.59*	.55*	.55*
Political Efficacy	.15	.09	-.04	.14	.21*	.16
			Political Efficacy			
Political Interest	.14	.10	.03	.11	.18	.09

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 1-62

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (DENMARK)

MEASURES OF SOCIALIZATION	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS
Political Efficacy	4	-.01	-.13	.00	-.01	-.07	.04	-.13	-.01
	6	.14	-.02	.12	-.08	-.06	.06	-.01	.11
	8	.05	.15	.21*	.26*	-.07	.00	-.09	-.09
Political Interest	4	-.14	.22*	-.17	.21*	.03	-.05	.09	-.07
	6	.29*	.24*	.20*	.32*	.08	-.15	.00	-.14
	8	.21*	.18	.28*	.09	.00	.23*	-.05	.18
Political Activity	4	-.09	-.11	-.09	-.07	.15	.16	.02	.18
	6	.05	.13	-.06	.12	.07	.01	.11	.04
	8	.32*	.16	.27*	-.02	-.10	.13	-.20*	.13

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 1-63

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN THREE MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES BY SEX ACROSS ALL GRADES (DENMARK)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Wants to Help									
Father	1		1				1	1	2
Mother	1		1				1		1
Teacher	1		1	1		1	1	1	2
Prime Minister		1*	1*	1		1			
Policeman	1	1	2					1	1
Relig. Leader	1	2	3				1		1
Total Signif. Correl.	5	1*/3	1*/8	2	0	2	4	3	7
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36
Likable									
Father		1	1	1		1		1	1
Mother	1		1		1	1	1		1
Teacher	2	1	3	1		1	1	1	2
Policeman	1	1	2	1	1	2		1	1
Prime Minister	2		2	1		1	1		1
Total Signif. Correl.	6	3	9	4	2	6	3	3	6
Total Possible Correl.	15	15	30	15	15	30	15	15	30

TABLE 1-63 (CONTINUED)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION: POLITICAL INTEREST GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	POLITICAL EFFICACY GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	POLITICAL ACTIVITY GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Rules Fair									
Father	1	1	2						
Mother	2	1	3				1		1
Teacher	1	1	2				1	1	2
Government		1	1						
Policeman	1		1						
City				1	1	2			
Total Signif. Correl.	5	4	9	1	1	2	2	1	3
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36
Guilt									
Father	1	2	3					1	1
Mother	1	2	3	1	1	2	1	1	2
Teacher	1	1	2		1	1			
Religion	1	3	4		1	1	1		1
Government									
City	1	2	3		1	1	1	1	2
Policeman	1	1	2	1	1	2			
Total Signif. Correl.	6	11	17	2	5	7	3	3	6
Total Possible Correl.	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42

TABLE 1-63 (CONTINUED)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION: POLITICAL INTEREST GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	POLITICAL EFFICACY GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	POLITICAL ACTIVITY GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Power to Punish									
Father	1		1				1		1
Mother	1		1				1*/1		1*/1
Teacher									
Policeman	1*		1*				1	1*	1*/1
Prime Minister				1		1			
Judge				1*		1*			
Relig. Leader		1	1						
Total Signif. Correl.	1*/2	1	1*/3	1*/1		1*/1	1*/3	1*	2*/3
Total Possible Correl	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42
Inevitability of Punishment									
Father	1		1				1*		1*
Mother									
Teacher									
City Government	1		1	1		1			
Policeman				1		1			
Total Signif. Correl.	2		2	2		2	1*		1*
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36

Note. *Indicates negative correlation.

b. Participation in Family and Classroom Decision-making

If one wants to elucidate how children think they are involved in authority systems and whether they think it is possible for them to participate in decision-making activities within such systems, one should inquire about involvement in decision-making processes in institutions close to the children, such as the home and school. One could put the question in this way: to what extent do children feel that they have an effect upon the decision-making activities within their family circle and in the school, and what are the relationships between feelings of efficacy in the nearer systems and in the more distant one, the political system? It seems reasonable to assume that the experiences of participation in decision-making at home and school may be important antecedents of political interest and activity, and also important antecedents of a sense of political efficacy.

The questions used to assess the child's sense of participation in family and classroom decision-making are cited in Tables 1-64 and 1-65. Data show that Danish children perceived themselves as participating to almost the same extent in decision-making at school as at home. The scores concerning participation in making family decisions increased significantly with grade, while the scores concerning participation in decision-making in the classroom remained constant with grade.

For both questions the scores showed significant differences by social status, with children from the higher social group having the higher means. For family decisions the SES difference was most marked for the youngest children, whereas for classroom decisions the SES difference was at its highest for the oldest age group.

A significant difference by sex affected the scores concerning participation in decision-making in the classroom; across all grades the boys gave more positive responses than the girls. This difference by sex is not very marked for the two oldest age groups. Considering all the differences described (i.e., by grade, SES, and sex), one finds that the subgroup with the highest sense of participation in the making of family decisions is that of the oldest girls from middle class families, whereas the most active subgroup, when the question is about classroom decisions is that of the youngest boys, also from middle class families (see Tables 1-64 and 1-65). Our data do not allow the exploration of whether or not these subjective assessments really correspond to everyday life situations at home and at school.

When one compares the patterns concerning children's sense of participation in family decision-making with their responses concerning rule-making and rule-enforcing in the family (see Sections B2 b and B2 d), one finds that the two sets of data are congruent. The frequency of children believing that rule-making in their families is a democratic process involving all its members increases with age; this belief was also more frequent among high status children and girls; the same trends were found for the perceived participation in family decision-making.

Correlates of the child's sense of participation in decision-making processes in the family and the classroom. As shown in Table 1-66 the relationship between sense of participation in decision-making in the family and the classroom is rather close; four of the six correlations across grade-sex groups were significant. The correspondence was most marked for the oldest children. However, there is little correspondence between children's decision-making role at home and their sense of political effectiveness of their families; for none of the six subgroups were the correlations significant. The relationship between sense of participation in classroom decision-making and political efficacy is also weak, since only one of the six correlations is significant. However, children's involvement in political activities is in rather close correspondance with their sense of personal efficacy, both at home and at school (see Table 1-66); this was true especially for the older groups. The relationship between political interest and sense of personal efficacy was rather weak as far as participation in family decision-making is concerned, but noticeable as far as personal efficacy at school is concerned; again the correlations were significant for the older groups.

Correlations between peer ratings of behavior and measures of sense of personal efficacy in decision-making in the family and classroom. The most striking pattern in the data shown in Table 1-67 is the close and consistent relationship between girls' positive behavior toward peers and their sense of personal efficacy both at home and at school. The same tendency, although not so consistent across the grades, was also apparent for the girls' positive behavior toward the teacher. It seems reasonable to assume that for girls a sense of personal efficacy induces positive attitudes toward all the members of the classroom group and encourages cooperative behavior.

For boys the picture is somewhat mixed. When feeling efficacious at home and at school, boys do not

necessarily show compliant behavior. On the contrary, there appears a tendency for the oldest boys with a strong sense of personal efficacy at school to show non-compliant behavior in the classroom, primarily toward the teacher, but also to a certain extent toward their peers. These different patterns for girls and boys may indicate that the two sexes perceive classroom decision-making in different ways. Some of the older boys may feel that they are effective in classroom decision-making when they rebel against the teacher and show noncooperative behavior toward peers. It might be of essential interest to get this point further analyzed by detailed interviews with boys and girls about the processes of classroom decision-making.

Summary. Children's political interest appeared to increase significantly with age; it was most marked for the higher social group and for boys. Responses indicating children's sense of political efficacy yielded much lower mean scores than did the measure of political interest; no significant effects by the main sampling variables were found for efficacy. Of all the measures indicating children's orientations toward authority figures, guilt over rule-breaking was most consistently associated with the measures of political interest and efficacy. In all, these two measures of political socialization were more systematically related to the positive dimensions of the non-family authority figures than to their punitive characteristics. The pattern was more marked for boys than for girls.

For the older children in the Danish sample, a rather strong relationship was found between being politically interested and positive classroom behavior, both toward peers and teacher. The data also indicated that older boys with a marked political interest may appear as extremists in their classroom behavior, both in the negative and positive direction (noncompliant and compliant). For the oldest boys, classroom behavior was also related to their beliefs about the family's political efficacy; this subgroup was more liable to show cooperative behavior, especially toward the teacher. However, it is not clear whether sense of political efficacy is in itself an important determinant of classroom behavior.

Only a modest part of the Danish children appeared to be personally involved in political activities, even the most passive ones, e.g., reading newspapers and talking politics with parents. The significant effects by all three main variables were not unexpected; they indicate that children become politically more active as they grow older, and, across all grades, high status children

and boys are more active than low status children and girls.

The index of political activity was not substantially related to measures of children's images of authority figures. For the oldest girls, personal involvement in political matters goes together with positive behavior at school, both toward peers and the teacher.

The relationship between political interest and political activity was rather strong, increasing through the grades, and was most marked for the boys. However, the relationship between these two measures and political efficacy was comparatively weaker, indicating that the latter measure concerns special aspects of the children's conception of the political life of the community.

The Danish children perceived themselves as participating to almost the same extent in decision-making at school and at home. As they grew older they appeared to feel that they participated more often in family decision-making, which was not the case for classroom situations. Children from the higher social group had a significantly stronger feeling of being involved in decision-making at home and at school than had their peers from the lower status group. Boys appeared to feel more efficacious than girls as far as participation in making classroom decisions is concerned. No difference by sex was found for family decisions.

The relationship between participation in decision-making in the family and the classroom was quite close. Children's sense of personal effectiveness at home and at school showed little correspondence with their sense of political effectiveness of the family, but a quite strong relationship with their tendency to get involved in political activities.

For the girls, cooperative behavior in the classroom was positively associated with a sense of personal efficacy. In contrast, boys, especially the older ones, with a strong sense of personal efficacy at school, tended to show noncompliant behavior in the classroom. These different patterns for girls and boys may indicate that the two sexes perceive participation in classroom decision-making in different ways.

TABLE 1-64

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING IN THE HOME BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTAL BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	3.31	3.15	3.10	3.13	3.56	3.43	3.50	3.35	3.27
Six	3.55	3.32	3.39	3.36	3.90	3.57	3.74	3.61	3.48
Eight	3.79	3.74	3.61	3.67	3.96	3.83	3.90	3.85	3.72
Totals				3.39			3.71	3.61	3.49

Note. Significant Effects: SES by grade. Item: "How often do you help make the decisions in your family?" Item scale: 1 - Never, 6 - Always.

TABLE 1 - 65

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING IN THE CLASSROOM, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.59	3.32	3.68	3.53	3.11	4.17	3.68	3.22	3.88
SIX	3.42	3.18	3.46	3.28	3.56	3.55	3.56	3.34	3.51
EIGHT	3.52	3.20	3.07	3.14	3.62	3.97	3.82	3.40	3.64
TOTALS				3.34			3.69	3.33	3.69

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES, SEX. ITEM: "HOW OFTEN DO YOU HELP MAKE THE DECISIONS IN YOUR CLASSROOM?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 1-66

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG VARIOUS MEASURES OF INVOLVEMENT IN AUTHORITY SYSTEMS, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(DENMARK)

MEASURES OF PARTICIPATION IN AUTHORITY SYSTEMS	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
			Family Decision-Making			
Classroom Decision-Making	.17	.24*	.22*	.15	.24*	.33*
Political Efficacy	.04	.09	.15	.11	.05	.12
Political Interest	.03	.29*	.18	.10	.18	.07
Political Activity	.18	.26*	.29*	.19*	.36*	.06
			Classroom Decision-Making			
Political Efficacy	-.06	-.01	.04	.06	.25*	.05
Political Interest	-.15	-.01	.18	.20*	.26*	.27*
Political Activity	-.01	.24*	.06	.30*	.24*	.31*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 1-67

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SENSE OF PARTICIPATION IN FAMILY AND CLASSROOM DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE, AND SEX GROUPS
(DENMARK)

SENSE OF PERSONAL PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
In the Family	4	.19*	.09	.17	.16	.04	.01	-.14	.01
	6	.22*	.15	.19*	.11	-.04	.01	.03	-.01
	8	.31*	.12	.06	.01	-.03	.00	-.09	.01
In the Classroom	4	.23*	.01	.24*	.01	.05	.04	-.01	.00
	6	.19*	.20*	.08	.11	.01	-.09	.10	-.08
	8	.39*	.14	.24*	-.12	.11	.21*	-.06	.23*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

C. Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom

Measures of children's behavior in the school were obtained through a sociometric technique, the Peer Nomination Inventory, which contained items describing compliant and noncompliant behavior toward peers and the teacher. The frequencies of Ss nominated by their classroom peers for each type of behavior were summarized in two total scores for compliant and noncompliant behavior, subsequently broken down into four set scores for compliant and noncompliant behavior toward peers and the teacher, respectively.

C1. Compliance and Noncompliance in the Classroom

The total amounts of positive and negative nominations received by children across all grades were almost equal (see Tables 1-68 and 1-69). At grade four there was a small difference, in disfavor of the positive nominations.

Except for the oldest group compliant and cooperative behavior appeared to be displayed in greater amounts toward the teacher than toward peers (see Table 1-68). At all grade levels, but especially at grade eight, the amount of noncompliant behavior directed against the teacher exceeded that against peers (see Table 1-69).

The scores for compliant behavior, in total as well as toward peers and the teacher, differed significantly by social status. The higher SES group received significantly higher scores than the lower SES group (see Table 1-68). The SES difference was especially marked at grade eight. The sixth graders seemed to be the most compliant and cooperative age group; this trait was apparent for both social status groups and on both positive sets of items (see Table 1-68).

There was no significant difference by sex on the total scores of positive behavior. However, girls received higher scores than did boys on positive behavior toward the teacher. This significant sex difference was most marked at grade four and least apparent at grade six (see Table 1-68).

The scores of negative behavior, taken as a total as well as by set (i.e., toward peers and toward the teacher), showed significant differences by sex (see Table 1-69). Noncompliant behavior appeared to be more frequent among

boys than among girls. On peer-to-peer negative behavior the difference by sex was especially marked at grade eight, where the boys' score was nearly twice the corresponding score for girls. For the negative peer-to-teacher items the difference between girls and boys was at its highest at grade four. When the two negative sets are regarded together, fourth grade boys appear to be the most uncooperative.

A social status difference by grade was also noticeable for both negative set scores and for the total negative score. The frequency of noncompliant behavior appeared to increase with age among children from the high status group, whereas the opposite was the case for the low status group. This pattern was most marked on the scores for peer-to-teacher negative behavior.

Although the sex differences were larger and more consistent on the scores for negative behavior, a comparison of the scores received by the two sex groups for both compliant and noncompliant behavior shows that girls, in contrast to boys, obtained many more positive than negative nominations. This is the case for both peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher behavior (see Tables 1-68 and 1-69). This pattern may mean that the girls really <u>are</u> more friendly and sociable than the boys, and that the nominations are therefore in agreement with the real situation in the classroom. However, it may also be that the nominations express what is regarded as more appropriate for girls, i.e., that they are friendly and sociable. Perhaps within the children's world it is felt inappropriate to show that the boys possess such fine features as sociability and cooperativeness, and that they are in good relationships with the teacher, an authority figure.

When the nominations for the two SES groups are compared it appears that the lower status group, totally regarded, has received substantially more negative than positive nominations, whereas for the high status group the opposite was the case. For the low status group, this trend was particularly marked on the peer-to-teacher scores. For the higher status group, the tendency in the opposite direction was especially marked on the peer-to-peer scores. This pattern may indicate that children from the higher social group are really more sociable and cooperative than are children from the other group. However, the differences in the nominations received by each group may also reflect some important differences in the attitudes which children within the two social groups may have toward peers and toward the teacher.

One could raise several questions about the meaning of these data. For instance, do children within the low status group tend to consider it more appropriate to express negative feelings (e.g., be "tough") toward peers, than is the case within the high status group? Do the lower status children regard it as inappropriate (e.g., "childish") to express positive feelings toward the teacher and to behave in a positive way toward this authority figure? Within the higher group, is it, generally speaking, considered as quite appropriate to express positive feelings? One may also ask whether or not children from the higher social group are more inclined and/or more able to verbalize their attitudes. At present, we are not able to give satisfactory answers to these and other related questions. Perhaps the phenomena discussed here will be clarified somewhat if the PNI data also are analyzed in terms of sampling variations on the frequencies of children giving nominations, positive as well as negative. Such an analysis should also be followed by an analysis of the relationships between the frequencies of children giving positive and negative nominations to their peers and their perceptions of and attitudes toward authority figures, especially the teacher.

Relationships between PNI set scores. Correlations between the positive peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher scores were all positive and high for all sampling groups (see Table 1-70). However, a noticeable decline appeared for grade 8, especially for boys from both SES groups. This drop seems to indicate that among the oldest children positive attitudes and behavior toward the peers may not necessarily coexist with compliant behavior toward the teacher. It may also be that, at least for the older boys, compliant behavior toward authority contributes to creating a negative reputation among classmates as far as certain types of contacts with peers are concerned.

The correlations between negative peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher scores were consistently high, indicating that noncompliant and uncooperative behavior is more likely to be generalized from peers to teachers, and vice versa, than is compliant behavior (see Table 1-71).

Correlations between positive and negative scores were all negative, a not unexpected finding, but they show some variations worthy of comment (see Table 1-72). First, correlations between peer-to-teacher positive and negative nominations were generally higher than correlations between the corresponding peer-to-peer nominations. It seems as if personal sympathies and dislikes among classroom peers account for the greater variability of

peer-to-peer nominations. For instance, it is remarkable that for low status girls at grades six and eight there is no relationship at all between nominations for negative and positive peer-to-peer behavior. A possible explanation of this trait may be that eighth grade classes in Denmark are often composed of "newcomer" pupils, since the transition from elementary to high school takes place after grade 7. The emotional ties and other relationships between children in eighth grade may therefore be loose and antagonistic. It seems reasonable to assume that a lack of group cohesion in the newly formed eighth grade classroom groups may be responsible, at least to a certain extent, for the apparent inconsistency of these peer-to-peer nominations.

The magnitude of correlations between positive and negative nominations with respect to peer-to-teacher behavior varied somewhat by grade and social status. With age, the direction of high status children's behavior toward the teacher--as it is expressed by the nominations received--becomes more consistent. This tendency may mean that these children as they grow older perceive their role in relation to the teacher as more stable and with less ambiguity than the younger children do. A similar but not so marked tendency is also found for the lower status children.

From the questionnaire data it was found that the teacher as an authority figure is losing prestige as the children grow older, e.g., they perceive him as less powerful. As this is especially the case for the high status children it seems reasonable to conclude that when the children get a more realistic perception of their teacher they are also able to behave toward him or her with appreciable consistency. If they continue to idealize the authority figure, e.g., by keeping a high regard for his punitiveness (which to a certain extent is the case for the low status children in our sample), then their behavior will probably continue to be unpredictable. The peers will then still perceive them as both compliant and noncompliant toward the teacher.

TABLE 1-68

COMPARISON OF GRADES, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX ON SCORES FOR COMPLIANT BEHAVIOR
(DENMARK)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTALS BY SEX TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Total	4	22.02	21.58	18.17	19.87	29.40	18.95	24.17	25.49	18.56	SES
	6	25.03	23.58	23.25	23.41	26.22	27.07	26.65	24.90	25.16	
	8	22.80	18.98	18.62	18.80	29.24	24.36	26.80	24.11	21.49	
	Total				20.70			25.87	24.83	21.74	
Peer-to-Peer	4	20.26	18.65	17.53	18.09	25.98	18.87	22.43	22.32	18.20	SES
	6	24.07	21.74	23.13	22.43	24.04	27.38	25.71	22.89	25.25	
	8	23.41	18.97	20.00	19.48	28.13	26.56	27.34	23.55	23.28	
	Total				20.00			25.16	22.92	22.24	
Peer-to-Teacher	4	23.80	24.47	18.82	21.65	32.90	19.02	25.96	28.69	18.92	Sex, SES
	6	25.99	25.37	23.30	24.34	28.42	26.85	27.63	26.90	25.08	
	8	22.17	19.00	17.23	18.12	30.33	22.10	26.21	24.66	19.67	
	Total				21.37			26.60	26.75	21.22	

TABLE 1-69

COMPARISON OF GRADES, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX ON SCORES FOR NONCOMPLIANT BEHAVIOR
(DENMARK)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTALS BY SEX TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Total	4	23.15	20.85	32.34	26.59	14.09	25.33	19.71	17.47	28.83	Sex, SES
	6	25.20	21.37	28.41	24.89	22.03	29.00	25.51	21.70	28.71	by Grade
	8	22.39	16.86	24.77	20.81	19.40	28.52	23.96	18.13	26.64	
	Total				24.10			23.06	19.10	28.06	
Peer-to-Peer	4	22.25	19.45	31.36	25.41	14.55	23.66	19.10	17.00	27.51	Sex, SES
	6	23.19	20.41	28.25	24.33	17.74	26.36	22.05	19.07	27.31	by Grade
	8	18.21	12.61	21.28	16.94	13.02	25.95	19.48	12.81	23.61	
	Total				22.23			20.21	16.30	26.14	
Peer-to-Teacher	4	24.06	22.26	33.39	27.82	13.57	27.03	20.30	17.91	30.21	Sex,
	6	27.15	22.33	28.50	25.41	26.25	31.54	28.90	24.29	30.02	SES by Grade
	8	26.40	20.95	28.17	24.56	25.58	30.89	28.24	23.27	29.53	
	Total				25.93			25.81	21.82	29.92	

TABLE 1-70

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMONG RATINGS OF POSITIVE BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

PNI SCORES		TOTAL POSITIVE				PEER TO TEACHER POSITIVE			
SEX		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES	GRADE	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer to peer positive	4	.97	.95	.92	.88	.89	.87	.79	.70
	6	.85	.90	.84	.90	.60	.72	.62	.73
	8	.78	.82	.79	.80	.53	.51	.46	.37
Peer to teacher positive	4	.98	.98	.97	.95				
	6	.93	.95	.94	.96				
	8	.95	.92	.91	.86				

TABLE 1-71

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMONG RATINGS OF NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

PNI SCORES		TOTAL POSITIVE				PEER TO TEACHER POSITIVE			
SEX		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES	GRADE	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer to peer negative	4	.86	.88	.92	.95	.62	.69	.78	.83
	6	.84	.89	.92	.92	.70	.72	.79	.79
	8	.83	.85	.90	.93	.66	.65	.72	.82
Peer to teacher negative	4	.93	.95	.96	.97				
	6	.97	.96	.96	.96				
	8	.97	.95	.95	.97				

TABLE 1-72

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN RATINGS OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (DENMARK)

PNI SCORES / SEX / SES	GRADE	PEER-TO-PEER NEGATIVE GIRLS LOW	GIRLS HIGH	BOYS LOW	BOYS HIGH	PEER-TO-TEACHER NEGATIVE GIRLS LOW	GIRLS HIGH	BOYS LOW	BOYS HIGH	TOTAL NEGATIVE GIRLS LOW	GIRLS HIGH	BOYS LOW	BOYS HIGH
Peer to peer positive	4	-.21	-.27	-.21	-.23	-.39	-.42	-.29	-.34	-.34	-.40	-.26	-.31
	6	.00	-.10	-.49	-.56	-.24	-.21	-.38	-.41	-.16	-.19	-.45	-.50
	8	-.01	-.40	-.25	-.46	-.04	-.53	-.33	-.41	-.03	-.53	-.31	-.46
Peer to teacher positive	4	-.25	-.21	-.26	-.38	-.49	-.48	-.42	-.56	-.42	-.41	-.37	-.51
	6	-.15	-.37	-.52	-.54	-.48	-.66	-.57	-.68	-.38	-.61	-.58	-.66
	8	-.10	-.35	-.35	-.45	-.42	-.66	-.53	-.64	-.33	-.61	-.43	-.60
Total positive	4	-.24	-.24	-.26	-.33	-.47	-.46	-.40	-.49	-.41	-.41	-.35	-.45
	6	-.09	-.29	-.54	-.61	-.41	-.53	-.53	-.64	-.31	-.49	-.57	-.66
	8	-.07	-.41	-.36	-.53	-.30	-.69	-.53	-.63	-.24	-.66	-.49	-.64

C2. Summary of Relationships between Questionnaire Variables and Peer Ratings of Compliant and Noncompliant Classroom Behavior

In Sections B1 to B5 correlational data indicating the direction and strength of relationships between the patterns of children's responses to questionnaire items and peer nomination scores indicating the frequency of their compliant and noncompliant behavior in classroom situations were presented. The correlation coefficients in these matrices were computed by sex within each grade, and they may therefore mask differences by social status in the direction of relationships between questionnaire variables and peer ratings of behavior in the school. Since SES differences were significant on several of the questionnaire variables as well as on the peer nomination scores of positive and negative behavior in the classroom, conclusions about the relationships between these two sets of variables will be tentative and should be regarded with caution.

Compliant behavior toward peers and the teacher appeared to be enhanced by children's perception of authority figures as willing to help, providing fair rules, and likable. Attribution of such positive personal qualifications, especially to the teacher, father, and policeman appeared to encourage cooperative behavior in the classroom, particularly in the two younger age groups. In general, awareness of the authority figures' punitive power did not seem to significantly influence the quality of classroom behavior either with peers or the teacher. However, regard for the friends' power to punish appeared to induce cooperative behavior toward peers. The impact of beliefs in the inevitability of punishment following disobedience of a figure's (or a system's) rules on classroom behavior appeared also to be insignificant. This generalization may, as are many of the conclusions in this summary, be modified when subgroups are regarded. In this case, eighth grade boys who expressed belief in the inevitability of punishment over disobedience of parents' rules showed cooperative behavior in the classroom, both toward peers and teacher. However, such details are not able to affect the main conclusion.

Children's beliefs that the various authority figures are supporting each other showed only weak relationships with classroom behavior, and the subgroups for which remarkable correlation coefficients occurred (younger boys) did not show consistent patterns.

Guilt over rule-violation unknown to others was in stronger and more systematic positive association with perception of authority figures as helpful, likable, and fair than with belief in the figures' punitive characteristics. Further, the positive relationship between compliant behavior in the classroom and children's tendency to experience guilt over rule-violation was more marked than that of the negative association between noncompliant behavior and guilt. Thus, it seems justified to conclude that internalization of norms (as reflected in children's tendency to feel bad over undetected rule violation) as well as cooperative behavior in the school are more likely to be encouraged by children's attachment to authority figures and respect for their moral prestige than by their awareness of the figures' power to punish and their expectations of externally inflicted punishment over noncompliance. Self-blame following detected (and presumably punished) disobedience was in nonconsistent association with classroom behavior, except for the oldest girls for whom positive behavior toward both teacher and peers was in direct correspondence with high frequency of self-blame.

Of all methods that children are likely to use to enforce rules of authority figures upon disobeying peers, "Ask why" and "Tell the offender he is wrong" had the most consistent positive relationships with the measure of guilt. These two alternatives were also found to have the strongest relationships with classroom behavior; children inclined to handle peers' noncompliance by these methods were seen as displaying cooperative behavior, foremost toward the teacher, but also to a certain extent toward peers. This pattern was especially marked for the boys in grade six.

On the other hand, handling peers' noncompliance through attempts to punish the offender as well as doing nothing correlated positively with scores of noncompliant behavior and negatively with scores of compliant behavior. Moreover, children inclined to react to peers' breaking rules in these two opposite ways were quite unlikely to experience feelings of guilt for their own rule violations. In other words, both lack of concern with peers' disobedience and attempts to correct the offenders through direct aggressive action seemed to correspond with lack of internalization of norms and for emotional immaturity.

Generally taken, children's choices of methods of coping with injustice from authority did not show convincing relationships with the perceived characteristics of the figures in question, positive as well as negative.

However, some tendencies of interest were found, for instance that children who regard authority figures as helpful and fair and/or who like them and experience guilt over disobedience of their rules are liable to avoid verbal protests and retaliatory reactions when they think that the actions or commands of authority figures are unjust.

Concerning the relationship between reactions to unjust authority figures and peer nomination scores of classroom behavior, it was found that children who chose the more active or even aggressive methods to deal with injustice tended to display uncooperative behavior toward the teacher as well as toward peers. A similar tendency was found for the more mild "Ask why" alternative. In contrast, children saying that they would do nothing to oppose injustice from authority figures were likely to be regarded as being compliant in the classroom, especially with the teacher.

For all three measures of political socialization, the relationship with the various dimensions of the child's image of authority figures had the same direction; regard for the positive qualifications of authority figures (such as helpful, fair, likable, and guilt-producing) was directly related to political interest and, to a lesser extent, to the other two measures of political socialization. None of the three measures of political socialization appeared to be substantially related to children's opinions regarding the punitive characteristics of authority figures.

Of the three measures of political socialization, political interest was most often in significant association with classroom behavior; the association was positive with cooperative behavior for sixth grade boys, but ambiguous (i.e., positive with both positive and negative nominations) for eighth grade boys.

For the oldest girls, political activity was directly associated with cooperative behavior only for eighth grade girls.

Finally, the measures of children's sense of personal efficacy at home and at school were in close and consistent relationship with classroom behavior for the girls across all grades, while for the older boys a sense of personal efficacy in the classroom was directly associated with noncompliant behavior toward the teacher, and also to a certain extent toward their peers.

D. Summary and Conclusions

Most of the school classes in the greater Copenhagen area are mixed as far as socioeconomic status of family is concerned. None of the 65 classes where the original data were collected was "pure," i.e., solely composed of children from either high status homes or from low status homes. Although we do not know whether the reduced sample on which the analysis was based is fully representative of the metropolitan population in terms of proportions of the two socioeconomic status levels included, we are convinced that just "the mixed classrooms" in the public schools constitute the realistic background for part of the socialization process during our children's school days, a process taking place at school as well as at home.

The leveling of former days' social contrasts in our society is reflected, among other things, in this situation where norms and values from the various social groups meet in the classroom, and where children from different social levels influence each other. It is, therefore, no surprise that significant differences by social status do not occur very often in the Danish part of the study.

In this summary, the data will be combined to provide a picture of the family, the school, and other non-family figures and systems as reflected in children's responses to the various parts of the questionnaire. It is expected that this way of integrating the data will provide sufficient indications about the extent to which children's perception of and attitudes toward parents are transferred to authorities within other and more distant social systems, primarily the school and the state authorities.

Generally taken, children seemed to like their parents and to perceive them as willing to help. There was a strong positive relationship between these two assessments of parents, especially for the older age group. A significant decline with age was found on both liking for parents and perception of them as willing to help, and children from the higher status group expressed more personal regard for their parents and perceived them as more willing to help than did low status children. No significant difference by sex appeared in children's perception of these positive dimensions of parents. Concerning the perceived fairness of parental rules, there also appeared a significant decline with age, but both parents received quite high scores at all grade levels in this respect. High status children and girls tended to have a higher regard

for the fairness of their parents' rules than did low status children and boys.

As to the punitive characteristics of the parents, there was a significant decline with age in their perceived power to punish, paralleled by a declining belief in the inevitability of their punishing disobedience of their rules. In general, the parents were vested with more power to punish than were the other authority figures. No significant differences by social status or by sex were found on the two measures of parents' punitive characteristics but the oldest high status children had a higher regard than their low status peers for their parents' power to punish. A strong positive relationship was found between children's perception of these two dimensions of parents.

Regarding guilt over undetected violation of parents' rules, there appeared a significant decline with age; no decline was found in the frequency of Ss reporting self-punishment for detected (and probably punished) disobedience of parents' rules. No significant difference by social status was found, but older high status children were liable to feel more guilt than their low status age-mates. The girls appeared to feel significantly more intense guilt than did the boys when breaking parents' rules. Generally, disobedience of parents' rules appeared to cause more guilt than did disobedience of the other authority figures' rules.

When parents ma e unjust commands, the passive attitude, i.e., "Do nothing," appeared to be rarely chosen, and choice of this alternative declined significantly with age. Over all grades, children appeared to handle parental injustice most often with asking why and verbal responses; these types of reactions were chosen more often for parents than for the teacher and other non-family authorities when these made unjust commands. The tendency to react in these ways toward parents was strengthened with age. Low status children were often inclined to appeal to one of the parents to intervene when the other parent was unjust, whereas high status children were more likely than low status children to talk to peers about parental injustice. It seems to be most characteristic for low status children and for girls to show their anger toward parents. Children also appeared to feel solidarity with their family and want to be loyal toward their parents, reporting their injustices substantially less often to their friends than to their brothers and sisters.

How does the family function? About rule-making and rule-enforcing within the family, it was found that the

tendency to regard these functions as involving all family members increases with age, and is most marked among high status children and girls. On the other hand, boys seemed to think more often than girls that the probably more authoritarian pattern in which only the father and mother share the rule-making power is functioning in their families, and the boys were also more likely to see the father as the sole rule-maker in the family. It is also notable that low status children more often perceived one of the parents as the sole rule-enforcer than did high status children. Concerning their own participation in family decision-making activities, children appeared to feel that their involvement in such family functions increases as they grow older, which probably means that with age they get an increasing sense of democratic decision-making. This pattern is most marked for high status children and for girls.

However, the family is not functioning in social isolation; children do perceive their parents in relation to other authority figures and make comparisons between parents and authority figures in other systems. Concerning inter-system support for sanctions against noncompliance, the parents were seen as reinforcing each other and also other authority figures. Although no sharp discrimination among non-family authorities as recipients of parental support was found, it is remarkable that the policeman, government, and city as formal systems got high scores in this respect. Boys were significantly more likely to perceive the parents as supporting non-family authorities; further, younger children and high status children across all grades expressed such expectations to a wider extent. In contrast, non-family authority figures were perceived as only weak reinforcers of parents' rules. The younger children and the lower status group were more likely to regard their parents' rules to be reinforced by non-family authorities. As a whole, the older children seemed to perceive the various authority figures' domains in a more differentiated way than did the youngest group.

As to political efficacy of the family, it is remarkable that most of the children expressed little belief in their families' capacity to affect political decisions. High status children and the oldest boys tended to hold somewhat more optimistic views on this matter. Finally, few children thought their parents held rule-making functions in the neighborhood, a tendency which seems to support the conclusion just mentioned.

Turning to the data about the teacher, the central authority figure in the school system, we find many

patterns which are similar to those observed with respect to parents. First, children's responses concerning the positive dimensions of the teacher show the same significant decline with age as for parents. The youngest children had a higher regard for the teacher's willingness to help, and fairness of rules, and reported more liking for him than did the older groups. The drop of the teacher's popularity among the older children was very marked. None of the ratings concerning these dimensions of children's image of the teacher showed significant differences by social status or by sex. On these items the only remarkable deviation from the pattern of responses to parents is represented by the willingness to help item.

The pattern pertaining to children's perception of the punitive power of the teacher corresponded to that for parents; the oldest children perceived their teachers as less powerful than did the younger groups, and a tendency to social status differences by grade was also noted with high status eighth grade children attributing to the teacher more power to punish than did their low status peers. No significant difference by sex was found.

When the question is about inevitability of punishment, the correspondence with the pattern of responses pertaining to parents is not so convincing; the scores for the teacher showed significant effects by all three sampling variables; belief in the inevitability of punishment from the teacher declined with age, and appeared to be stronger among boys and low status children than their counterparts across all grades. The sex and SES differences were most marked for the youngest group.

As to feeling bad when breaking rules, the pattern of responses pertaining to the teacher corresponded remarkably to that pertaining to parents; with age the intensity of these feelings declined, and across all grades was higher for girls than boys. Also, older children from the higher social group seemed to have more difficulties in getting rid of their guilt when breaking teacher's rules than have their peers from the other social group. On the other hand, the likelihood of self-punishment for detected disobedience of the teacher's rules remained also unaffected by age, sex, and SES.

In dealing with the teacher's unjust commands, children generally appeared to prefer the socially more acceptable reactions; i.e., "Ask why" and "Talk to peers;" the frequency of both these types of reactions increased

significantly with age. Talking to peers appeared to be used more often in response to the teacher's than the parents' injustices. The most remarkable difference between parents and the teacher in this respect seemed, however, to be the high frequency with which children across all grades maintained that they would retaliate against an unjust teacher. It seems as if our children are not afraid of choosing not only that way of reacting, but also the more questionable one of asking their parents to intervene, although the frequency of this choice decreases significantly with age. It is foremost the boys who seem likely to choose the more active responses and the vengeful approach, whereas the girls' most aggressive reaction toward their teachers seems to be to show anger.

About participation in classroom decision-making, children of the Danish research group reported that they rather often feel they are efficacious in that respect. This feeling of personal effectiveness was stronger in children from the higher social group and boys than their counterparts across all grades. The difference by social status corresponds to that observed with respect to participation in family decision-making.

Danish children do not seem to perceive the teacher as a powerful authority figure which may excite strong apprehension. It seemed possible for these children to cope with eventual unjust commands from their teachers without feeling much guilt. The finding that liking for the teacher and trust in his helpfulness and fairness of rules declined with age does not exclude that the structure of teacher-pupil relationships in Danish schools is quite democratic. Data regarding children's sense of participation in classroom decision-making seem to support this assertion.

It is not possible to entirely clarify whether the many similarities between children's perception of their parents and their teachers reflect a perception of facts, i.e., that the norms and values they meet at home and at school are the same although these two social systems are independent, or they believe that the values underlying the rules of their parents are being imposed upon the school. If the second supposition is true the schools may be said to be perceived in a state of dependence on the homes' norms and values.

Turning, finally, to the more distant authority figures which in our study are often included in the group "other authority," one meets a variegated picture. One reason for this may be that certain of these figures are

not involved in all sets of items of the questionnaire. Further, the group of other authorities--comprising policeman, Prime Minister, religious leader, and government officials--is in fact a very mixed group.

The findings about this mixed group suggest that some of these distant authorities are felt to be more distant than other figures within that group. Primarily the political systems and their representatives, locally and at a national level, seem to be vague and unclear systems and figures in children's perception. Many of the Danish children were unable to verbalize ideas about rules and laws derived from non-family authorities. Further, many children appeared to be unable to make distinctions between some of the distant authority figures, but have quite obviously expressed standard perceptions about several figures. It also seems to play a role that many children probably have a rather weak background of any kind of contact with some of the distant authority figures, especially the Prime Minister and the city officials, but also the church's representatives.

These factors make it impossible and also unreasonable to present anything else than some rough conclusions about children's perception of "other authorities." First, it should be mentioned that especially for the liking item the gap between children's perception of family and non-family authorities is marked, and this gap is enlarged by children's age. A decline with age in the perceived fairness of other authorities' rules was mainly due to responses pertaining to the policeman.

The perceived punitive power of other authorities declined with age, this decline corresponding to that of all other authority figures and systems. Further feelings of guilt when breaking the rules of these figures were also reduced with age.

The friends' ratings showed no decline with age on either the scale of power to punish or the scales of fairness of rules and guilt.

For "other authorities," as for parents and the teacher, girls expressed a higher regard than boys for these figures' power to punish and more guilt when breaking their rules. As to differences by social status, the tendencies were somewhat contradictory, but it may be mentioned that low status children, compared to their high status peers, tended to hold somewhat stronger beliefs in the inevitability of punishment from other authority figures and systems, and experience less intense feelings of guilt when breaking their rules.

Regarding responses to injustice from non-family and non-school authorities, boys appeared to be less inclined than girls to "Do nothing" and more likely to react to these figures' injustices with active and vengeful approaches. Demonstration of anger was primarily a "boy-reaction" toward these figures and systems.

In conclusion, for the non-family and non-school authority figures, children's perceptions were somewhat unclear and mixed, and so were their reactions toward these authority figures. However, some tendencies were similar to those found for parents and the teacher; for example, regard for all dimensions of authority figures, both positive and punitive, declined as children grew older, and so did the intensity of guilt experienced by children when breaking the rules of all sources of authority. The decline with age of children's guilt feelings toward all figures was more pronounced in the responses of the low status group. Also, the girls' tendency to experience more guilt than boys was apparent for non-family authority figures as for family figures.

The most marked differences between children's responses to "other authorities" and those to parents (and partly also to the teacher) concerned the level of their personal attachment to these figures and their beliefs concerning the likelihood that non-family authorities would support parents in punishing noncompliance with their rules.

It is not possible to determine the extent to which the Danish children's perception of "other authorities" is influenced by their perception of the nearer authority figures, i.e., the parents and partly the teacher. However, since some of the figures and systems comprising the group of "other authorities" are either unknown to the children, or the latter have very weak personal experiences and contact with the former, a good deal of the children's assessments concerning these authorities should be regarded with caution. Some of the marked similarities between children's perceptions of all three groupings of figures--parents, teacher, and other authorities--may be due to the fact that in Denmark authority figures, whether informal, personal, and proximate to the child or holders of formal social roles and more or less distant from the child, have lost a good deal of their power. As mentioned in the introduction, a clear tendency to reduction of authorities' power has appeared during the last 20 to 30 years. This study does not indicate whether this is the case for all authority figures and systems. However, one can see a rather strong tendency among the young to try to express and assert themselves within the system in a socially acceptable way.

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FINAL REPORT

Project No. 2947

Contract No. OE 5-10-219

AUTHORITY, RULES, AND AGGRESSION

A CROSS-NATIONAL STUDY

OF THE SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN INTO COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS

2. GREEK DATA

MARIA D. TENEZAKIS
Stanford University

LEIGH MINTURN
University of Colorado

For the part of the Compliance study conducted in Greece, Dr. Leigh Minturn, Associate Professor of the University of Illinois at the time of the field work, was primarily responsible by virtue of the sub-contract No. 1 under Prime Contract No. OE 5-10-219 signed between the University of Chicago and the University of Illinois.

Dr. Maria D. Tenezakis, Research Associate of the Athenian Institute of Anthropos at the time of the field work, conducted the study.

Dr. George Vassiliou, Director, and Dr. Vasso Vassiliou, Research Director of the Athenian Institute of Anthropos advised for the instruments' adaptation and sampling. They also contributed to the study the social status criteria they had previously developed. A. Lekatsas, H. Katakis and L. Karatsiolis, Research Assistants of the Institute, and F. Rotous and Th. Triandafyllou, Social Workers, especially employed for the project, participated in the various stages of the field work. A. Mitzalis assisted in the interview coding.

The report was written by Dr. Maria D. Tenezakis. Dr. Leigh Minturn edited the first draft. She and Dr. Robert D. Hess read the second draft and provided comments and suggestions.

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A. Introduction

In this study the process of socialization is viewed as accounting for the dynamic outcomes of interactions among members of a society throughout their lives. This view is reflected in both the conceptual background and the design of the study. Such an approach assumes that the structure of norms and sanctions regulating interactions both among adults and between adults and children may not be uniform across all segments of a given society. Furthermore, role-relationships within one social system, the family for example, are assumed to interact with those within other systems such as the school, local community, national and religious groups. It follows that this approach will take into account the impact of social stratification on socialization within national groups. In addition, it may help clarify some world wide similarities in the communal styles of life found within larger, class-structured, industrial and pre-industrial societies.

Reviewing relevant anthropological data, Foster (1962) remarks that the forms of life in traditional rural communities the world around are "astonishingly similar" despite the infinite variability of their cultural contents. Social scientists, moreover, have accumulated empirical data suggesting that the urban lower working classes of industrialized societies may present analogous cross-national similarities. Hess (in press), for example, reviewing current theory and research on the impact of social class on socialization in the U. S. metropolitan society, emphasizes certain common properties of the life conditions of individuals of the lower working class: their comparatively limited economic resources, greater vulnerability to disaster, little experience of power and prestige, restricted range of alternatives of action and thought, and the limited range of experiences that they share with other classes. Despite probable differences in degree, these circumstances do seem strikingly similar to those of individuals belonging to peasant or traditional societies.

One of the most significant consequences of this socializing "climate," seems to be its impact on the individual's perception of himself in relation to his environment--the sense he develops that the world is loaded with dangers, is unpredictable and is not amenable to his understanding or control. Such a perception of the self and the world may account for the life style described as characteristic of peasant communities as well as of urban lower working classes, i.e., the basically

dependent strata of class-structured societies. Many intertwined features of this life style seem to function together as adaptive consequences of the circumstances in which a person lives and as major factors preventing his departure from such a mode of living. These features include the individual's low level of skill and experience in obtaining and processing information, his concomitant tendency to oscillate between gullibility toward and mistrust of the unfamiliar, his tendency to restrict his level of cognitive awareness of his experiential world and his linguistic modes of communication, his tendency to view and structure his human relations in terms of power, and his inclination to rely on kinship- and clanties in dealing with the surrounding world (Bronfenbrenner, 1958; Kohn, 1959; Bernstein, 1961; Foster, 1962; Cohen and Hodges, 1963; Hoffman, 1963; Hess, in press). These introductory remarks are important in considering empirical data on socialization in modern Greece.

This study of attitudinal and behavioral orientations of children toward authority figures and rules was not coupled with a systematic investigation of the values, attitudes and socialization practices of the Ss' parents, teachers and other socializing agents. Therefore, to evaluate the psychological and sociocultural significance of the Greek data, relevant anthropological, sociological, and psychological studies conducted independently in Greece in recent years were consulted.

Several problems have to be faced in selecting studies that may be relevant to the issues in question and in which the characteristics of the groups studied are comparable. For example, since our research group was drawn from an urban setting it remains as yet unclear how far evidence contained in anthropological studies of Greek rural communities (Friedl, 1962; Sanders, 1962; Campbell, 1964) is relevant. It may, of course, be argued that a large part of the urban population of Greece, and of the population of Athens in particular, where the sample of this study was drawn, is formed by villagers who migrated into cities quite recently.* The extent to which the values, attitudes, and socialization practices of people observed in one social setting are preserved over time among those who have moved into a different social setting is a question which warrants further examination. As Friedl (1962) remarks, "The discovery of which of the values and attitudes

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* The extent of this internal migration (urbanization) may be estimated from the fact that between 1928 and 1957 the rural population of the country increased by only 7% while

are shared and the more general question of typicality can be postponed until similar studies are done of rural communities in different regions and of town and urban populations of different occupations and social positions."

The problems posed by socialization in modern Greece become complicated by the fact that, despite apparent changes (especially since World War II) in social stratification, as reflected in the increasing rate of urbanization, the distribution of the population by educational level shows relatively little change. According to official reports, the illiteracy rate in the population 15 years old and over in the 1951 census was 25.9 percent (UNESCO, 1958). Moreover, in a total of 1.3 million students enrolled in 1957-58 at schools of all levels (this amount represents 16 percent of the country's estimated population in that year), enrollment in primary schools accounted for three-fourths of the total while enrollment in institutions of higher education accounted for less than 2 percent. Girls represented 48 percent of the enrollment in primary schools, 39 percent in secondary schools and 25 percent in institutions of higher education (UNESCO, 1961). More recently, Georgas and V. Vassiliou (1967) using a modified probability sampling procedure obtained a sample of Athenians 18 years old and over, whose proportions in terms of age, sex, educational level and income were "compared with census statistics and found to be adequate." In this sample, drawn from the greater Athens area whose population represents 23 percent of the total population of Greece, the distribution by educational level shows 26.5 percent illiterate, 42 percent with primary school education, 23 percent with secondary education, and 8.5 percent with higher education.

These data suggest that urbanization merely contributed to an increase of the proportion of the urban lower working class population. There are, for example, indications that the educational level of villagers migrating into cities is below the national average (Moustaka, 1964).

In today's world, education is regarded as a major correlate of economic growth and social change (Coleman, 1965). In developing or "transitional" societies* changes

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the total urban population increased by 47 percent, and the population of Athens, by 72 percent (Kanellopoulos, 1957-58). A recent study reports that 78% of the migrants from two rural areas had settled either in Athens or in the capital of their district (Moustaka, 1964).

* Societies which have a traditional class of peasants and urban lower and middle classes (Prothro, 1966).

in the distribution of the population by educational level may provide reliable indicators of changes in the social stratification. The statistical figures cited so far do not provide exhaustive information about the proportions of the population which rank on the various levels of the SES ladder either of Greece in general, or of Athens in particular. To obtain such estimates would require efforts which are beyond the scope of this study. However, the available information suggests that the proportion of Greek adults ranking in the upper level of the socio-economic status continuum is still very small compared to the proportion of the population falling in the lower SES levels. This appears to be true for the population of Athens as well as the total population of the country.

A number of authors (Triandis, V. Vassiliou and M. Nassiakou, 1967, 1967a; Triandis and V. Vassiliou, 1967, 1967a; Georgas and V. Vassiliou, 1967) using data obtained from samples selected on the basis of probability sampling procedures have discussed Greek cultural standards or what is often called the "Greek national character." Unfortunately cross-cultural comparisons may easily be confounded by differences in social stratification when the data compared have been obtained from samples representing populations with modally different distributions by SES.

It would be an oversimplification to explain the social stratification of Greece in terms of restricted economic resources of the country acting as the single causal factor.* Social stratification was affected by the particular history of Greece which differs markedly from that of the rest of Europe. Between 1453 and 1821 (a period in which Western Europe witnessed the decline of feudalism, the rise of middle class, the emergence of intellectual creativity and the idealogical and social re-orientations which opened the industrial era) Greek society underwent forced submission to the Ottoman Empire and remained almost completely cut off from the European developments. The Greek state which emerged from the Revolution of 1821 was organized on the basis of Western European models of legislation, administration, public education, etc., most of which were transplanted into Greece with little or

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* It may, however, be useful to mention for the reader's information that in 1961, over eight million Greeks shared a land of 51,182 square miles, only 25 percent of which is arable. The 1961 estimate of the gross national product was 102.67 thousand million drachmas. The official exchange rate in that year was 100 drachmas = 3.33 U. S. dollars (UNESCO, 1966).

no effort to adapt them to the society's needs. Moreover, the new state remained economically and politically dependent on the so-called "protective powers," the European governments which had "guaranteed" the national sovereignty and independence of Greece (Woodhouse, 1968). It seems possible that the long continued dependence of Greece upon other powers after the 1821 Revolution may have allowed the continuation within Greek society of certain values, attitudes, and behavior patterns developed during nearly four centuries of resistance to foreign oppression. These features may indicate the way much of the population still conceives of its social environment.

Family solidarity seems to be associated with factionalism and a tendency of modern Greeks to resist state policies. The two latter but not the former feature are often referred to in Greek histories (e.g., Paparregopoulos, 1903) as typical weaknesses of modern Greeks. Lee-Demetracopoulou (1955) remarks that, for many Greeks, resistance to state policies which are felt as restricting their sense of individual freedom coexists with a readiness to tolerate such restrictions when imposed by the family. Moreover, attachment to the nation as such is not affected by attitudes toward the state government in power. Avoidance of service to the nation in time of threat to its independence is viewed as an act of treason affecting the family itself. Such an act does not merely bring dishonor on all members of the family but exposes them to possible slavery, a concrete and definitely negative expectation for most Greeks.

The barriers that family solidarity may create for the full development of an individual sense of personal rights and personal responsibilities can be easily underestimated, if not completely overlooked, when the environment is sensed as threatening or simply unpredictable. The large scale disasters experienced by almost every new generation of Greeks may account for such feelings. During the last sixty years the overwhelming majority of Greeks was afflicted by the effects of five wars (including the civil war which began immediately after World War II), three major population displacements (in one, refugees from Asia Minor increased the country's population by one fourth), several other catastrophes caused by earthquakes and floods and repeated fluctuations of the country's political structure from constitutional monarchy to dictatorship to formal democracy.

The much criticized distrust by the population of governmental authorities in general and the police in particular is probably related to such sequences of events. The centralization of administrative structure and its effects upon vital internal and foreign policies have also been repeatedly denounced after World War II as fostering both dependency of the population on the central state authority for matters that could be efficiently handled on a local level, and distrust between the population and the administration; the latter has been described as authoritarian and incompetent, and the former as uncooperative (Varvaressos, 1952; Lee-Demetracopoulou, 1955; McNeill, 1957).

Bureaucratic centralization seems to affect the authority of the teacher as well. Experts in the field (e.g., Exarchopoulos, 1945; Kalliafas, 1945) attributed several ills of Greek education to the centralization of its administrative-organizational structure. The rigidity of this structure is apparently associated with the monolithic character of the basic conception of education that the system reflects and strives to serve. In a concise and instructive analysis of the Greek educational system, its origins, and its development Kazamias and Massialas (1965) point out that "In spite of the organizational changes made since 1836, there was [has been] no significant shift in the basic conception of education--what its scope, nature, and function should be or what its contents should include."

The structure of the educational system defines to a large extent the socializing functions of the teacher whose identification with the system seems to be inevitable. As Lee-Demetracopoulou (1955) remarks, "Before the political centralization, there was obedience and lasting loyalty to the school-teacher. Now he represents only the interfering authority of the government and it is an accepted thing that the students should try to circumvent his authority in every way they can, playing tricks on him and otherwise treating him as an enemy, since he is outside of the web of their loyalties." This remark, viewed together with another by the same author, that "Education is perhaps the most prized good in Greece, and above all, professional education" provide a dramatic illustration of the ambivalence which seems to pervade the teacher-pupil relationships in modern Greek schools.

The situation may partly result from the fact that centralization of the educational system tends to reduce the role of the teacher to that of an expert in a field of instruction rather than a group leader. Certainly, expertise in a field of knowledge does not preclude at all the development of harmonious teacher-learner relationships. Unfortunately, most Greek teachers enter their profession insufficiently prepared to keep up with the demands of the role of expert, have very little opportunities for post-graduate training or retraining during the course of their careers, and are offered no effective incentives to undertake such efforts since all formal rewards they can aspire to, i.e., promotion, tenure, and salary increases, are not merely meager but are awarded on the basis of seniority rather than professional merit. The loss of confidence and respect of their pupils which many teachers experience, whether or not enhanced by parental prejudiced views such as those mentioned by Lee-Demetracopoulou, certainly helps aggravate the situation. Such working conditions may foster cynicism, compensatory authoritarianism, and perhaps for some, despair and bitter passivity.

The significance of the Greek orthodox church in maintaining the traditional functioning of the family should not be overlooked. Lee-Demetracopoulou (1955) remarks that many Greeks feel their orthodox denomination as part of their "Greekness." The origin of this association can also be traced to the period of Turkish occupation. The church then played a major role in the passive resistance of the population against the foreign rulers. Local ministers ran clandestine schools, and contributed greatly to the preservation of Greek language and customs and the sense of national identity of the population (Paparregopoulos, 1903). Informal observation suggests that superstitions sustained by some liturgical rituals, presumably more influential among the young and among the illiterate and less educated adults, help maintain the traditional, male-dominated family structure. Such superstitions also permeate maternal attitudes and practices of child rearing (Lee-Demetracopoulou, 1955; Friedl, 1962; Campbell, 1964). Differences among rural and urban lower and middle class mothers in their values and practices of child rearing seem to reflect the degree to which secular knowledge is able to encourage in them skeptical attitudes toward the "evil eye," for example.

That educational level is an important antecedent of differentiations in the functioning of the family is indicated in two recent studies. Using an interview schedule adapted from Sears, Maccoby and Levin (1957), Prothro (1966) compared child rearing practices and beliefs of rural and urban lower and middle class mothers in Greece and Lebanon. He reported that "on almost all items the city working-class families are intermediate between the city middle-class and the peasant families."

Prothro found that in Greece and Lebanon, as in the U. S., middle class mothers are more inclined than their lower class compatriots to describe themselves as permissive with the young child, warm in their treatment of him, and using psychological rather than physical discipline techniques. They also more often expect the child to attend college than do their lower class compatriots. Furthermore, middle class mothers see themselves as more active than their lower class compatriots in making family decisions and as more often consulted by their husbands regarding decisions on financial matters.

Middle class Greek and Lebanese mothers appear, however, to be less permissive toward infants than their lower class compatriots, while American middle class mothers appear to be more permissive with infants than are lower class American mothers. It is on the degree of permissiveness with infants that the pattern of SES differences found in Greece and other transitional societies is at variance with the pattern described by Sears and his colleagues (1957) for American mothers.

Comparing data on family power structure and marital satisfaction between urban Greek and French families, Safilios-Rothschild (1967) also reported data indicating a pattern of Greek social class differences which is at variance with that observed in France and other highly industrialized countries, such as the U. S. and Germany (for which comparable data were available). This investigator found that the domineering authority role of the husband in the Greek family tends to diminish with the elevation of his educational and occupational level. The relationship, however, between the husband's level of income and his authority in the family was not continuous; in Greece, high educational level is not necessarily accompanied by high income. As Safilios-Rothschild stressed, "Education, and particularly college education, plays a very important role in freeing Greek men from the traditional ideology about male dominance so that they are willing to yield some decisions to women and consult them about others." Only a small

group (4%) of these interviewed Greek women who reported satisfaction from their marriage also reported that their husband was dominant in the family decision-making. The large majority of Ss who reported that they were pleased with their marriage (40% of the total sample) were those who either made decisions themselves or were consulted by their husbands about decisions regarded as predominantly joint (i.e., with regard to the number of children and relations with in-laws). It is noteworthy, however, that these women also reported that they do not intervene in their husbands' making decisions regarded as predominantly masculine (i.e., regarding choice of family friends and uses of leisure). Decisions regarding child-rearing and purchase of clothes, furniture and household equipment were found to be predominantly feminine. These data also indicate that in Greek urban families, conjugal role differentiation is still quite clear and without much overlapping, even in the better educated and more liberal and egalitarian homes. That conjugal role-differentiation is even more clear in lower class families and does influence the socializing climate of the family is also suggested by the data reported by Prothro (1966) and by the descriptions of rural Greek families provided by Friedl (1962) and Campbell (1964).

A description of the research group from which the data discussed in this chapter were obtained is presented in Part A of this report. The Ss comprising the Greek research group were selected from 11 public and private schools (21 classroom groups), located in the greater Athens area. Following the research design, classroom groups were sampled from three grade levels, fourth, sixth, and eighth. In the Greek school system eighth grade level corresponds to the second year of high school. The total number of pupils enrolled in the 21 classroom groups tested was 872 (427 girls and 445 boys). The data discussed in this chapter were obtained from 628 of these pupils (305 girls and 323 boys); of those, 328 belonged to lower SES families and 300 to higher SES families. Inclusion of approximately equal numbers of Ss from low and high SES levels permits a study of the effects of position in the social stratification upon children's orientations toward authority and rules.

It may be useful to remember that the Greek data were collected between November 1965 and June 1966, i.e., in the middle of the two-year-long period of political crisis which preceded the military take-over of the country in April 21, 1967. The particular historical circumstances within which this study was conducted may have a bearing upon the data.

B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System

B1. Images of Authority Figures

The child's conception of authority is formed through interaction with individuals holding authority roles. Differences in real and psychological distance between the child and the various authority figures probably influence his perception of them. Variations may also follow from the fact that the child's perception of parents are formed through early and everyday interaction with the same individuals, while his images of the teacher and other non-family authorities are usually the outcome of interactions with varying numbers of individuals holding non-family social roles.

a. Affective Attachment

The extent of the children's affective attachment to various authority figures was inferred from their ratings of the figures' willingness to help and their reports of affection for them.* The relationship between these two sets of items was positive. Correlations ranged from insignificant or low in grade four to consistently significant (but of varying magnitude) in the eighth grade (see Table 2-1).

A comparison of the patterns of mean responses by total grade to these two sets of questions (see Figures 2-1 and 2-2) indicates that the differentiation among parents, teacher, and other non-family authorities was larger at all grade levels on the scale of children's affection for figures than on the scale of their

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* The wording used in the Greek version of the questionnaire for the items inquiring about children's personal liking for authority figures was somewhat different from that of the English version. Literal translation of the wording "Do you like your father (mother, etc.)?" would require use of the Greek expression "Sou aressee...?" which, when used for persons with no specification of the characteristic liked, usually refers to the person's physical appearance. Since these items were used to tap children's affective attachment to various authority figures, the Greek verb "agapo" (to love) was used for parents and "sympatho" (to feel sympathetic, friendly; to be favorably inclined), for the non-family authority figures.

perceived willingness to help. On the former scale, the mean ratings range from highly positive for parents to nearly negative for the policeman and the Prime Minister. However, the mean ratings of the figures' willingness to help are grouped more closely together, particularly at grade four. Also, there is a noticeable tendency for non-family authority figures to receive higher ratings on the "want to help" items than as recipients of children's affection. In addition, there is a substantially greater decline with grade in the ratings of non-family authorities' popularity among children than in the ratings of their perceived willingness to help. In contrast, the level of children's affiliative responses to parents showed very little decline across the three grades, and their confidence in parents' helpfulness rose with age. These findings suggest that there is little or no generalization of children's affection for parents to non-family authorities. In contrast, nurturant qualities tend to be attributed to all authority figures, with no substantial discrimination among them, especially by the younger children. Perhaps, the younger the child is and the more vulnerable he feels in the face of the world of adults the more likely it is that he will compensate this feeling of vulnerability by attributing benign qualities to all authority figures (Hess and Torney, 1965).

With age, the means indicating the perceived helpfulness of authority figures followed different patterns of change. The ratings of parents rose significantly as children grew older. The ratings of the teacher's, the policeman's and the religious leader's willingness to help changed curvilinearly with grade; and, although older children differentiated these figures from their parents, they still perceived them as very helpful. However, the rating of the Prime Minister's willingness to help declined rapidly and considerably with increase in grade. Compared to the other figures, the Prime Minister appeared to inspire less and less confidence in the growing children in his willingness to help when needed.

Responses to these two sets of questions showed no significant differences by the Ss' sex. However, the variable of social status differentiated several of these responses. Low status children, particularly those of grades four and six, were more inclined than their high status peers to report friendly feelings for the policeman and the Prime Minister. For the low status group, the means of affiliative responses to the policeman at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 4.27, 3.85, and 2.60 respectively; the corresponding mean values for the high status children were 3.38, 2.47, 2.99. Means of affiliative responses

to the Prime Minister at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 4.16, 4.08, and 2.44, respectively, for the low status group. The teacher also was less popular among high status than low status children of all grades, particularly among the sixth and eighth graders. For low status children, the means for grades 4, 6, and 8 were 5.46, 5.45, and 4.18, respectively; the corresponding means for high status children were 5.39, 4.41, and 3.25.

The items dealing with willingness to help showed significant social status differences only for the teacher. At grade four, high status children rated the teacher higher than did their low status peers. With age, the high status children's confidence in the helpfulness of the teacher declined. In contrast, as they grew older, low status children demonstrated increasing confidence in their teachers' helpfulness (see Table 2-2). These differences between the development of low and high SES children's perception of the teacher may reflect parental attitudes toward education in general and the teacher in particular. The low educational level of working class parents and their awareness that education is a means for upward mobility probably contribute to their highly positive expectations regarding the role that teachers may play in their children's education. The children themselves, as they grow older, probably become increasingly aware that, for them, the teacher is actually the major (if not the only) dispenser of the knowledge and skills they seek in school. High status parents, on the other hand, for whom the problem of education of their children does not seem to be one of availability but of quality, may be critical of the educational system in general and of individual teachers' educational practices in particular. As they grow older, their children probably become aware of their parents' feelings, even if the parents do not criticize the school system and the teachers in the presence of their children.

Relationship between attachment to figures and classroom behavior. The degree of association between the children's affective attachment to authority figures and peer ratings of their behavior in the classroom may be inferred from the correlational matrix shown in Table 2-3. The number of significant correlations between the two sets of variables is rather small (18 significant coefficients out of a total 120). However, the significant correlations are in the expected direction for all figures except the Prime Minister. In general, children who reported affective attachment to their parents and teachers were likely to be those whom their peers pointed out as cooperative in the classroom toward both

peers and teacher. For the younger children (especially girls) cooperative behavior in the school was associated with affection for parents. For eighth graders attachment to the teacher was negatively associated with peer nomination indices of noncompliance with the standards of the classroom.

The relationship of children's perception of authority figures as helpful to their behavior at school was more often significant for the oldest than for the youngest age group (see Table 2-4). However, the direction of significant correlations was often ambiguous. Perhaps a high regard for the willingness of authority figures to help does not necessarily lead to behavior in accordance with the classroom standards. In particular for older children, a strong confidence in the nurturance of authority figures may denote emotional dependency which can manifest itself in the classroom situation in various forms of compliant as well as noncompliant behavior.

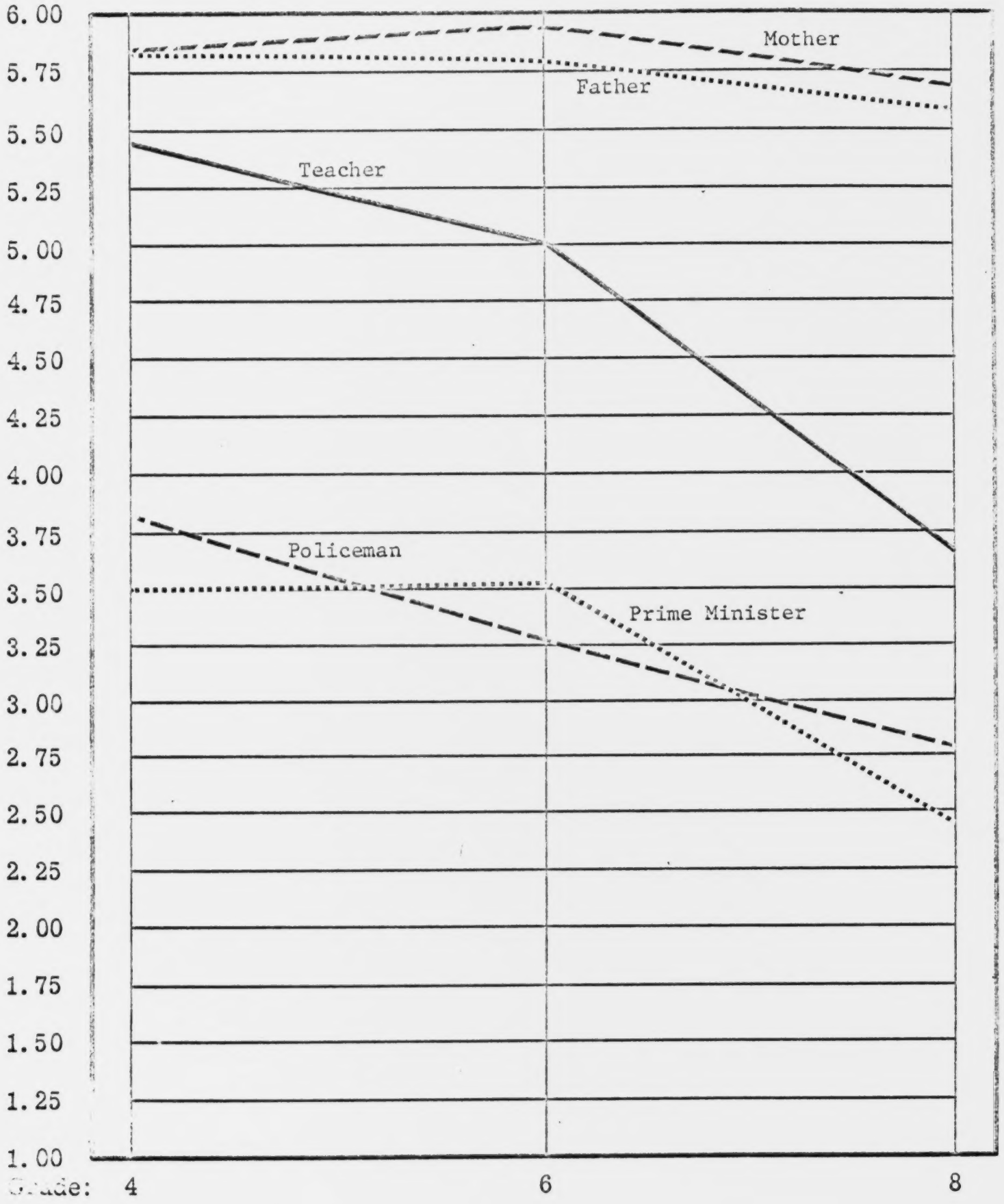
Summary. Greek children of all grade levels distinguished clearly among parents, teacher, and governmental authority figures in their reports of affection for them. Expression of affection for parents remained high with age; for the teacher and governmental authority figures, it declined sharply. No clear distinction between family and non-family authority figures appeared in children's views of the figures' willingness to help. Younger children perceived the father, teacher, and policeman as more helpful than the mother, religious leader, and the Prime Minister. With increasing age, children's regard for both parents' helpfulness rose, while their view of non-family authority figures as helpful declined slightly for the teacher, policeman, and religious leader and substantially for the Prime Minister.

Social status affected only the ratings of non-family figures. The Prime Minister was more popular among low status than high status children, particularly those of grades four and six. The policeman and the teacher received more positive responses from high status than low status younger Ss, in terms of their perceived willingness to help and their popularity. But, while the policeman's ratings--both as helpful and as a recipient of friendly feelings--were maintained at a higher level among high status older Ss than among their low status agemates, the teacher was seen as more helpful and appeared to be more popular among low status than among high status older children. The variable of sex had no significant effect on children's responses to these items.

Younger children rated friends as slightly less helpful than the Prime Minister. Friends' rating remained stable across the three grade levels and showed no significant sex or SES variations.

Although the number of significant correlations between the "liking" items and peer nomination indices of school behavior was rather small, the association was in the expected direction for all figures except the Prime Minister--i.e., positive with compliant behavior and negative with noncompliant behavior. In contrast, the association between children's regard for the figures' helpfulness and their classroom behavior was often in ambiguous direction. Perhaps, the measure of children's views on the figures' nurturance is not a very reliable correlate of the quality of their behavior in the classroom setting.

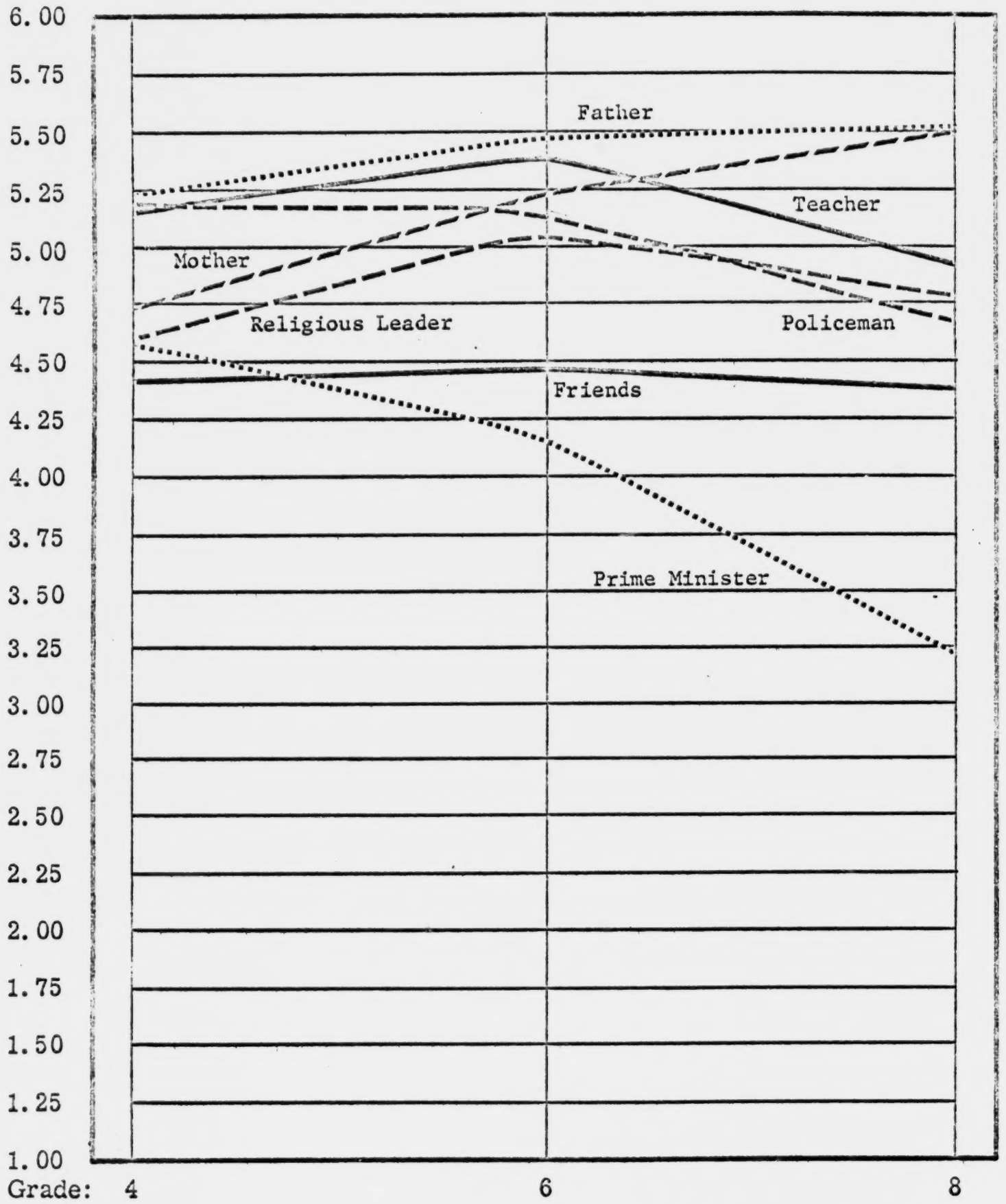
FIGURE 2-1
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT
TO AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE
(GREECE)



Item: Do you like (figure)?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

FIGURE 2-2
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE
(GREECE)



Item: Does (figure) want to help you when you need it?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 2-1

CORRELATION BETWEEN LIKING FOR AUTHORITY FIGURES AND PERCEPTION OF THEM AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (GREECE)

FIGURES	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	.02	.25*	.12	.16	.29*	.54*
Mother	.08	.11	.08	.09	.49*	.28*
Teacher	-.04	.07	.01	.19*	.56*	.22*
Policeman	.22*	.06	.16	.11	.31*	.34*
Prime Minister	.25*	.01	.33*	.52*	.57*	.27*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

TABLE 2 - 2

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF TEACHER AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.14	5.07	4.80	4.94	5.66	5.14	5.37	5.32	4.97
SIX	5.40	5.67	5.31	5.48	5.61	5.10	5.31	5.65	5.21
EIGHT	4.90	5.41	5.26	5.34	4.41	4.53	4.47	4.90	4.90
TOTALS				5.26			5.05	5.28	5.04

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES BY GRADE. ITEM: "DO TEACHERS WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 2-3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTACHMENT TO AUTHORITY FIGURES (LIKING) AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (GREECE)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.13	.07	.15	.05	-.07	-.03	-.06	-.08
	6	.20*	.08	.13	.09	-.33*	.05	-.27*	-.04
	8	-.07	.10	-.07	.13	.03	-.08	-.04	-.08
Mother	4	.20*	.06	.20*	.03	-.13	.04	-.15	.03
	6	.14	.15	.13	.13	-.01	-.17	-.11	-.20*
	8	-.06	.20*	-.04	.15	-.12	.05	-.18	.07
Teacher	4	.14	.14	.17	.12	-.06	-.02	.09	.01
	6	.19*	-.02	.22*	.08	-.07	.03	.01	.02
	8	-.09	.02	.06	.15	-.17	-.31*	-.42*	-.34*
Policeman	4	.16	.01	.10	.02	.15	.14	.16	.18
	6	-.11	-.06	-.16	-.02	.00	.10	.06	-.04
	8	.09	.16	.06	.14	.13	.12	.18	.17
Prime Minister	4	-.14	-.38*	-.15	-.32*	.19*	.20*	.03	.25*
	6	-.11	.06	-.10	.06	.07	-.03	.04	.01
	8	.05	-.01	.12	.01	-.01	-.27*	.06	-.20

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

TABLE 2-4

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HEL'FUL AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (GREECE)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	-.08	-.05	-.10	-.00	.13	-.13	.11	-.22*
	6	.18	.08	.15	.02	-.05	.07	-.18	.02
	8	-.21*	.07	-.17	.10	.02	-.21*	-.12	-.18
Mother	4	.08	.06	.06	.13	-.02	.03	.05	-.01
	6	.14	.12	.13	.13	-.18	.16	-.27*	.09
	8	-.20*	.15	-.20*	.10	-.02	-.08	-.14	-.06
Teacher	4	-.00	.04	.00	.03	.01	-.09	-.12	-.14
	6	.04	.08	-.01	.12	-.03	.10	-.01	.07
	8	-.21*	-.15	-.08	-.06	-.16	-.20*	-.40*	-.27*
Policeman	4	.20*	.00	.17	-.02	-.06	-.08	-.01	-.05
	6	-.23*	.13	-.24*	.15	.02	-.12	.09	-.22*
	8	-.00	.25*	-.01	.27*	-.05	-.11	.20*	-.06
Prime Minister	4	.12	-.11	.07	-.08	.07	-.02	-.02	-.05
	6	.05	-.08	.07	-.02	-.16	.13	-.33*	.10
	8	.17	.24	.06	.39*	.09	-.24	.17	-.40*
Religious Leader	4	.10	-.18	.01	-.18	-.18	-.12	-.01	-.00
	6	.09	.19*	.06	.16	.05	-.10	-.02	-.14
	8	-.21	.18	-.13	.10	.07	-.04	-.01	-.04

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

b. Perception of the Power of Authority Figures to Punish Noncompliance

Power to punish wrongdoing is an important dimension of authority. The child realizes early this attribute of authority figures through personal experiences within his family and teaching by parents about non-family authorities. This knowledge naturally increases with age, as the child becomes increasingly involved in role relationships with school authorities and receives additional teaching by his parents and teachers. Responses about the relative punitive power of various authority figures seem, however, to reflect more than mere knowledge. Experiences and information obtained at home and in school are subject to distortion depending on the degree of the child's conceptual and emotional maturity. The relative punitive power he attributes to various authority figures may also be influenced by the degree of real and psychological distance he perceives between each figure and himself. Further, his ranking may reflect the degree of legitimacy he recognizes in each authority figure's power to punish him.

Data shown in Figure 2-3 indicate that children of all grade levels made clear distinctions between parents, teacher, judge and policeman, whom they rated high in punitive power and closely together, and the Prime Minister, religious leader and friends, to whom they attributed significantly less power to punish. At the eighth grade, ratings for the Prime Minister and religious leader dropped even more, while those concerning the group of figures seen as possessing high punitive power showed little or no decline with age and little further discrimination among figures. Perhaps the individual figures were differentiated on the basis of being more or less likely to enter into face-to-face relationships with the child himself or with any citizen. Apparently, in children's views, the policeman and the judge have more chances to get directly involved in people's everyday life than does the Prime Minister. The fact, however, that the religious leader was rated even lower in punitive power, although he is presumably less distant than the Prime Minister, suggests that other factors also may have influenced children's ratings of the relative punitive power of various authority figures. It seems quite reasonable to suppose that children realize that the religious leader has little punitive power. Whatever the reasons for this ranking, it is notable that the pattern of discrimination among figures starts early and that conceptual and emotional development, which presumably accompanies increase in age, does not produce substantial change in the rank order of figures. Perhaps

the information and experiences which induce the ranking of figures by younger children are reinforced with increasing age. Of interest also is the children's ability to identify the judge quite early as a figure with high punitive power and differentiate his role from that of the policeman.

The variables of grade, social status and sex had no significant effects on children's views of the punitive power of parents. Responses pertaining to the teacher showed significant sex by social status differences, particularly pronounced at the extreme grade groups, where response variations by social class were larger for girls than for boys (see Table 2-5). At grade four, high status children of both sexes attributed to the teacher more punitive power than did their working class agemates. High status girls rated the teacher's punitive power significantly higher than did working class girls, while the social class difference among fourth grade boys was insignificant. In eighth grade, social status functioned again as a significant source of variation among girls but not among boys. At this grade level, however, high status girls attributed to their teachers significantly less punitive power than did working class girls, the opposite of what was observed among fourth grade girls. The reasons for these differences are not entirely clear. Environmental factors probably contribute to the fact that social class produced less response variation among boys than among girls. Perhaps teachers as well as parents, regardless of their social status, are more consistent toward boys than girls in their demands and sanctions for conduct and academic achievement. The finding, on the other hand, that older low status girls attributed to the teacher significantly more punitive power than did their high status agemates (and their rating was higher than that of boys from both social status groups) may reflect the facts that high school education is more subject to suspension for low status girls than boys and that no such sex discrimination exists in high status Greek families. Low status Greek parents would more readily decide to withdraw their daughters than their sons from high school, if their school marks--both in conduct and academic achievement--were not satisfactory.

The ratings pertaining to non-family and non-school authorities varied significantly by grade and by social class. The significance of response variations was tested only for the index combining the ratings of all these figures, i.e., judge, policeman, Prime Minister and religious leader. There was a significant decline with grade in children's combined rating of the punitive power of all these figures, but low status children across all

grades attributed to them more punitive power than did high status children (see Table 2-6). The magnitude of these differences was, however, substantially less pronounced for the judge (see Table 2-8). Further, there was a less marked decline with age in children's regard for the policeman's punitive power than for that of the Prime Minister and religious leader. Also, the social status difference regarding the punitive power of the policeman and the Prime Minister was larger for sixth and eighth graders than for the younger children; regarding the religious leader, SES differences were large for fourth and sixth graders but minimal for eighth graders (see Tables 2-7, 2-8, 2-9, 2-10). That is, among younger children, those of working class attributed more punitive power to the religious leader but did not differ significantly from their high status agemates in their ratings of the policeman and the Prime Minister. As age increased, ratings of the two social status groups converged for the religious leader and diverged for the policeman and the Prime Minister, to whom more punitive power was attributed by low status than by high status Ss.

Social status differences by grade also affected the rating of friends, (see Table 2-11) indicating that low status children of grades four and six attribute to their friends greater punitive power than do children from high status backgrounds. In eighth grade, these differences change direction, high status children attributing to their friends greater punitive power than do working class children.

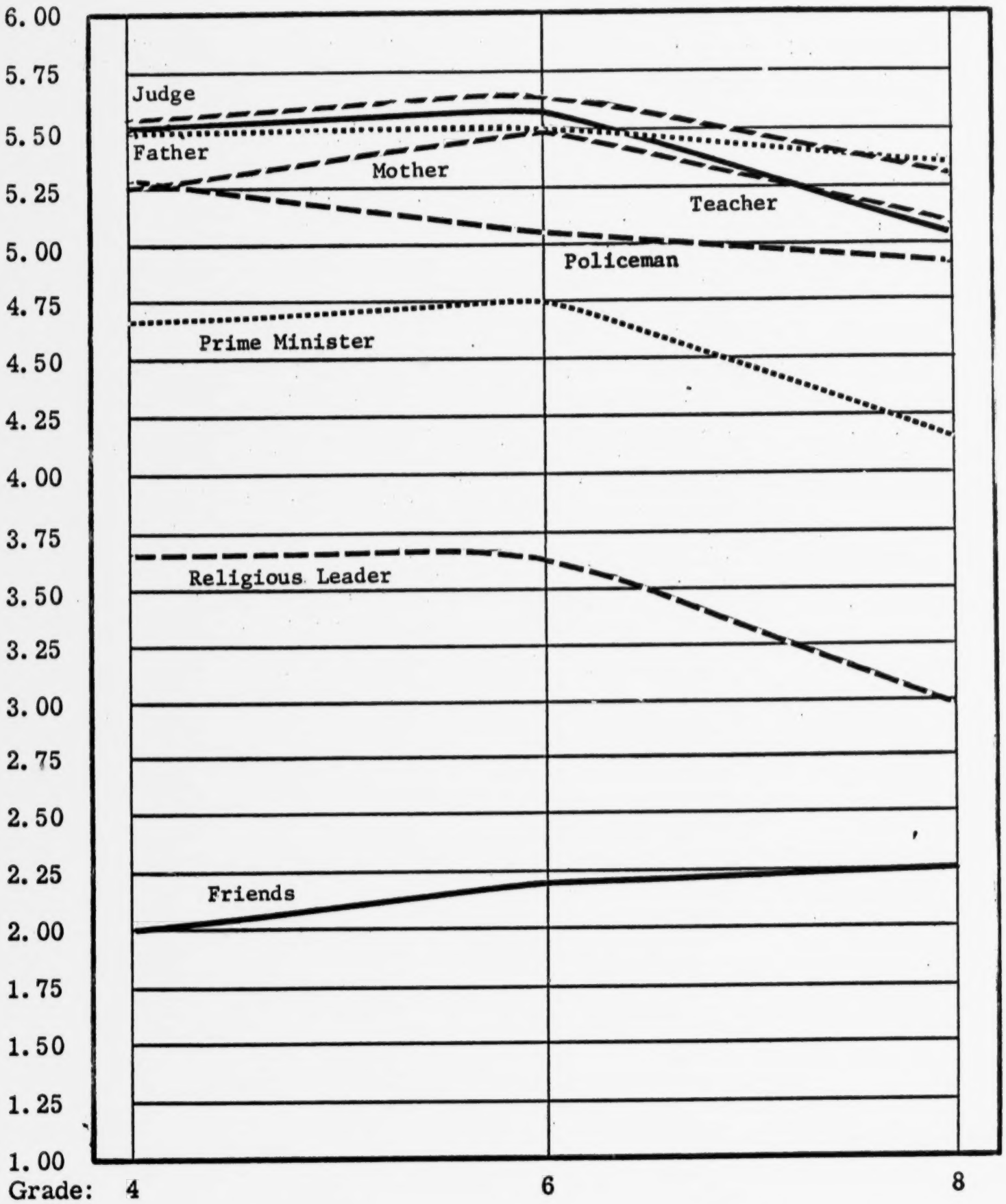
Relationship between view of authority figures' power to punish and classroom behavior. On the basis of learning theory about the effects of rewards and punishment on behavior one could expect that children perceiving authority figures as having high punitive power would display in the classroom setting behavior conforming to the figures' rules and commands. This expectation received relatively little support from the Greek data (see Table 2-12). Significant correlations between "power to punish" items and peer ratings of classroom behavior indicated that fourth and sixth grade girls who reported high regard for the punitive power of parents and the teacher were more likely to be seen by peers as displaying cooperative behavior in the classroom. Corresponding correlations for boys were not significant, however. In addition, fourth and sixth grade boys who reported high regard for the punitive power of the judge, religious leader, and friends were more likely to be seen by peers as displaying noncompliant behavior in the classroom. Improbability of noncompliant classroom behavior by eighth grade boys was related to their reports

of regard for the Prime Minister's punitive power but not for other figures'. These discrepancies suggest that awareness or recognition of the legitimacy of authority figures' punitive power may have varying effects upon the child's behavior, depending upon the extent to which the child expects actual punishment for disobeying each figure's rules. When considering the association between classroom behavior ratings by peers for eighth grade girls and their views on the teacher's punitive power, it should be remembered that the views of this sampling group showed a sharp social class difference at eighth grade.

Summary. Children's views on the punitive power of the authority figures included in this set of items indicate a discrimination among figures on the basis of their perceived distance from the children's and citizen's everyday life. There was little mean difference in the punitive power attributed to the parents, teacher, judge and policeman in grade four and little differentiation among them with increasing grade. By contrast, the Prime Minister, religious leader, and friends were rated at significantly lower levels in grade four. While the friends' ratings increased slightly with increasing age, the ratings for the Prime Minister and religious leader decreased substantially, especially from grade six to eight. The policeman's rating also decreased with increasing age. Social status affected only the religious leader's, Prime Minister's, policeman's, and friends' ratings. Low status children attributed to these figures more punitive power than did high status children. In eighth grade, high status children attributed to their friends more punitive power than did low status children. The level of responses pertaining to the teacher differed by sex and social status, especially in the extreme age groups.

Correlations between "power to punish" items and PNI indices of classroom behavior indicated that awareness of the punitive power of authority figures with whom the child is in face-to-face relationships (e.g. parents and teacher) influences his classroom behavior. However, the relationship was significant only for fourth grade girls.

FIGURE 2-3
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH, BY GRADE
(GREECE)



Item: Does (figure) have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 2-5

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF TEACHER'S POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.53	5.22	5.47	5.34	5.77	5.71	5.73	5.46	5.59
SIX	5.61	5.43	5.74	5.60	5.53	5.69	5.62	5.48	5.72
EIGHT	5.07	5.42	4.98	5.21	4.59	5.29	4.93	5.01	5.14
TOTALS	5.41			5.40			5.43	5.31	5.50

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES BY SEX BY GRADE. ITEM: "DO TEACHERS HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 2-6

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF SEVERAL AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.72	4.66	4.86	4.76	4.79	4.58	4.68	4.71	4.72
SIX	4.67	4.82	4.84	4.83	4.60	4.40	4.49	4.72	4.63
EIGHT	4.28	4.34	4.27	4.31	4.18	4.34	4.26	4.26	4.31
TOTALS				4.65			4.47	4.56	4.56

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SES. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 4 ITEMS: "DOES THE PRIME MINISTER (POLICEMAN, JUDGE, RELIGIOUS LEADER) HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 2-7

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF POLICEMAN'S POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.30	5.13	5.49	5.30	5.60	5.04	5.31	5.34	5.27
SIX	5.08	5.15	5.27	5.22	5.05	4.81	4.92	5.11	5.06
EIGHT	4.90	5.15	4.84	5.01	4.52	5.06	4.78	4.84	4.96
TOTALS	5.10			5.18			5.00	5.09	5.10

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) GRADE, SES. ITEM: "DO POLICEMEN HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 2 - 8

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF JUDGE'S POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.56	5.36	5.58	5.47	5.70	5.64	5.67	5.51	5.61
SIX	5.66	5.58	5.78	5.69	5.60	5.63	5.62	5.59	5.71
EIGHT	5.31	5.53	5.00	5.28	5.20	5.49	5.34	5.36	5.26
TOTALS	5.52			5.50			5.54	5.49	5.55

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) GRADE, SES. ITEM: "DOES A JUDGE HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 2 - 9

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF PRIME MINISTER'S POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.66	4.62	4.47	4.55	4.74	4.86	4.80	4.67	4.66
SIX	4.75	5.02	4.88	4.94	4.75	4.29	4.47	4.92	4.61
EIGHT	4.15	4.00	4.96	4.48	4.15	3.69	3.94	4.07	4.33
TOTALS				4.66			4.41	4.55	4.54

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) GRADE, SES. ITEM: "DOES THE PRIME MINISTER OF GREECE HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH A PERSON WHEN HE DOES WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 2 - 10

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF RELIGIOUS LEADER'S POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.66	3.79	4.30	3.98	3.49	3.12	3.28	3.64	3.69
					3.80	3.12	3.40	3.95	3.49

TABLE 2 - 11

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF FRIENDS' POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	2.01	1.91	2.82	2.35	1.69	1.57	1.63	1.81	2.20
SIX	2.22	2.36	2.57	2.47	1.88	1.95	1.92	2.15	2.27
EIGHT	2.24	2.02	2.17	2.09	2.44	2.35	2.40	2.22	2.27
TOTALS	2.16			2.32			1.98	2.06	2.25

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES BY GRADE. ITEM: "DO YOUR FRIENDS HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 2-12

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF THE POWER OF AUTHORITY FIGURES TO PUNISH NONCOMPLIANCE AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (GREECE)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.12	.02	.16	.01	-.24*	-.07	-.34*	-.12
	6	.13	-.02	.13	-.05	.04	-.02	-.04	-.01
	8	-.09	.08	-.07	.02	-.06	.02	-.06	.05
Mother	4	.22*	-.10	.20*	.01	-.18	.02	-.30*	-.08
	6	.19*	-.01	.19*	.04	.04	-.02	-.09	-.04
	8	-.06	.04	-.04	-.02	-.01	.08	-.02	.01
Teacher	4	.24*	.06	.27*	.01	-.38*	-.14	-.33*	-.14
	6	.06	-.08	.02	-.01	.12	.01	.06	.04
	8	-.25*	-.04	-.06	.02	-.37*	.13	-.40*	.11
Policeman	4	.12	.03	.14	-.01	-.18	-.10	-.15	-.06
	6	.08	-.08	.09	-.10	-.08	.02	.06	.08
	8	-.19*	.09	-.06	.15	-.10	.03	-.17	.03
Prime Minister	4	.21*	-.08	.17	-.03	.06	.10	-.00	.02
	6	.01	.01	.00	.04	.05	-.11	.05	-.13
	8	.05	-.11	.12	.05	-.04	-.27*	.01	-.26*
Judge	4	-.04	-.01	-.03	-.01	-.08	-.10	-.05	-.08
	6	.05	-.32*	.06	-.37*	-.14	.21*	-.16	.25*
	8	-.20*	.15	-.08	.09	-.21*	.09	-.14	.09
Religious Leader	4	.10	-.25*	.05	-.23*	-.12	.03	.03	.11
	6	.01	-.07	.02	.03	.11	.02	.04	.03
	8	.16	.08	-.22*	.10	.11	-.12	.02	-.04
Friends	4	.16	-.23*	.13	-.26*	-.09	.07	.08	.14
	6	-.04	-.17	-.08	-.15	.09	.02	.15	.04
	8	.17	.04	.14	.13	.13	.04	.22*	.04

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

c. Children's View of the Consequences of Non-compliance--Inevitability of Punishment

Of particular importance to this study are the children's views about the consequences of noncompliance. To what extent do children expect disobedience of rules and laws of the various systems of society to be followed by punishment from authority figures operating as the system's representatives? Data on this topic were obtained through questionnaire items whose format is cited in Figure 2-4. The extent to which children's views about the punitive power of the various authority figures are associated with expectations of actual punishment for noncompliance with the rules they enforce is shown in Table 2-13. Correlations between the "inevitability of punishment" and "power to punish" scales indicate that these two measures of children's views about the punitive dimensions of authority figures are positively related.

A comparison of the mean responses by grade across figures and systems (see Figure 2-4) shows little discrimination among figures and little change in mean responses with age. Expectations of punishment from both parents for noncompliance decreased significantly from grade four to eight (see Tables 2-14, 2-15, 2-16). No significant change of mean responses by grade, however, was observed for the teacher and other non-family authorities.

Social status affected only responses referring to parents. Children from working class families appeared to expect punishment for noncompliance with their parents' rules more often than did their high status counterparts (see Tables 2-14, 2-15, 2-16).

The variable of sex affected responses pertaining to parents and other non-family authorities but not to the teacher. Boys appeared to expect punishment for noncompliance with the rules of parents, policeman, and city and government officials more often than did girls (see Tables 2-14 through 2-20). The fact that sex and social status had no significant effect on responses pertaining to the teacher suggests that the triple interaction of sex, social status and grade, which affected responses concerning teacher's punitive power (see section B1b), reflects attitudes induced by parents' rather than teachers' practices.

Relationship between belief in inevitability of punishment and classroom behavior. As Table 2-21 shows, few correlations between these items (fifteen out of 144) were significant. Most of these concern responses of

eighth graders. With the exception of fourth grade girls, whose belief in inevitability of punishment from the teacher correlated with their classroom behavior in the expected direction (i.e., positively with cooperative behavior and negatively with noncompliant behavio··), in most other instances, expectation of punishment by authority figures correlated negatively with both positive and negative behavior in the classroom. This was true for both sexes with respect to parents. This may be due to the fact that the ratings regarding likelihood of punishment by parents showed significant differences both by sex and social class. Overall, the findings suggest that expectation of punishment is not a stable determinant of compliant or non-compliant behavior.

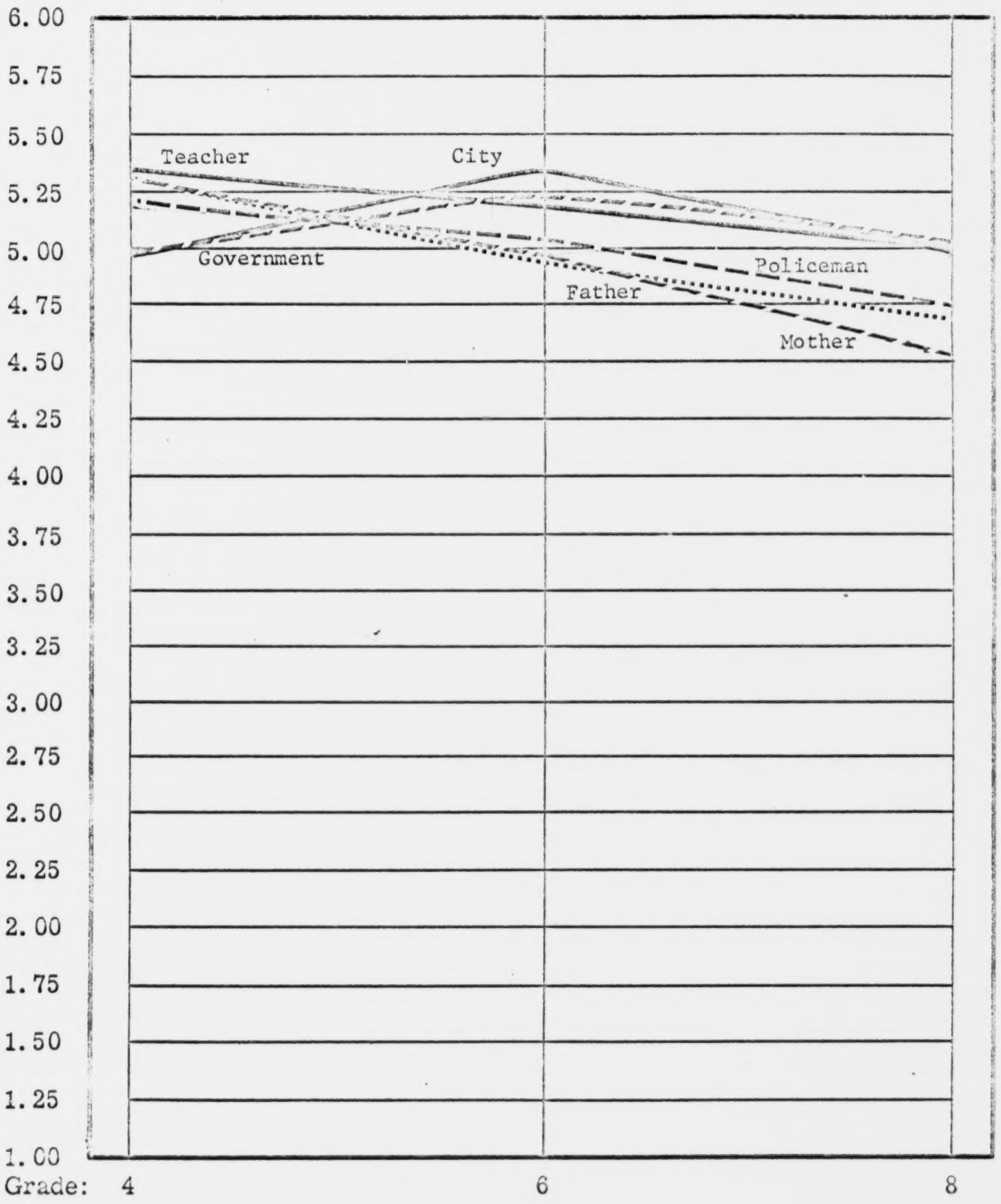
Summary. The most striking feature of these data was that children's belief in inevitability of punishment for disobedience showed little variation by authority figures and little decline with age. A significant but relatively small decline with age affected expectations of punishment for noncompliance only with parents' rules.

The variable of sex affected responses pertaining to all figures except the teacher. Boys expressed a stronger belief in inevitability of punishment than did girls. Social status affected only responses regarding parents, low status children expecting punishment from parents for noncompliance with their rules more often than high status children.

Correlations between belief in inevitability of punishment and peer ratings of classroom behavior indicated that expectations of punishment have no consistent effects upon children's behavior in school. The relationship was significant and in the expected direction for fourth grade girls believing in inevitability of punishment by the teacher. At grade 8, the relationship between peer ratings of classroom behavior and Ss' belief in inevitability of punishment by authority figures was ambiguous.

FIGURE 2-4

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH AUTHORITY FIGURES' RULES, BY GRADE (GREECE)



Item: If you do not obey the laws or rules of (figure), does he punish you?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 2-13

CORRELATION BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH AND BELIEF IN INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(GREECE)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	.38*	.30*	.36*	.54*	.56*	.43*
Mother	.22*	.59*	.02	.49*	.34*	.26*
Teacher	.29*	.13	.28*	.26*	.40*	.40*
Policeman	.06	.23*	.29*	.18	.00	.42*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

TABLE 2 - 14

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH PARENTS' RULES BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.30	5.24	5.58	5.40	5.05	5.31	5.19	5.16	5.45
SIX	4.97	4.94	5.50	5.24	4.62	4.69	4.66	4.80	5.11
EIGHT	4.61	4.95	4.93	4.94	4.17	4.38	4.27	4.57	4.65
TOTALS				5.20			4.70	4.84	5.08

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SES, SEX. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "IF YOU DO NOT OBEY YOUR FATHER'S (MOTHER'S) RULES, DOES HE (SHE) PUNISH YOU?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 2 - 15

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH FATHER'S RULES BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.33	5.27	5.61	5.43	5.00	5.39	5.22	5.15	5.50
SIX	4.96	4.89	5.45	5.19	4.64	4.74	4.70	4.78	5.11
EIGHT	4.69	5.19	5.04	5.12	4.02	4.47	4.24	4.62	4.76
TOTALS				5.25			4.71	4.85	5.13

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (PARENTS) GRADE, SES, SEX. ITEM: "IF YOU DO NOT OBEY YOUR FATHER'S RULES, DOES HE PUNISH YOU?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 2 - 16

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH MOTHER'S RULES BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.33	5.27	5.55	5.41	5.25	5.24	5.24	5.26	5.39
SIX	4.99	5.02	5.55	5.31	4.60	4.64	4.62	4.83	5.12
EIGHT	4.55	4.71	4.81	4.76	4.33	4.33	4.33	4.52	4.57
TOTALS				5.17			4.72	4.87	5.04

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (PARENTS) GRADE, SES, SEX. ITEM: "IF YOU DO NOT OBEY YOUR MOTHER'S RULES, DOES SHE PUNISH YOU?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 2 - 17

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH THE RULES OF SEVERAL AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.91	4.71	5.31	4.99	4.48	5.12	4.82	4.61	5.21
SIX	5.08	4.87	5.54	5.23	4.72	5.03	4.90	4.80	5.30
EIGHT	4.80	5.02	4.50	4.77	4.63	5.06	4.84	4.83	4.78
TOTALS				5.01			4.85	4.74	5.12

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SEX. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 5 ITEMS: "IF YOU DO NOT OBEY POLICEMEN'S (CITY'S, GOVERNMENT'S) ORDERS (RULES OR LAWS), DO THEY PUNISH YOU (ARE YOU PUNISHED BY CITY OFFICIALS, GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS)?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 2 - 18

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH POLICEMEN'S RULES BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.19	5.15	5.53	5.33	4.79	5.24	5.03	4.99	5.39
SIX	5.10	4.94	5.60	5.30	4.63	5.02	4.85	4.80	5.33
EIGHT	4.76	4.96	4.49	4.75	4.73	4.80	4.77	4.85	4.66
TOTALS				5.15			4.88	4.88	5.15

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) SEX. ITEM: "IF YOU DO NOT OBEY POLICEMEN'S ORDERS, DO THEY PUNISH YOU?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 2 - 19

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH CITY'S RULES BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.99	4.72	5.37	5.03	4.61	5.23	4.95	4.67	5.30
SIX	5.40	5.19	5.66	5.45	5.19	5.43	5.33	5.19	5.55
EIGHT	4.94	5.00	4.77	4.89	4.77	5.21	4.99	4.89	5.00
TOTALS				5.14			5.05	4.91	5.31

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) SEX. ITEM: "IF YOU DO NOT OBEY THE CITY'S LAWS OR RULES, ARE YOU PUNISHED BY CITY OFFICIALS LIKE A POLICEMAN OR A JUDGE?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 2 - 20

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH GOVERNMENT'S RULES BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.00	4.65	5.43	5.04	4.63	5.16	4.95	4.64	5.29
SIX	5.30	5.18	5.67	5.47	5.06	5.13	5.10	5.13	5.42
EIGHT	5.07	5.35	4.94	5.18	4.72	5.23	4.98	5.04	5.11
TOTALS				5.24			5.01	4.94	5.29

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) SEX. ITEM: "IF YOU DO NOT OBEY THE LAWS OR RULES OF GREECE, ARE YOU PUNISHED BY GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS LIKE THE MILITARY, THE JUDICIARY OR THE POLICE AUTHORITIES?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS

TABLE 2-21

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF IN INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOR DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND SYSTEMS AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (GREECE)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.09	.05	.09	-.01	-.04	-.07	-.01	-.11
	6	.01	-.03	.02	-.03	.08	.05	-.01	.11
	8	-.26*	-.32*	-.19*	-.19*	-.09	-.14	-.28*	-.10
Mother	4	.15	.08	.14	-.04	-.05	.18	.02	.09
	6	.10	-.01	.10	.04	-.09	-.02	-.19*	.01
	8	.04	-.28*	.05	-.19*	-.03	-.01	-.11	.03
Teacher	4	.23*	.04	.21*	.03	-.11	-.10	-.25*	-.16
	6	.05	-.05	.05	-.05	-.16	.08	-.13	.09
	8	-.22*	-.11	.10	-.05	-.11	-.05	-.14	.02
City	4	-.06	.05	.03	.06	-.01	.10	-.11	.09
	6	.18	-.04	.19	-.05	-.03	.02	-.11	.03
	8	-.12	.10	-.06	.09	.01	.10	-.02	.14
Government	4	.02	-.08	.06	-.02	.13	.05	-.03	-.01
	6	.01	.05	.02	.06	.03	-.10	-.04	-.12
	8	-.23*	.20	-.01	.24*	-.06	.09	-.21*	.04
Policeman	4	.04	.01	.04	-.02	.09	.07	.05	.02
	6	.07	-.05	.04	-.02	-.12	-.04	-.04	-.05
	8	-.06	.10	.01	.09	.07	.12	-.15	.20

Note.*Indicates significant correlation

d. Inter-System Support for Sanctions Against Non-compliance

One of the major assumptions of this study is that the patterns of attitudes and behavior a child develops through experiences and direct teaching within one social system are transferred to other systems as well and are used in his dealings with other authority figures. Such transfer of attitudes and behavior patterns may follow from a belief established early in the child that adults in authority are united and cooperative. Belief in the collaboration and mutual support among authority figures is naturally formed through early experiences in the family, where at least two authority figures have to cooperate in setting and enforcing rules and support each other's discipline upon the young. The family structure --particularly in terms of number of persons vested with authority in it--probably influences the style and the patterns of cooperation among adults that children experience during their preschool years. A child learns quite early that disobeying one of his parents may induce punishment from both parents and possibly from other adult relatives as well. This early learning may be accompanied by explicit parental teaching which helps develop the belief that cooperation and mutual support exists among family and non-family authorities also. It is not unusual for a child who has been punished by his teacher to get additional punishment from one or both of his parents, and, in some instances, from other adult relatives as well. Informal observation suggests that Greek children usually expect similar parental support of the policeman and that Greek parents, particularly those of lower class, often evoke the authority of the policeman as a threat to their children. The fact that young children believe in non-family authorities' supporting parents' discipline, although most of them probably do not have actual experiences of it, suggests that this belief stems from attitude transfer and parental teaching.

Data reported in this section were collected through questionnaire items dealing with children's expectations that punishment for disobedience by one authority figure (or one system's officials) will be reinforced through additional punishment from other authority figures. The data are presented in Tables 2-22 and 2-23 and Figures 2-5 through 2-9.

The following patterns were apparent in these data. Most Greek children expected parents to support not only each other but also other authority figures. There also appeared to be little discrimination among non-family authorities as recipients of parental support.

The teacher was the only figure for whom parental support was expected more often than for other non-family authorities (see Table 2-22 and Figures 2-6 through 2-9). However, parents were not seen as receiving comparable support from non-family authorities. Children appeared to expect the discipline of parents to be reinformced most often by other adult members of the family and the teacher, and substantially less often by the policeman, religious leader and "anyone else" (see Table 2-22 and Figure 2-5). Additional findings that belief in non-family authorities' supporting parents declined as children grew older, while belief in parents' supporting the discipline of non-family authorities remained constant with age, suggest that actual experiences rather than parental teaching shape the development of children's beliefs on mutual support among authority figures, once they have been exposed to such experiences.

Another major feature of the data concerns authority figures who are more likely to reinforce the discipline of the teacher; most such support appeared to come from the principal and the parents; other adult relatives, the policeman, religious leader and "anyone else" were cited by substantially fewer children as eventual reinforcers of teacher's discipline (see Table 2-22 and Figure 2-6).

Children appeared to expect both family and non-family authorities to reinforce disciplinary acts for non-compliance with city and national government's laws and rules. The teacher was more often expected to support city laws and rules than national laws and rules or policeman's orders (see Table 2-22 and Figures 2-7 through 2-9). Most support for the national government's laws and rules was expected from the judge and the policeman, followed by the parents, teachers, religious leader and "anyone else." Children also expected the policeman's discipline to be reinforced mostly by the judge, followed by the parents, teacher, religious leader and "anyone else" (see Figure 2-7). These findings suggest that children realize quite early that the systems are specific and, therefore, tend to expect more intra-system than inter-system support. This generalization applies to all systems considered.

The percentages of children who believed that non-specified people--designated in the questionnaire as "anyone else"--may also reinforce the discipline of various authority figures was substantial (see Table 2-22). "Anyone else" was more often expected to reinforce punishment for non-compliance with laws and rules of the city than disciplinary acts of parents, the teacher, the policeman and the national government. Apparently, children

felt that "anyone else" includes parents' acquaintances and neighbors rather than their own friends, since the peer group was represented by a separate response alternative. It is not clear whether or not "anyone else" was understood as including completely strange persons also. Interview responses indicated that few children believe that strangers have the right to enforce rules upon them (see section B2d).

Few children appeared to believe that friends may reinforce the discipline of authority figures, and no substantial distinction was made between figures or systems expected to receive friends' support (see Table 2-22).

Analysis of the relationship of responses to the sampling groups showed that beliefs about mutual support among authority figures in disciplining children varied by grade and social status but not by sex (see Table 2-23).

No significant grade variations affected children's belief that parents reinforce each other's disciplinary acts and those of non-family authorities. Also, no significant age change appeared in children's belief that other adult family members reinforce parents' discipline (see Table 2-23). However, belief that non-family authorities reinforce the disciplinary acts of each other as well as those of parents declined significantly as children grew older. A similar decline was observed in children's belief that friends and "anyone else" may reinforce the discipline of parents, teacher, and other non-family authorities.

The most striking feature of data on this topic was that belief in authority figures' supporting each other's disciplinary acts was significantly more frequent among low status than among high status children. The only exception to this general finding was children's belief in parents' mutual support for sanctions against non-compliance, where no significant differences were observed between low and high status Ss (see Table 2-23). The fact, however, that belief in other relatives' supporting the discipline of parents and of non-family authorities did show significant social class differences suggests that low and high status Greek families differ in terms of the number of their adult members vested with authority. In high status families, authority seems to be vested mainly in the parents; in working class families, other adult relatives appear to have definite authority within the family structure, although that of the parents predominates. This difference may account to some extent for the different views of low and high status children about authority in general. It may also account for the

fact that low status families appear to be highly concerned with public respectability and conformity to the norms of society.

Correlations between beliefs about intersystem support and peer ratings of classroom behavior. Data on this matter indicate that beliefs in authority figures' cooperation in reinforcing each other's discipline are quite often associated significantly with peer nomination indices of classroom behavior (see Table 2-24). Of a total 132 correlations between indices of compliant behavior and indices of beliefs in intersystem support, 30 were significant; of the corresponding 132 correlations between indices of noncompliant behavior and beliefs in intersystem support, 15 were significant. However, of the 30 significant correlations between beliefs in intersystem support and indices of compliant behavior 26 were negative; and of the 15 significant correlations between noncompliance and beliefs in intersystem support, 7 were positive. The index for example of total family support of the school discipline yielded 7 (out of 12) significant negative correlations with compliant behavior, and one significant positive correlation with negative behavior (with most of the remaining nonsignificant coefficients on the columns for negative behavior being positive).

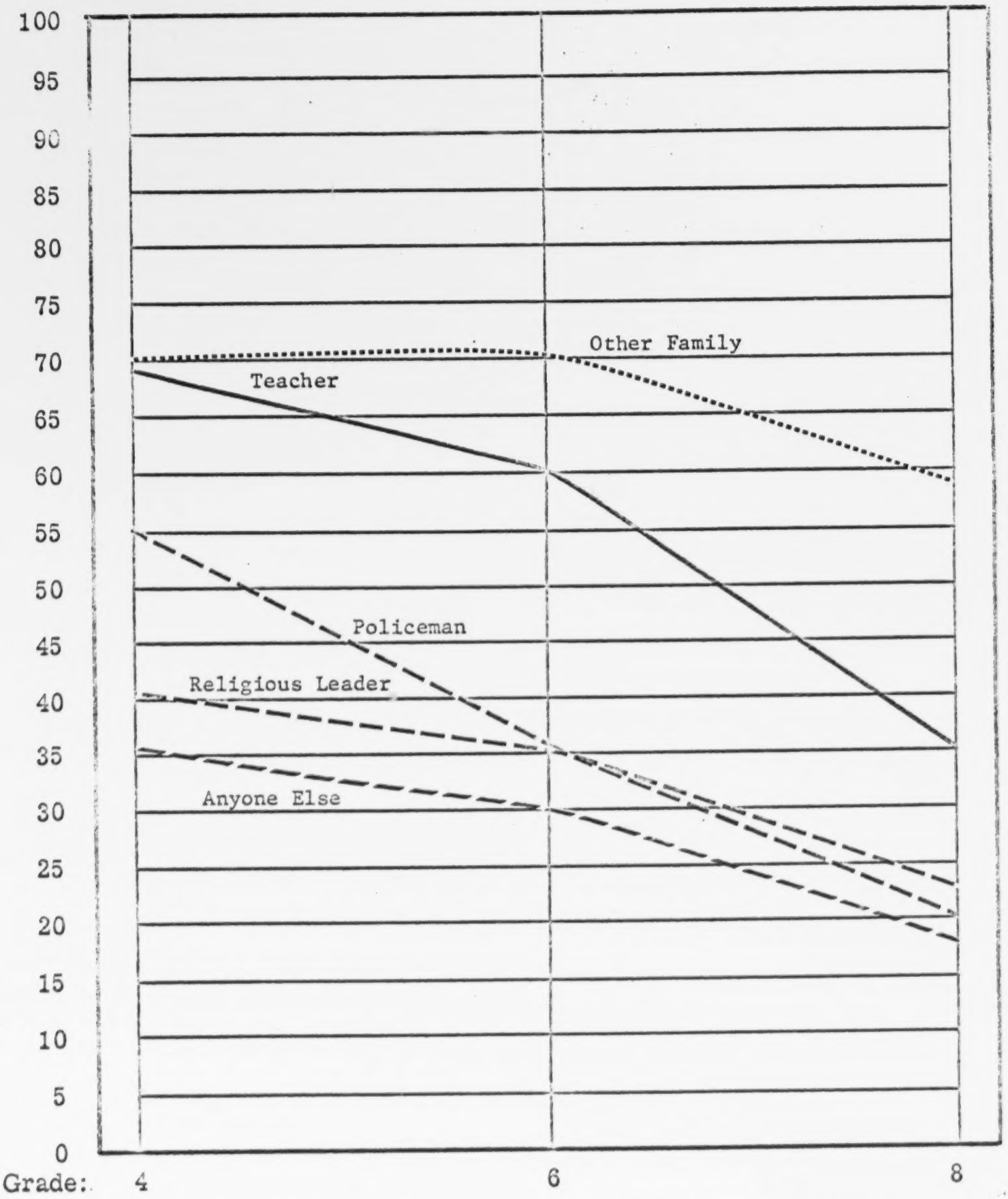
It should be stressed here that most of the Greek data on this topic showed significant variations by SES, but not by sex. The available correlational matrices are only by sex by grade. Therefore, computation of correlations by SES by grade seems to be necessary before conclusions are drawn about the impact of beliefs in intersystem reinforcement of punishment for noncompliance on children's conduct at school.

Summary. The most striking differences in Greek children's beliefs about mutual support and collaboration between authority figures in punishing disobedience were determined by social class. Children from working class families expressed such beliefs more often than did children from high status families. The belief, however, in mutual support between parents did not show social class differences. None of the variables related to this topic showed significant variations by sex of the Ss.

With age, fewer children appeared to believe that non-family authority figures collaborate with parents, the teacher, and other non-family authorities in punishing noncompliance. Belief, however, in mutual support between father and mother, in both parents' support by other adult relatives and in teacher's and other non-family authorities' support by the total family remained constant with age. Also, fewer older children appeared to believe that "anyone else" supports all authority figures in punishing disobedience. Belief in friends' support of all authority figures, except the teacher, increased with age.

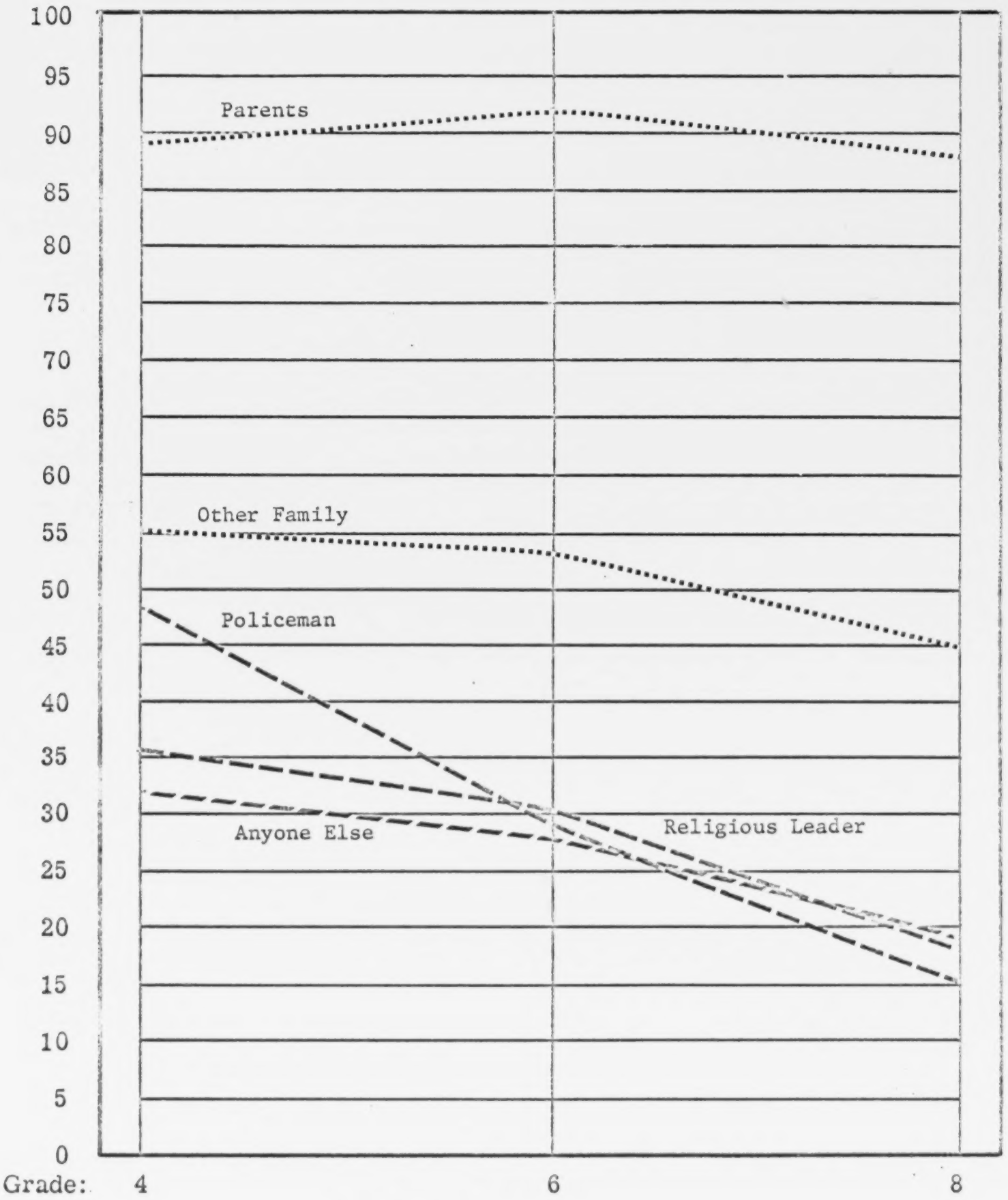
Correlations (computed by sex by grade) between beliefs in inter-system support for punishment of non-compliance and school behavior suggested that children holding such beliefs tend to be those who are not nominated by their peers for good conduct in the classroom. In several instances the direction of the correlations was ambiguous (i.e., negative with indices of both compliant and noncompliant behavior at school). Further analysis of the data is warranted to help clarify the issue.

FIGURE 2-5
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF PARENTS, BY GRADE
(GREECE)



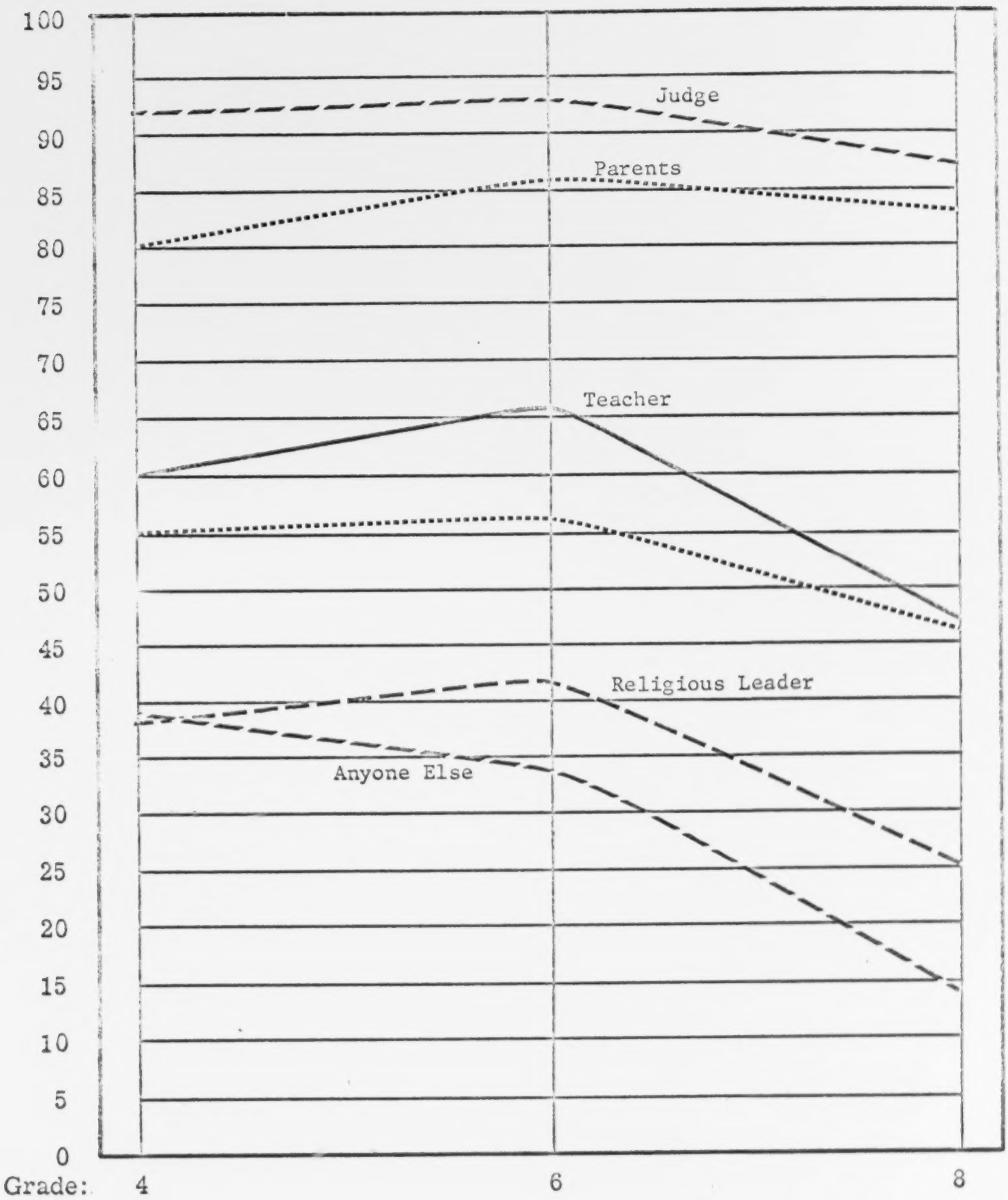
Item: Index based on combination of 2 items: "Besides your father (mother), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your father's (mother's) rules?"

FIGURE 2-6
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE TEACHER, BY GRADE
(GREECE)



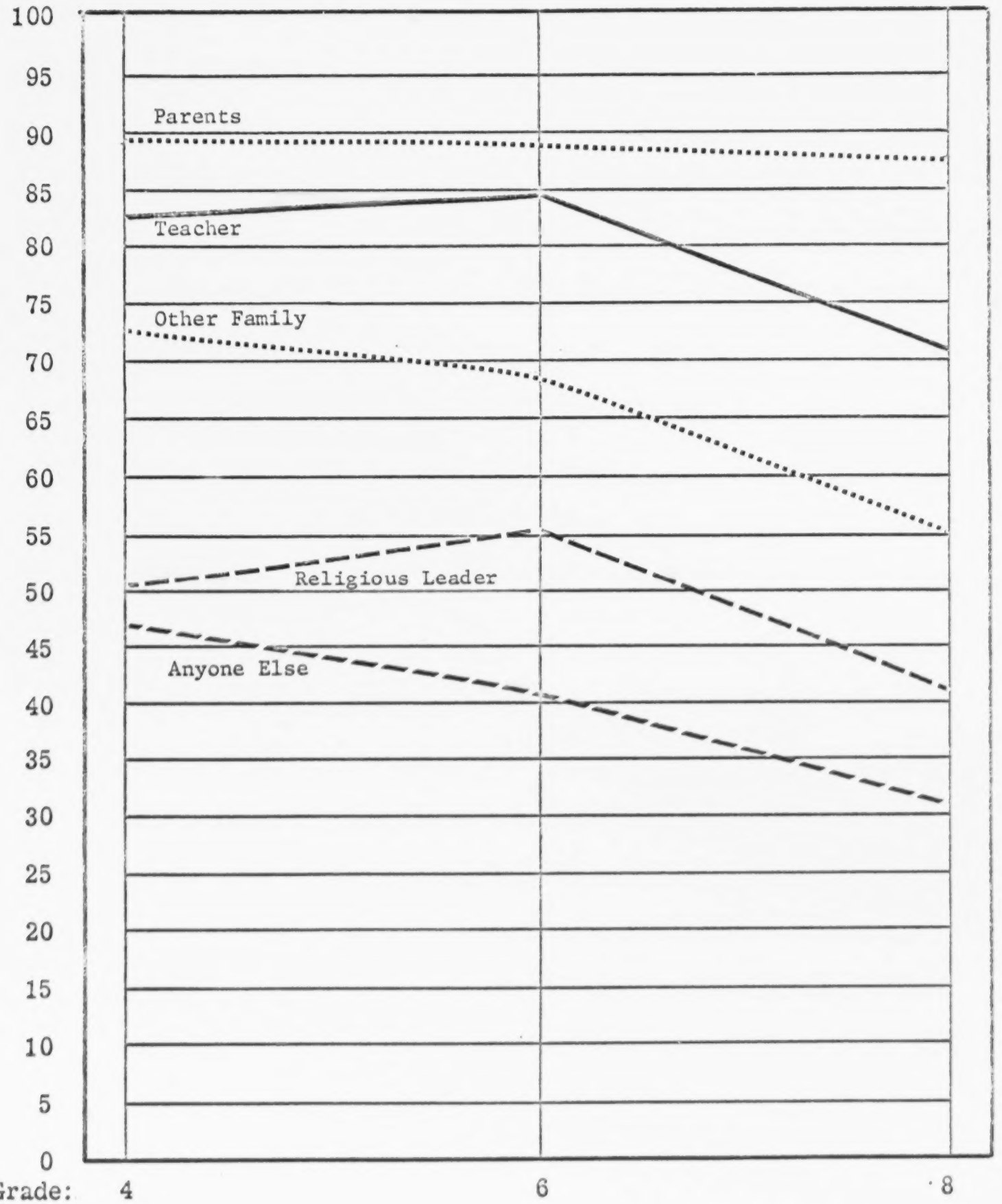
Item: "Besides your teacher, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your teacher's rules?"

FIGURE 2-7
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE POLICEMAN, BY GRADE
(GREECE)



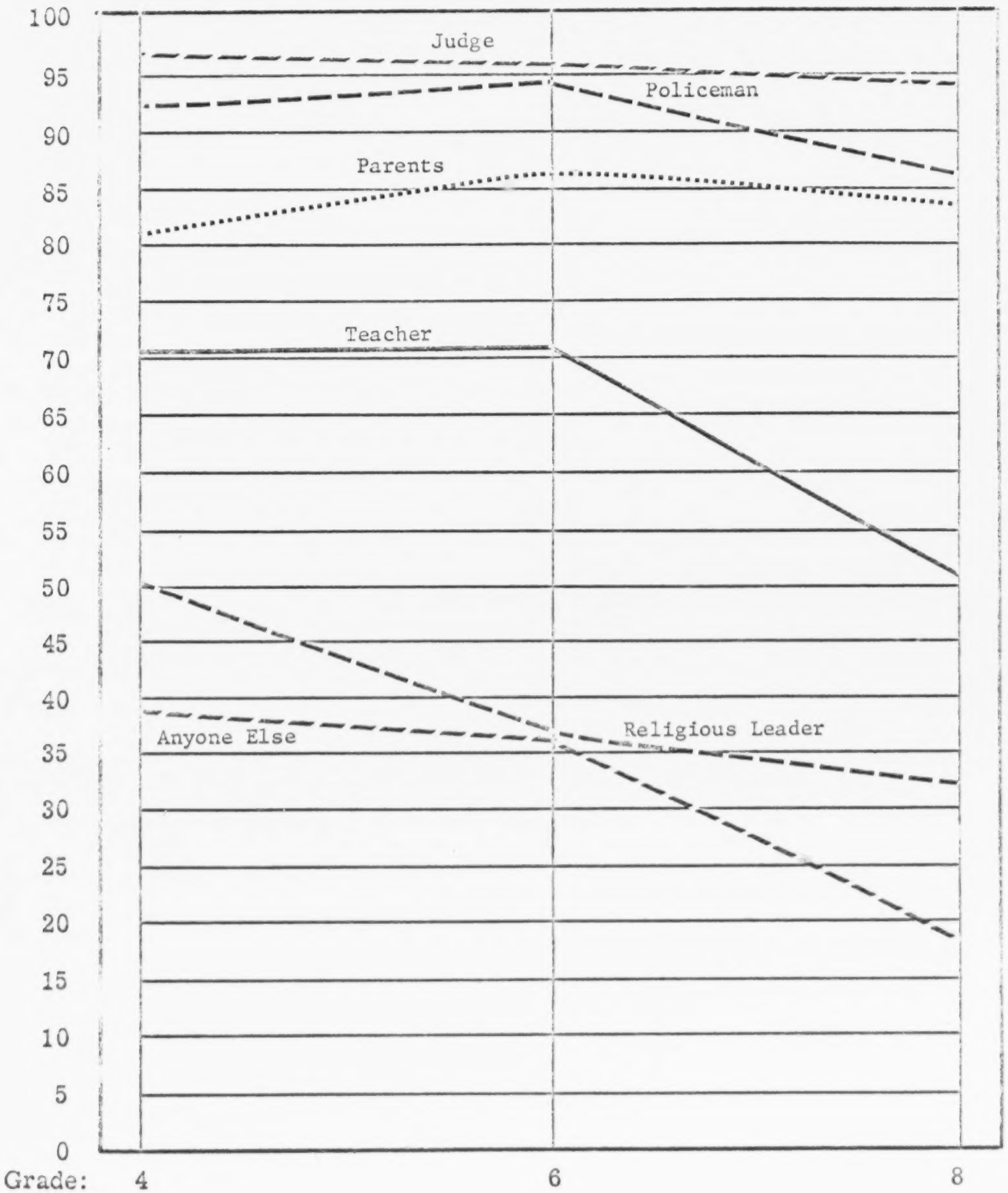
Item: "Besides policemen, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey policemen's orders?"

FIGURE 2-8
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CITY, BY GRADE
(GREECE)



Item: "Besides city officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the city's laws or rules?"

FIGURE 2-9
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE THE DISCIPLINE OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, BY GRADE
(GREECE)



Item: "Besides government officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the laws or rules of Greece?"

TABLE 2-22

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON EXPECTATION THAT PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WILL BE REINFORCED BY OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES
(PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES)

(GREECE)

FIGURE ALSO PUNISHING	SYSTEM OR FIGURE WHO IS DISOBEYED																	
	MOTHER			FATHER			TEACHER			POLICEMAN			CITY			GOVERNMENT		
GRADE:	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8
Mother				95	96	93	88	92	88	79	85	80	88	88	86	82	86	82
Father	98	97	95				91	93	88	80	87	86	89	89	90	82	88	86
Other Family	69	71	60	71	71	56	55	54	45	55	56	46	73	68	55			
Teacher	65	54	27	73	65	42				60	66	47	83	84	71	71	71	51
Principal							97	97	95									
Policeman	51	28	8	60	44	30	48	28	15							93	94	86
Judge										92	93	87				97	96	94
Religious Leader	39	29	21	40	41	25	36	31	17	38	42	25	52	56	42	51	37	32
Friends	15	16	20	12	18	17	15	20	24	15	16	23	13	23	24	14	18	24
Anyone else	36	32	17	35	31	18	32	28	18	39	34	14	47	41	31	39	36	18

Note Item: "Besides your mother (father, teacher, policeman, city officials, government officials) who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your (mother's, teacher's, etc.) rules (laws, orders)?" Alternatives: Mother, Father, Other adult relatives, Teacher, Principal, Policeman, Judge, Religious Leader, Friends, Anyone else.

TABLE 2-23

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE , BY TOTAL GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX

(GREECE)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS		
Parents For Non-Family	4	6.36	6.86	5.87	6.50	6.23	0-8	SES
Authority Figures	6	6.62	7.11	6.13	6.60	6.64		
	8	6.40	6.72	6.07	6.07	6.72		
	Total		6.90	6.02	6.39	6.53		
Other Family Members	4	1.09	1.15	1.04	1.05	1.14	0-2	SES
For Parents	6	1.13	1.34	.93	1.01	1.25		
	8	1.01	1.29	.74	1.01	1.02		
	Total		1.26	.90	1.02	1.14		
Other Family Members	4	1.39	1.63	1.14	1.35	1.42	0-3	SES
For Non-Family	6	1.37	1.73	1.00	1.20	1.53		
Authority Figures	8	1.22	1.60	.83	1.23	1.21		
	Total		1.65	.99	1.26	1.39		
Total Family For School	4	2.15	2.36	1.93	2.20	2.10	0-3	SES
	6	2.20	2.49	1.91	2.10	2.30		
	8	2.10	2.42	1.77	2.02	2.18		
	Total		2.42	1.87	2.10	2.19		

TABLE 2-23 (Continued)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS
Non-Family Authority Figures For Parents	4	2.82	3.67	1.98	2.87	2.77	0-6	Grade, SES
	6	2.15	2.89	1.41	2.06	2.24		
	8	1.27	1.38	.96	1.30	1.24		
	Total		2.71	1.45	2.08	2.08		
Non-Family Authority Figures For School	4	.91	1.35	.46	.89	.92	0-3	Grade, SES
	6	.67	.98	.35	.62	.71		
	8	.42	.54	.31	.48	.36		
	Total		.96	.37	.67	.67		
Non-Family Authority For Non-Family Authority	4	7.13	7.99	6.27	7.12	7.14	0-12	Grade, SES
	6	6.80	7.67	5.93	6.53	7.07		
	8	5.81	6.06	5.56	5.64	5.99		
	Total		7.24	5.92	6.43	6.73		
Anyone Else For All Authority Figures	4	1.65	2.28	1.02	1.76	1.54	0-6	Grade, SES
	6	1.45	2.15	.74	1.40	1.50		
	8	.89	1.27	.51	.91	.87		
	Total		1.90	.76	1.36	1.30		

TABLE 2-23 (Continued)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS
Friends For School	4	.13	.17	.08	.11	.15	0-1	SES
	6	.17	.26	.08	.18	.17		
	8	.21	.25	.16	.18	.23		
	Total		.23	.11	.16	.18		
Friends For All Authority Figures (Except School)	4	.60	.91	.28	.59	.61	0-5	Grade, SES
	6	.75	1.18	.33	.64	.86		
	8	.96	1.12	.81	.99	.94		
	Total		1.07	.47	.74	.80		

Note. Item: "Besides your mother (father, teacher, policeman, city officials, government officials) who else might scold or punish you, when you do not obey...(your mother's, father's etc.) rules (laws, orders)?" Alternatives: Mother, Father, Other adult relatives, Teacher, Principal, Policeman, Judge, Religious Leader, Friends, Anyone else. Index: Number of "Yes" responses for appropriate alternatives of reinforcing figures by number of supported figures or systems, grouped as mentioned in each index label.

TABLE 2-24

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(GREECE)

WHO ELSE WOULD PUNISH?	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Parents for Parents									
	4	.12	.05	.16	.10	-.01	.01	-.11	-.07
	6	-.06	.13	-.09	.10	-.01	.08	-.05	.05
	8	-.22*	-.11	-.01	-.03	-.08	-.08	-.12	-.21*
Parents for Non-Family Authority									
	4	.18	-.13	.16	-.25*	.02	.12	-.06	.16
	6	.04	.11	-.10	.10	-.11	-.08	-.12	.03
	8	-.12	-.13	.06	-.10	.01	-.07	-.18	-.06
Other Family for Parents									
	4	.08	.04	.05	.09	-.03	.02	.05	-.11
	6	-.06	-.02	-.07	.01	.10	.09	.06	.15
	8	-.17	-.07	.05	-.07	-.10	-.20*	-.37*	-.16
Other Family for Non-Family Authority									
	4	.19*	-.16	.20*	-.16	.01	.18	-.03	.12
	6	-.13	-.06	-.16	-.06	.04	.07	.03	.17
	8	-.25*	-.07	-.08	-.04	-.08	-.06	-.37*	-.06
Total Family for School									
	4	.08	-.23*	.08	-.27*	.10	.19*	.04	.18
	6	-.19*	.12	-.24*	.11	.11	.01	.06	.09
	8	-.23*	-.24*	-.06	-.19*	-.10	-.14	-.32*	-.11

TABLE 2-24 (Continued)

WHO ELSE WOULD PUNISH?	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Non-Family Authority For Parents									
	4	.05	-.29*	.05	-.30*	-.08	.27*	-.06	.32*
	6	-.30*	-.08	-.23*	-.04	.14	-.04	.16	.06
	8	-.05	.04	.02	.04	-.02	-.11	-.19*	-.09
Non-Family Authority For School									
	4	-.08	-.41*	-.07	-.41*	-.04	.25*	.02	.34*
	6	-.13	-.17	-.14	-.14	.07	.02	.10	.13
	8	-.01	-.04	.01	.00	.02	-.09	-.09	.08
Non-Family Authority For Non-Family Authority									
	4	.12	-.25*	.14	-.26*	-.08	.13	-.10	.18
	6	-.20*	-.11	-.16	-.07	-.01	.06	.09	.12
	8	-.14	.20*	.04	.18	-.11	-.06	-.25*	-.04
Anyone Else For All									
	4	.02	-.31*	.02	-.33*	-.13	.14	.00	.19*
	6	-.16	-.09	-.16	-.07	.02	.04	.09	.06
	8	-.04	-.15	.06	-.09	-.02	-.17	-.16	-.12
Friends For School									
	4	.12	-.19*	.07	-.21*	-.09	.01	-.05	.10
	6	-.15	-.16	-.16	-.16	.09	.03	.11	.10
	8	-.12	.10	-.05	.13	.12	-.17	-.09	-.16
Friends For All Except School									
	4	-.01	-.23*	-.04	.26*	-.03	.10	.04	.16
	6	-.28*	-.16	-.26*	-.15	.16	-.03	.22*	.04
	8	-.10	.13	.01	.17	.12	-.19*	-.11	-.17

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

B2. The Child's Conception of Rules and Laws

a. The Nature of Rules and Laws

Evidence concerning children's conceptions of the nature and functions of rules and laws was collected through interview items. Children were asked to define rules and laws, indicate differences between them, and imagine what would happen if there were no rules.

Definition of rules and laws. When asked to define rules, one third of the total interview sample (21 Ss out of 60) gave general definitions stressing only the requirement of obedience. As a grade 4 high status girl said, "A rule is that we should do what an elder tells us to do." Often this type of definition consisted of an enumeration of adult commands or expectations that various authority figures were thought to have of children. For example, a grade 4 low status boy declared: "A regulation is that we regulate something ... that is, at home Daddy and Mommy regulate things ... Daddy works and gets money and brings food at home for all of us to eat ... and he says that we should study hard, do our homework, and not run away from home ... and the teacher says that we must be good kids and study hard and not be vagrants." This type of response became less frequent as children grew older; it did not vary by SES or sex.

One fourth of the total sample (16 out of 60 Ss) defined rules as prescriptions or provisions for the benefit of people, and another fourth of the sample (15 Ss) defined them as prohibitions indicating forbidden behavior. The latter two types of definitions became more frequent with age. The view of rules as reasonable provisions prescribing desirable behavior was more frequent among low status than high status children, while the opposite SES trend was observed for definitions indicating that rules are seen as prohibiting undesirable behavior.

In defining laws, 25 (out of 60) children stressed the prohibitory quality and only 4 defined them as provisions having a reason and prescribing desirable behavior. The prohibitory quality of laws was stressed somewhat less often as children grew older; also, more low status than high status children saw laws as prohibitive but no sex differences emerged. No substantial grade, sex, or SES differences affected the frequency of Ss defining laws as reasonable provisions prescribing desirable behavior. General statements were made as frequently in defining laws (by 20 out of 60 Ss) as in defining rules. However,

their frequency with respect to laws increased with age; also, general definitions of laws were given more often by high status than low status children; no sex differences were observed.

Another interesting aspect of children's definitions of rules and laws was that, of the Ss who stressed the negative consequences of rule- and law-breaking (16 Ss in the former case and 17 Ss in the latter), 3 referred to punishment as the consequence of rule-breaking while 11 mentioned punishment as the consequence of law-breaking. Also, while 11 children mentioned other negative consequences of rule-breaking, such as harm to a group or to individuals, only 5 referred to similar consequences of law-breaking. Punishment as a consequence of rule and/or law violation was invoked more often as children grew older. Also, this type of response was given more often by low status than by high status children, and more often by girls than by boys.

Besides the subtle but important differences between rules and laws implied in children's definitions of both, additional probing further clarified their views about these differences. One-sixth of the total sample (9 Ss out of 60) maintained that there is no difference between rules and laws. Also, 15 Ss (out of 51 who acknowledged that there are differences between rules and laws) were not able to verbalize these differences. As could be expected, the number of children having such difficulties decreased with age. Over all grades, more girls than boys had difficulty specifying in what ways rules and laws differ, but no SES differences were observed.

The responses of children who were able to identify differences were grouped along two major dimensions: (1) specificity vs. generality of application--with laws being perceived as more general or comprehensive in their application than rules; and (2) degree to which governmental authorities are involved in the creation and/or enforcement of rules vs. laws--with laws, unlike rules, being seen as governmental in origin, although their enforcement was not seen as the responsibility of only governmental authorities. The former type of response was more frequent than the latter (20 vs. 10 Ss), and was given more often by older than younger children. No substantial sex or SES differences were observed in the frequency of either type of response.

Function of rules. Children's views about the function of rules were assessed through the interview question: "What would happen if there were no rules?" Responses to this question stressed with almost equal

frequencies the following three types of consequences: (1) personal preferences rather than principles would determine behavior; (2) physical violence and crime would increase; and (3) anarchy, disorder, and chaos would rule. Type 1 responses became more frequent with age and were given more often by high status than low status children. Type 2 responses became less frequent as children grew older and were more frequent among low status children and boys than high status children and girls. Finally, the frequency of type 3 responses increased with age, was higher for girls than boys, and showed no differences by SES.

The inquiry about the consequences of absence of rules was further pursued for home and school. Most children's responses to the question, "What would happen if there were no rules at home?" stressed that a state of anarchy would prevail at home (46 Ss); substantially fewer Ss (11) mentioned that such a situation would prevent children from developing into good people; even fewer Ss (4) pointed out that necessary work would not get done and that the possibility of injury would increase (5 Ss). Interestingly, the frequency of the first type of response showed no substantial differences by age, sex, or SES, while the expectation that absence of rules in the home would impede children's development into good people was expressed more often by low status than high status children and more often by boys than girls.

Responses to the question "What would happen if there were no rules at school?" primarily stressed the expectation that school discipline would deteriorate, and learning would not take place. The frequency of the latter response did not vary with age, while the expectation that school discipline would deteriorate in the absence of rules was expressed increasingly more often as children grew older. On the other hand, more low status than high status children expressed concern over both kinds of consequences and more girls than boys appeared to be concerned with the decline of school discipline in the absence of rules.

Summary. Interview data indicated that Greek children more often tended to see laws than rules as prohibitive and more often invoked punishment as a consequence of law-breaking than of rule-breaking. These differences were related to the fact that laws were seen as more general and more comprehensive than rules in terms of domain of application; also, laws, unlike rules, were always seen as made and enforced by government authorities (i.e., by distant and rather abstract authorities) while rule-making (and enforcing) was associated

with individual and quite familiar authority figures like parents and teachers. This differentiation probably reflects awareness on the part of children that breaking a law is very likely to evoke more or less serious legal sanctions, while violation of a family or school rule is rather unlikely to elicit very severe punishment.

Rules were seen as functioning mainly to preserve order, to prevent anarchy and breakdown of the system, and to enhance young people's moral development and school learning.

Hierarchy of rules and laws. Children's views about the relative seriousness of different types of offenses constitute an important part of their conception of laws and rules. Assessment of these views may shed light on the development of children's ideas about the hierarchy of rules and laws.

Three types of behavior legally recognized as anti-social were considered: offenses against persons, property, and the social order. Examples of these three types of anti-social behavior were presented as committed within five different social systems: the family, school, community, religion, and the peer group. Subjects were asked to select the "worst" among the three types of offenses within each of these systems. It was expected that the responses would be affected by the nature of the anti-social act, the system within which the act was presented as committed, and the nature of the items (i.e., the requirement of choice of the worst alternative rather than ranking the relative seriousness of the three alternatives within each system).

Data on this topic are shown in Figure 2-10 and Tables 2-25 through 2-27. More than two-thirds of the total Greek sample chose actions against property as the worst of the three alternatives across all the systems considered. Actions against persons and the social order were chosen as the worst by significantly lower percentages of children at all grade levels. The absolute difference between the composite index for actions against property and the indices for actions against persons and the social order was greater than that of any variations by sampling breaks. These findings suggest that children learn quite early that the formal law views offenses against property as more serious than offenses against persons and the social order as exemplified in the items used in this study (see Appendix 2).

Belief that violation of a system's social order is the worst offense declined with age, an additional indication that anti-system acts are seen as less serious than acts against personal rights, and even less serious than offenses against property.

Over all grades, more children condemned offenses against property in the family, the church, and the peer group than in the school and the community. Table 2-25 indicates that the large differences observed in the frequency with which fourth graders condemned acts against property committed in different social settings diminished with age. At eighth grade, acts against property were condemned with almost equal frequencies, whether they were presented as committed in the family, school, church, or the peer group. Eighth graders condemned offenses against property less often within the community than within other systems. Apparently, this was due to the fact that a high percentage of eighth graders chose the anti-person offense as the worst alternative within the community (see Table 2-26 and discussion of data on actions against persons).

Despite the above-mentioned variation, with increasing age children moved toward a generalized and stable attitude toward acts against property, considering them as the worst regardless of the nature of the compliance system within which they may be committed. This increasing similarity of responses may reflect recognition of inter-system support as well as identification with the formal law, which considers stealing wrong regardless of the system within which it takes place. Whatever the processes underlying this development--increasing realism of perception or identification with a broadening number of authority figures--the development of these responses across grades indicates that, as children grow older, they become more concerned with the abstract wrong of stealing than with the wrongness of stealing from a specific system.

Variations by sampling dimensions on the composite index for actions against property were consistent across all systems, although their magnitude differed depending on the system. Over all grades, boys chose actions against property as the worst more frequently than did girls, and high status children chose them more frequently than did low status children, particularly at grades four and eight, although the age effect was nonsignificant (see Table 2-25). Sex and social status differences were less pronounced for actions against property within the family.

The composite index for offenses against persons showed no significant variations by sampling groups. However, choices of this alternative differed substantially depending on the specific systems. Table 2-26 shows that offenses against persons were seen as the worst with substantially higher frequency when committed in the community than in any other system. Also, offenses against persons in the community and the family were condemned with increasing frequency by older children, while such offenses in school tended to be seen as the worst by fewer older children. The over-all-systems pattern of responses across grades indicates that older children judged the seriousness of actions against persons in a more differentiated way than did the younger children. Differences between the systems were greater at grade eight than at grade four. Also, the rank order of frequencies by system changed with age. For example, the family moved from the lowest rank at grade four to the second at grade eight, and the school from the third rank to the last. The system of friends remained third in rank position at all grades. Apparently, in judging the seriousness of personal offenses, older children take into consideration the social setting within which such offenses occur. Of interest is that offenses against property in the community as well as offenses against rules in this system were chosen as the worst with decreasing frequencies as age increased; however, the opposite age trend was apparent in the frequency with which personal offenses in the community were judged as the most serious. This pattern of response probably reflects these children's growing awareness of the importance of personal dignity and respectability, especially within the community (Lee-Demetracopoulou, 1955; Friedl, 1962; Campbell, 1964). The distribution of responses may also be partly related to the specific examples used for the community item, all three of which actually involve violation of personal rights (see Appendix 2, item 416).

The finding is also in line with children's responses to the interview question, "Which is worst, to hit, steal from, or say something bad about a person?" Half the interview sample answered that maligning is the worst offense against a person. Only one third of the sample said that stealing something from a person is the worst, and only 4 children insisted that stealing is equally bad as maligning. Also, only 5 children--all fourth graders--chose "hitting a person" as the worst of the three alternatives. For these children, maligning a person was indeed more serious than stealing his property or attacking him physically. The following interview excerpt illustrates the point: "When you say bad things about a person you soil his honor and people think that he is a bad person. If you hit a person, the pain will pass. If you take something from a person, he will be able to replace it. But it will not be possible for him to repair his soiled honor."

Changes with age in the distribution of frequencies of responses for "stealing" and "saying bad things" are also revealing: stealing was chosen as the worst less often as children grew older, while maligning a person was chosen as the worst by more children as age increased.

Perception of offenses against the social order as the worst declined significantly as children grew older (see Table 2-27). This decline was apparent only with respect to the frequency of children condemning offenses against the rules of school, community, and peer group. Actions against the social order of all systems were chosen as the worst significantly more often by low status than by high status children. The SES differences had the same direction for all systems considered, but they were more pronounced for actions against the rules of school and community. The finding is congruent with other findings of this study, indicating that low status children perceive rules and laws as more rigid and are more likely than high status children to comply with rules externally enforced.

Relationships between judgments of the relative seriousness of types of anti-social acts and classroom behavior. Correlation coefficients shown in Table 2-28 indicate that children who judged offenses against property as the most serious were more likely to be seen by peers as displaying cooperative behavior in the classroom. The relationship was significant for fourth graders only. Also, fourth graders who judged offenses against the social order of the various systems as the most serious of the three alternatives of anti-social acts were not likely to be seen as cooperative in the classroom setting. The belief that the most serious offenses are those against persons was not significantly related to peer ratings of classroom behavior. Older children's judgments about the relative seriousness of the three types of anti-social acts did not yield consistent and significant relationships with peer ratings of classroom behavior.

Perhaps judgments about the relative seriousness of different types of offenses have a greater bearing on the behavior of younger than older children. Also, condemning acts against the social order of a system may not necessarily elicit cooperative behavior. Perhaps young children sho judge acts against the rules of social systems as the most serious are those who are most likely to have experienced the consequences of violating them.

Summary. Children's responses to the "Which is worst" questionnaire items indicated that, across all grades, offenses against property are considered as the most serious. Older children considered stealing as the worst regardless of the social system within which it may occur. Boys and high status children chose this alternative significantly more often than girls and low status children.

Personal offenses were chosen as the worst by substantially fewer children over all grades. Older children judged these offenses as more serious when they are committed within the community, the family, or the peer group than when they occur in the school or the religious system.

Offenses against the rules of social systems were seen as the most serious substantially less often than were anti-property acts. Older and high status children chose anti-system acts as the worst less often than younger and low status children. Over all grades anti-school and anti-church acts were seen as the worst more often than were acts against the rules of the community, peer-group, and family. With increasing age, however, anti-church acts were seen as the worst by more children while all the other anti-system acts were chosen as the worst by fewer. Across all grades more girls than boys judged anti-school and anti-church acts as the worst and more low status than high status children judged offenses against the rules of school and community as the worst.

Judgments about the relative seriousness of two of these different types of offenses appeared to have a significant bearing on the classroom behavior of the younger children. Fourth grade boys and girls condemning offenses against property were likely to be seen as displaying cooperative behavior in the classroom, while those condemning acts against the rules of the various social systems tended to be seen as uncooperative.

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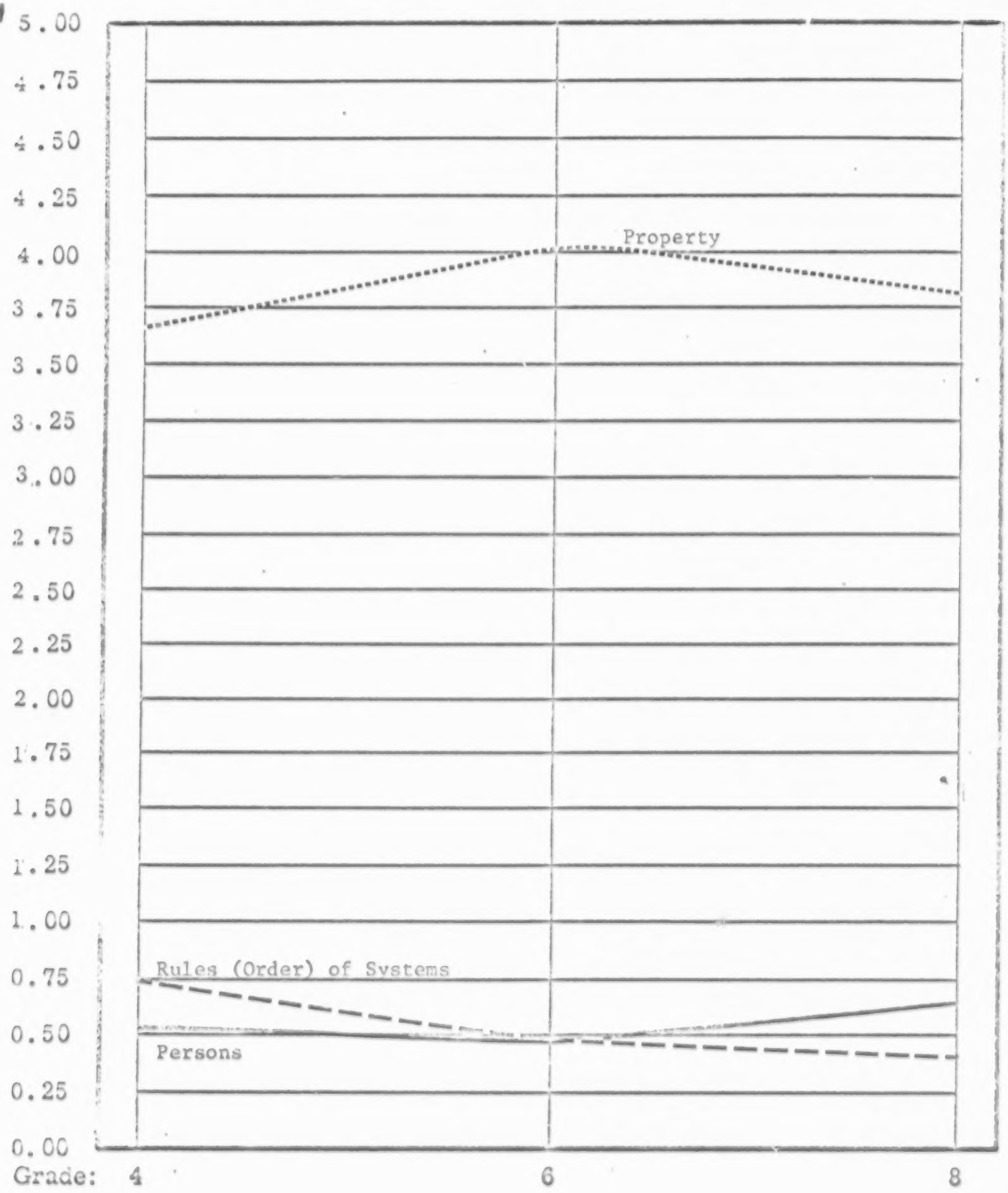
FIGURE 2-10
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEWS OF WHICH IS WORST:
OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS, AGAINST PROPERTY,
OR AGAINST THE RULES (ORDER) OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE
(GREECE)



Item: Which is worst?

TABLE 2-25

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PERSONS OR THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(GREECE)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	60	51	70	60	61
	6	76	78	74	71	81
	8	83	74	91	81	84
	Total		68	78	71	75
Community	4	60	52	68	55	65
	6	70	64	76	67	73
	8	65	62	67	67	63
	Total		60	70	63	67
Family	4	94	90	98	94	93
	6	86	89	84	86	87
	8	81	82	80	78	84
	Total		87	87	86	88
Peers	4	77	68	85	78	76
	6	86	88	84	82	90
	8	84	83	84	82	86
	Total		80	85	80	84
Religion	4	80	79	82	81	80
	6	84	81	86	78	90
	8	78	74	82	76	80
	Total		78	83	78	83

Note. Significant Effects: (Property) None. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To take or steal something in the school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: Number of choices of offenses against property as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 2-26

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PROPERTY AND THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER), ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	10	14	7	9	12
	6	2	3	2	2	3
	8	2	2	3	2	3
	Total		6	4	4	6
Community	4	20	17	24	22	19
	6	26	28	28	30	21
	8	34	36	33	32	36
	Total		27	26	28	25
Family	4	4	7	2	4	5
	6	11	9	14	12	10
	8	14	14	15	18	10
	Total		10	10	21	9
Peers	4	11	13	8	10	11
	6	7	8	6	11	2
	8	11	13	8	14	7
	Total		11	7	12	7
Religion	4	7	10	4	5	10
	6	3	4	1	4	2
	8	6	6	6	6	6
	Total		7	4	5	6

Note. Significant Effects: (Persons) None. Item: "Which is Worst?" Alternative: "To fight with, insult or say something against a person in the school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: Number of choices of offenses against person as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 2-27

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PROPERTY OR PERSONS, ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(GREECE)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	29	35	23	31	27
	6	21	19	24	27	16
	8	15	24	6	17	12
	Total		26	18	25	18
Community	4	20	31	8	22	17
	6	5	7	2	3	6
	8	1	2	0	1	1
	Total		13	3	9	8
Family	4	2	4	0	2	2
	6	2	2	3	2	2
	8	5	4	5	3	6
	Total		3	3	2	4
Peers	4	12	19	6	12	13
	6	7	5	10	8	7
	8	6	4	7	4	7
	Total		9	8	8	9
Religion	4	12	10	14	14	10
	6	14	14	13	18	9
	8	16	19	12	18	13
	Total		15	13	17	11

Note. Significant Effects: Grade, SES. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To disturb, break, disobey, refuse to follow or say something against the rules (order) of school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: Number of choices of offenses against the systems' rules (order) as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 2-28

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDICES OF PERCEPTION OF THE RELATIVE SERIOUSNESS OF THREE TYPES OF OFFENSES AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (GREECE)

"WHICH IS WORST" INDICES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Anti-Person Acts	4	.02	-.08	-.01	-.10	.08	.12	-.02	.15
	6	.10	-.05	.05	-.03	.22*	.09	.10	.10
	8	-.02	-.01	.03	.02	-.10	-.06	-.08	-.04
Anti-Property Acts	4	.28*	.22*	.28*	.23*	-.13	-.18	-.07	-.20*
	6	-.10	.14	-.06	.15	-.12	-.12	-.02	-.11
	8	-.01	.12	-.09	.02	.12	.14	.14	.09
Anti-System Acts	4	-.30*	-.21*	-.26*	-.22*	-.04	.11	-.13	.10
	6	.12	-.14	.09	-.18	-.11	.09	-.15	.06
	8	-.11	-.19*	-.09	-.06	-.13	-.16	-.15	-.10

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

b. Origin of Laws and Rules

Rule-making in the family. The item cited in Table 2-29 was used to assess the children's perception of the rule-makers in their family. Children were instructed to choose one of the four alternatives listed in Table 2-29 which represent unilateral rule-making by one of the parents, joint rule-making by both parents, and democratic rule-making involving the entire family. Data in Table 2-29 show that more than half of the total Greek sample reported that their family rules are made by the father and mother acting together. Less than one third of the total sample reported that their entire family is involved in making the rules of their homes. Few children thought that one of their parents was the sole rule maker in the family. Among these children, 4 to 5 percent perceived their mother as the sole rule-maker in the family and 8 to 18 percent, their father.

No significant grade differences affected the frequency of Ss seeing the mother as sole rule-maker, while the number of Ss citing the father as sole rule-maker dropped substantially from grade four to six and increased again slightly from grade six to eight. The most interesting features of these data concern variations in the frequencies of Ss citing the other two alternatives. As shown in Table 2-29, the number of children who believed that their family rules are made by their father and mother acting together increased with age in the low status group and decreased in the high status group. Correspondingly, belief that rule making in their families is a democratic process involving all its members became more frequent with age among high status children and less frequent with age among low status children.

The responses of Greek children to this item are congruent with those regarding their own participation in making decisions at home; low status children, as they grew older, saw themselves as participating less in making home decisions, while older high status children saw themselves as participating more (see Section B5). These changes of opinion with age on the part of both SES groups may reflect a more realistic appraisal of the power structure of their families. It is also possible that the responses of older children reflect SES differences in parental value orientations. Not only may the actual power structure of the family differ by SES but also the values professed by parents about it. Older children's responses are more likely than those of the younger ones to reflect both.

Differences by sex indicate that over all grades more boys than girls saw rule-making at home as a whole-family activity. However, the frequency of girls perceiving their families as ruled by the two parents as a unit did not change with age. Perhaps, boys, as they grow older, expect parents to give them increasing opportunities to participate in the process of rule-making at home. By contrast, girls accept quite early a subordinate role within the family. In attempting to understand this attitude of girls vis-a-vis rule-making at home, it is important to note that responses to the question, "Who enforces the rules of the family?" indicated that, with increasing age, girls tended to see the entire family rather than father and mother together as enforcing family rules. By contrast, the boys' perception of both parents as rule-enforcers increased with age and, correspondingly, their view of the whole family as being involved in rule enforcement decreased (see Table 2-36). This additional finding indicates that, with increasing age, girls are more likely than boys to identify with the idea that the family rules are made by the parents but have to be enforced by the entire family. These sex differences in the perceived locus of rule-making and rule-enforcing powers in the family may reflect boys' and girls' expectations about their future roles in the family structure.

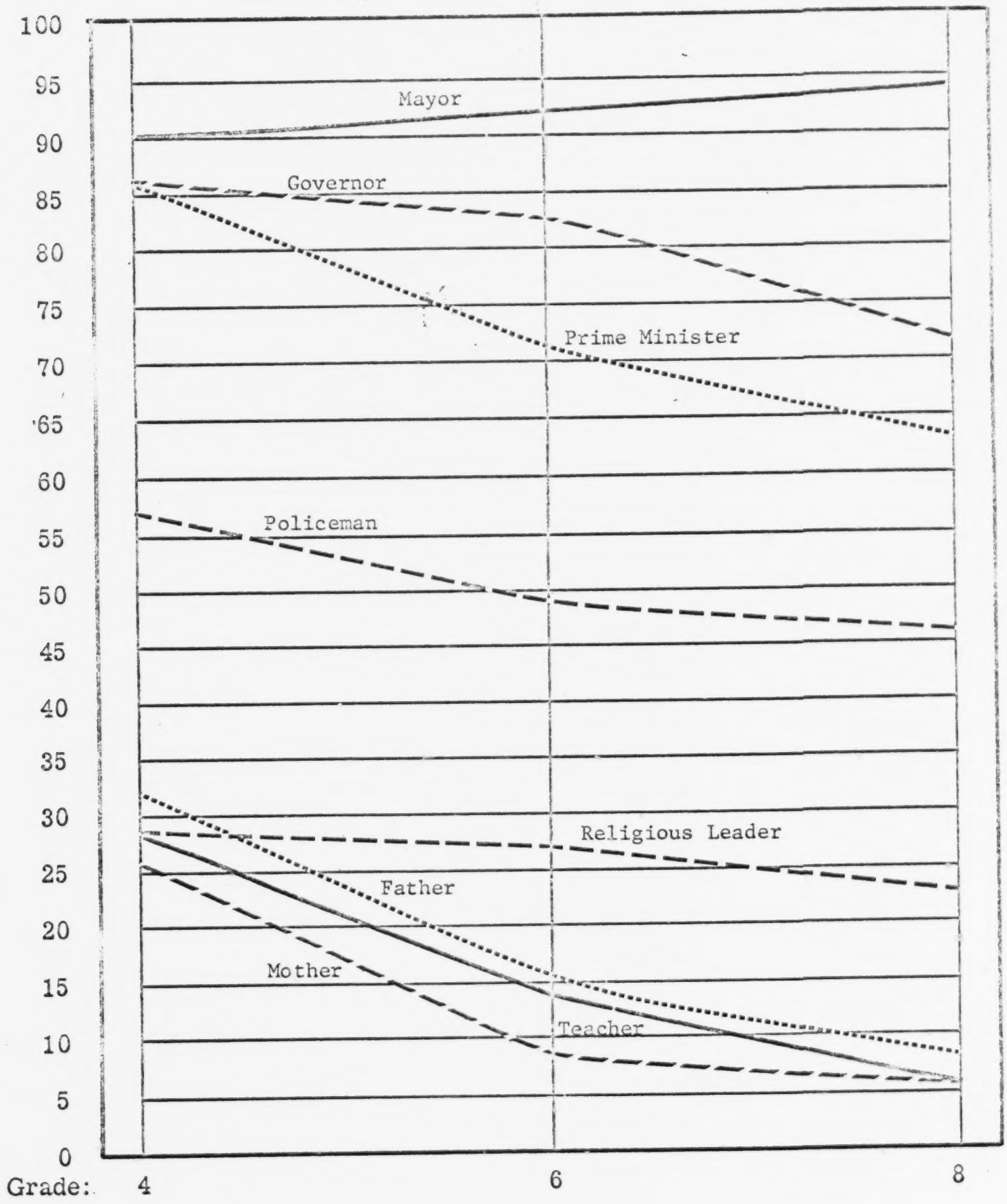
Summary. Nearly half of the total Greek sample thought that both their parents make the rules of the family. Approximately 30% of the total sample thought that rule-making in their homes is a democratic process involving the entire family. Belief in democratic rule-making was more frequent among boys than girls. With age, this belief increased among high status children but decreased among low status children. Belief in joint action of the two parents in making family rules decreased with age among high status children and increased among low status children. Belief in joint rule-making by parents increased with age among boys; among girls it remained relatively constant.

Rule-makers in the neighborhood. The specific authority figures included in this item are listed in Table 2-30 and Figure 2-11. Data indicate that about 90% of the sample, regardless of age, sex, or SES, thought that the mayor made the rules and laws of their neighborhood. The next most frequent choices were the governor, Prime Minister, and policeman, in that order. The policeman was chosen more frequently by low status children; the governor, more frequently by boys and younger children. Younger children were also more likely to think that the Prime Minister was also involved in rule-and law-making in their neighborhood.

Parents and teachers were infrequently cited, particularly by older and high status children. The religious leader was cited more often by low status children.

Perhaps the important feature of these data is not that the actual community rule-makers were recognized by almost the total Greek sample, but the fact that a substantial number of children did not differentiate clearly between rule-makers and rule-enforcers in the community. Data also showed that this confusion was more frequent among younger children and that, across all grades, it was more frequent among low status children.

FIGURE 2-11
PERCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
IN RULE AND LAW-MAKING, BY GRADE
(GREECE)



Item: "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live--like your neighborhood?"

TABLE 2-29

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN MAKING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (GREECE)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	18	17	19	15	21
	6	8	14	2	10	6
	8	12	15	10	15	10
Total		13	15	10	13	12
Mother	4	4	4	4	4	4
	6	5	5	5	8	2
	8	4	3	6	6	3
Total		4	4	5	6	3
Father and Mother Together	4	49	40	58	59	38
	6	60	53	67	59	61
	8	53	62	44	50	56
Total		54	52	56	56	52
Whole Family	4	29	40	19	22	37
	6	27	28	26	23	31
	8	30	20	40	29	31
Total		28	29	28	24	33

Item. "Who usually makes the rules in your family?
Response alternatives: 1. Father; 2. Mother; 3. Father and Mother together; 4. Whole family. Item Scale: Percentage choice of one alternative.

TABLE 2-30

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES IN RULE-AND LAW-MAKING IN THE COMMUNITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Mother	4	26	41	12	27	26
	6	8	12	4	8	8
	8	6	6	7	6	7
Total			20	8	14	14
Father	4	32	50	15	38	27
	6	15	21	9	19	11
	8	8	7	9	7	9
Total			26	11	21	16
Teacher	4	28	43	13	31	24
	6	14	21	7	15	12
	8	6	9	2	8	4
Total			24	7	18	13
Policeman	4	57	68	46	59	56
	6	49	63	35	50	48
	8	46	50	43	45	48
Total			60	41	51	50
Mayor	4	90	92	88	89	91
	6	92	96	89	90	94
	8	94	96	92	91	97
Total			95	89	90	94
Governor	4	86	86	85	85	86
	6	83	91	76	78	89
	8	72	76	68	58	86
Total			84	77	74	87
Prime Minister	4	86	89	82	89	82
	6	71	80	62	63	79
	8	63	62	63	55	70
Total			77	69	69	77
Religious Leader	4	28	36	20	29	27
	6	27	35	19	29	25
	8	23	28	18	26	20
			33	19	28	24

Item: "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live, like your neighborhood?" Alternatives: "Yes," "No", "Don't know". Item Scale: Percentage responding "Yes" to each of the figures listed.

c. Justice of Rules and Laws

Evidence of this topic was collected through interview and questionnaire items. The interviewed children (10% of the total research group) were asked to define "What is a fair rule?" Responses were distributed into three major categories: (1) definitions identifying fairness with equality and universality of application (e.g., a rule is fair if it affects everyone equally); (2) definitions making group consensus a prerequisite of fairness (e.g., a rule is fair if the persons who must comply with it agree with it); and (3) definitions deriving fairness from the rule's congruency with the principles of an authority system (e.g., a rule is fair if it is congruent with the principles of religion, government, etc.).

The first two types of definitions were more frequent than the latter. Twenty Ss identified fairness of rules with equality and universality of application; 25 Ss identified it with group consensus and 9 Ss derived fairness of rules from their congruency with transcendent authority systems.

The frequency of the latter type of response remained constant with age; it was expressed significantly more often by low status children but its frequency did not differ by sex. The frequency of type 1 definitions remained constant with age and showed no substantial variations with the Ss' sex and SES. Definitions identifying fairness with group consensus increased with age, especially between grades 4 and 6; they were given more often by boys than girls but their frequency did not differ by SES.

The stability with age of the number of Ss holding a notion of distributive justice and the increase with age of those who view group consensus as a prerequisite of fairness of rules are in line with Piaget's theory concerning the development of moral judgement in children (Piaget, 1948; Kohlberg, 1964).

The questionnaire item cited in Figure 2-12 was used to assess children's views on the justice of rules and laws of various authority figures and systems. The rank order of means by figures and systems across grades indicates that at all grade levels the rules of parents were ranked highest, followed by the rules and laws of the teacher, government authorities, and friends.

The analysis of variance showed that the progression of children's responses varied by authority figure. Age affected all of the judgments, but not in the same

way. Regard for the justice of rules and laws of government authorities declined with age, while regard for the justice of friends' rules rose with age. Ratings of the justice of rules of parents and the teacher showed similar interactions of age with SES (see Tables 2-31 through 2-32). Regard for the justice of rules of parents and the teacher remained constant with age in the low status group but declined with age in the high status group. The level of mean responses of fourth and sixth graders indicated that children from both SES groups believe that "nearly all" the rules of their parents and teacher, "most" of the rules and laws of the government authorities, and only "some" of the rules made by their friends are just. At eighth grade the pattern of ratings varied, depending on children's SES. Declining regard for the justice of rules and laws of government authorities and increasing confidence in the justice of friends' rules pertained to both SES groups. However, a substantial lowering of regard for the justice of parents' and teacher's rules occurred only among high status children and was more pronounced for the teacher's than for the parents' rules.

These data suggest that children's increasing ability for realistic social perception and pragmatic judgment affected differently their views on the justice of rules and laws of various sources of authority. The widely known tendency of older children to question the infallibility of authority figures and the perfection of the values they profess as well as the behavioral standards they enforce was considerably less inhibited toward non-family authorities than toward parents. Also, high status children appeared to feel more free than low status children to express skepticism toward the justice of rules and laws of all sources of authority, including their parents. Older low status children did not actually question the justice of rules of their parents and teachers.

Another important feature of the data is that children of all grades appeared quite reluctant to rate the country's laws as high in justice as they had the rules of their parents and teacher. This may be partly due to the fact that children of all grades thought that they could not answer this question with enough surety, since--as they said during the testing sessions--they did not know most of the country's laws, while they knew all of the rules of their parents and teacher. Whether this reluctance resulted from a genuine desire to be realistic or was drawn from an early tendency to question the justice of laws of the government is not clear.

Relationships between estimates of the fairness of rules and other dimensions of authority figures. Correlations shown in Table 2-33 indicate that children's belief in the justice of the figures' rules was in positive correspondence not only with their perception of the figures as helpful and likable but also with their awareness of the figures' punitive power and consistency in punishing disobedience. Belief in the justice of figures' rules was as consistently associated with belief that punishment is an inevitable consequence of disobedience of the figures' rules as it was with affective attachment to them. The relationship between perception of the figures' rules as fair and regard for their helpfulness and power to punish was also positive but less consistently significant.

These data suggest that children's estimates of the justice of authority figures' rules were not a mere reflection of emotional attachment to them. In fact, liking for the teacher and the policeman was consistently and highly correlated with children's high regard for the justice of their rules, while the corresponding correlations for parents were not always significant. On the other hand, the relationship between "rules fair" and "inevitability of punishment for disobedience of the figures' rules" was as consistent for the teacher and policeman as it was for parents. For these children, consistency in rule enforcement was an important correlate of fairness.

The finding that "rules fair" did not always correlate significantly with "liking" for parents probably means that children, especially the younger ones, being naturally attached to their parents, may spontaneously declare liking for parents even if they do not have a high regard for the justice of their rules. However, with age, the relationship between "rules fair" and "liking" became significant for parents also. Apparently, for older children, attachment to authority figures, including their parents, is not as spontaneous and unconditional as it seems to be for the younger ones.

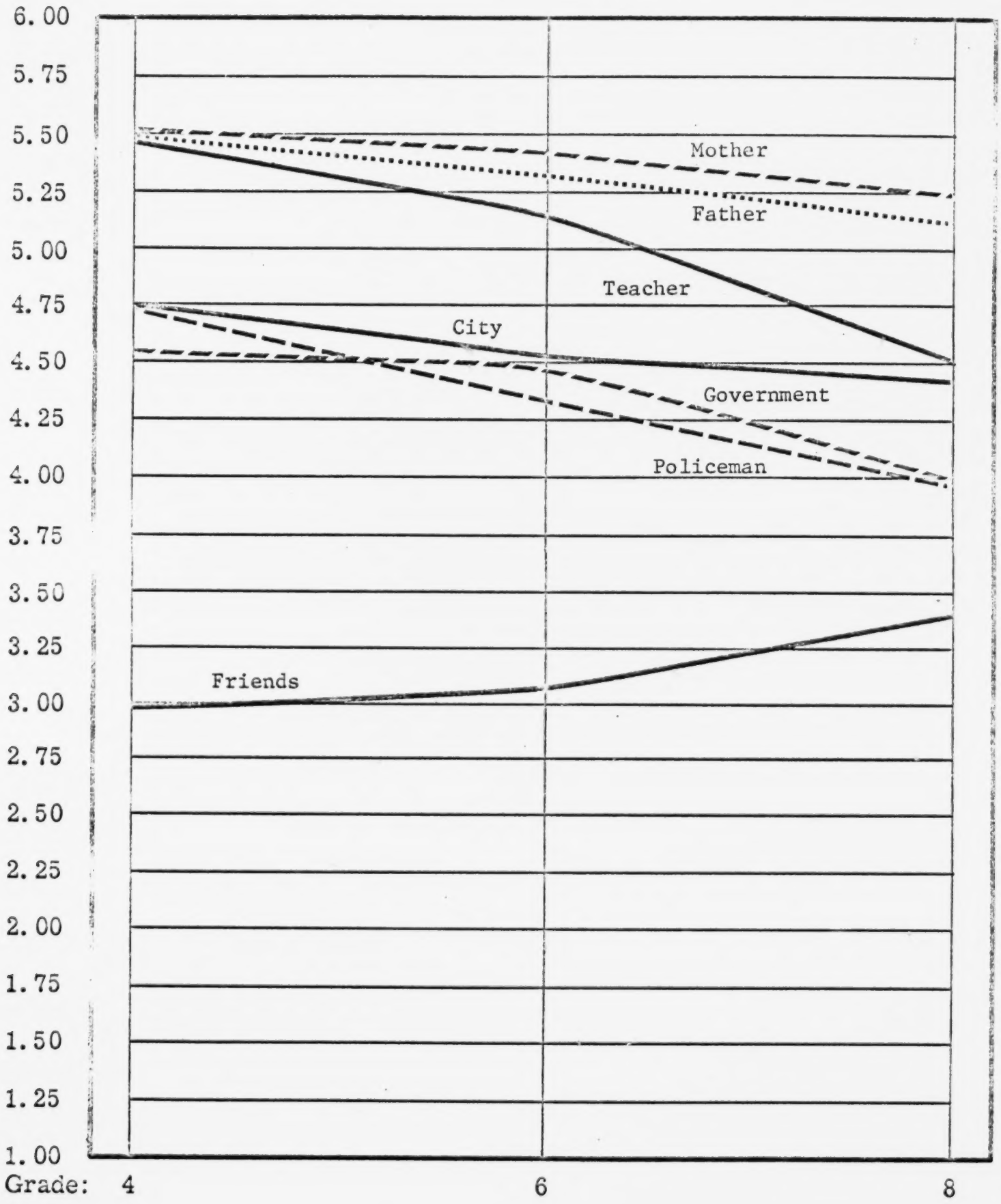
Relationship between perception of rules of authority figures as fair and classroom behavior. The notion that compliance with and internalization of rules is enhanced by a view of them as beneficial to human beings is often conceptualized in terms of justice. Correlations shown in Table 2-34 indicate that children's belief in the justice of figures' rules influences their classroom behavior. At grade four, the relationship between belief in the justice of teacher's rules and peer ratings of classroom behavior was significant and in the expected direction for both sexes.

Also significant and in the expected direction was the relationship between classroom behavior and the younger children's beliefs in the justice of rules of parents, the government, and the city. One important feature of these data is that, for eighth grade girls, belief in the justice of rules of parents and the teacher correlated negatively with both positive and negative behavior in the classroom. For eighth grade boys, belief in the justice of the policeman's orders, and friends' rules correlated positively with cooperative classroom behavior; for the same sub-group, belief in the justice of teachers' rules correlated negatively with peer ratings of noncompliant classroom behavior. The reasons for the ambiguity of correlations concerning eighth grade girls are not clear. With the exception of this discrepancy, the data provide substantial support to the notion that an important correlate of internalization of norms and compliance with them is the degree to which these norms are viewed as fair.

Summary. Across all grades, Greek children rated the rules of their parents higher than the rules and laws of all other sources of authority. Younger children thought that the rules of their teachers were as just as those of their parents, but they rated the rules of government authorities substantially lower. Declining belief in the justice of rules of government authorities was demonstrated by older children of both social classes. A significant decline of confidence in the justice of parents' and teachers' rules occurred only among high status children. With increasing grade, both social status groups' showed increasing confidence in the justice of friends' rules.

Correlation coefficients between these items and peer ratings of classroom behavior suggested that belief in the justice of rules of authority figures enhances cooperative behavior in the classroom.

FIGURE 2-12
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE
OF FIGURES' RULES, BY GRADE
(GREECE)



Item: "How many of (figure's) rules are fair?"

Scale: 1 - None; 6 - All.

TABLE 2 - 31

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE OF PARENTS' RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.40	5.04	5.46	5.24	5.55	5.60	5.58	5.27	5.53
SIX	5.32	5.23	5.58	5.42	5.32	5.10	5.20	5.27	5.35
EIGHT	5.15	5.55	5.41	5.48	4.62	5.03	4.82	5.09	5.22
TOTALS				5.38			5.19	5.21	5.37

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES BY GRADE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "HOW MANY OF YOUR FATHER'S (MOTHER'S) RULES ARE FAIR?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NONE; 6 - ALL

TABLE 2 - 32

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE OF TEACHER'S RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.44	5.41	5.08	5.25	5.63	5.66	5.65	5.51	5.37
SIX	5.20	5.30	5.65	5.49	5.02	4.75	4.87	5.17	5.23
EIGHT	4.51	5.19	5.10	5.15	3.88	3.81	3.84	4.56	4.46
TOTALS				5.31			4.78	5.07	5.04

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES BY GRADE. ITEM: "HOW MANY OF YOUR TEACHER'S RULES ARE FAIR?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NONE; 6 - ALL

TABLE 2-33

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF POSITIVE AND PUNITIVE DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND BELIEF IN THE JUSTICE OF THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(GREECE)

JUSTICE OF RULES WITH:	AUTHORITY FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
		GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Willingness To Help	Father	.01	.04	.11	.04	.21*	.27*
	Mother	.14	.08	.36*	.11	.51*	.28*
	Teacher	.11	.18	-.01	.09	.42*	.25*
	Policeman	.24*	.11	.27*	.09	.40*	.40*
	Government-Prime Min.	.24*	.23*	.28*	.27*	.39*	.23
Affective Attachment (Liking)	Father	.13	.34*	.12	.27*	.37*	.18
	Mother	.32*	.18	.09	.18	.49*	.26*
	Teacher	.28*	.29*	.41*	.42*	.56*	.48*
	Policeman	.48*	.19*	.40*	.48*	.63*	.54*
	Government-Prime Min.	.01	.24*	.16	.57*	.41*	.19
Power To Punish Non-compliance	Father	.08	.10	-.01	.12	.29*	.13
	Mother	.42*	.14	.13	.27*	.27*	.25*
	Teacher	.16	.29*	.20*	.03	.27*	.17
	Policeman	.13	-.08	.17	.36*	.18	.11
	Government-Prime Min.	.20	.17	.08	.08	-.01	.03
Inevitability Of Punishment	Father	.06	.24*	.08	.28*	.46*	.09
	Mother	.19*	.08	.12	.33*	.27*	.47*
	Teacher	.12	.24*	.03	.34*	.26*	.12
	Policeman	.30*	.28*	.21*	.28*	.17	.36*
	Government-Prime Min.	.24*	.29*	.03	.36*	.20	.16

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

TABLE 2-34

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF IN THE JUSTICE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (GREECE)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.21*	-.06	.17	-.09	.02	.07	-.10	.04
	6	.15	-.04	.26*	.14	-.18	.03	-.22*	-.07
	8	-.29*	-.05	-.28*	-.03	-.01	-.13	-.13	-.04
Mother	4	.36*	.09	.33*	.06	-.20*	-.13	-.27*	-.19*
	6	.07	-.02	.10	.04	-.07	.11	-.10	-.00
	8	-.24*	-.06	-.17	-.01	-.15	-.08	-.36*	-.08
Teacher	4	.36*	.19*	.35*	.22*	-.14	-.27*	-.30*	-.34*
	6	-.09	.05	-.06	.11	-.15	-.12	-.13	-.12
	8	-.35*	-.14	-.22*	.01	-.06	-.46*	-.35*	-.43*
Government	4	.18	-.10	.20	-.11	-.14	-.04	-.04	-.06
	6	.22*	.11	.25*	.09	-.18	-.23*	-.23*	-.15
	8	.02	.14	.01	.19	.05	-.06	-.01	-.09
Policeman	4	.08	-.10	.04	-.12	.17	.10	.13	.08
	6	.00	-.06	.03	-.01	-.03	-.10	-.09	-.06
	8	.08	.28*	.05	.23*	.13	.06	.15	.09
City	4	.11	-.11	.08	-.10	.05	-.04	.03	-.09
	6	.09	-.07	.08	.01	-.26*	.05	-.23*	-.01
	8	-.13	.08	-.05	.07	.07	-.14	-.07	-.15
Friends	4	.07	-.13	.02	-.16	-.06	.09	.01	.07
	6	.07	-.16	.06	-.02	.04	.02	.02	-.02
	8	.03	.25*	-.06	.33*	.05	-.03	.14	-.03

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

d. The Enforcement of Rules and Laws

Rule-enforcers in the family. The item cited in Table 2-35 was used to assess the children's perception of rule-enforcers in the family. The distribution of frequencies of Ss citing each of the four alternatives listed in this table shows that about one-half of the total Greek sample thought that parents acting together enforce the rules in the family; one fourth of the sample reported that the entire family enforces rules; about one fifth of the sample thought that only the father enforces family rules, and less than one tenth of the sample cited the mother as the sole rule-enforcer in the family.

A comparison of data presented in Tables 2-29 and 2-35 shows that the patterns of SES differences by age, which affected responses concerning rule-enforcement by parents acting together and rule-enforcement by the entire family, are similar to the interactions of SES with age which affected responses about rule-making at home. The sex by grade interactions which affected responses concerning rule-enforcement by both parents versus the whole family indicate that, with increasing age, more girls saw the entire family as participating in rule-enforcement at home, and fewer girls saw father and mother together as the rule-enforcers in family. The pattern of responses of boys followed opposite age trends (see Table 2-35). In other words, with increasing age, more girls than boys seemed to identify with the idea of the entire family being involved in enforcement of rules at home. It is notable however, that, with increasing age, girls, unlike boys, showed an increasing tendency to see rule-making at home as a joint activity of parents rather than as a process involving the entire family (see Table 2-29). These sex differences probably reflect differences between boys and girls regarding roles they expect to assume in the family as they approach maturity.

Data collected through the interview questions "Who can make you follow rules and laws?" and "Who cannot make you follow rules and laws?" may further clarify children's views on conditions permitting a person to enforce rules and require a child to obey. Age and institutional authority status were the conditions most often implied in the responses of Greek children. More than five-sixths of the total interview sample thought that parents and teachers share the power to enforce rules upon children. Half of the interview sample mentioned spontaneously the policeman, and one sixth mentioned other government officials.

On the other hand, more than half of the total interview sample said that peers and younger children cannot make them obey. This view was more frequent among younger than older children. One third of the total sample stressed that strangers (e.g., people not related to children by blood or community or institutional ties) cannot enforce rules upon them. Finally, one fourth of the total sample said that people who don't follow rules themselves cannot make them obey. These two types of responses were substantially more frequent among older than younger children.

Summary. Response patterns concerning rule-enforcers were similar to those regarding rule-makers in the family. Approximately half of the total sample thought that rules are enforced by both parents, and one fourth of the sample believed the total family is involved in rule-enforcement. With increasing grade, more high status than low status children and more girls than boys appeared to think that rule-enforcement is assured by the entire family rather than by joint action of parents or the father alone.

Age and institutional authority status were most often implied in children's responses to interview questions used to assess their views about conditions permitting a person to enforce rules and require a child to obey.

TABLE 2-35

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN ENFORCING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(GREECE)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	24	21	28	17	32
	6	15	22	8	9	21
	8	18	23	12	18	18
Total		19	22	16	15	23
Mother	4	8	6	11	11	6
	6	5	2	8	4	6
	8	10	8	12	11	9
Total		8	5	10	8	7
Father and Mother Together	4	46	41	52	58	35
	6	58	53	63	60	56
	8	46	48	43	40	51
Total		50	47	53	53	47
Whole Family	4	21	32	10	14	27
	6	21	23	20	26	17
	8	27	21	32	31	22
Total		23	25	21	24	22

Item: "Who sees that the rules of your family are obeyed or enforced?
Item Scale: Percentage choice of one alternative.

B3. The Child's Internalization of Norms

Moral development is often conceptualized as a process of identification by the child with authority figures. Through this process, rules shift from external imperatives to internalized principles. When a person resists temptation or feels guilty over rule violation in the absence of expectation of external punishment or reward, he is exhibiting moral behavior said to be internally directed. The individual's reactions toward other people's transgressions, and the particular methods he uses to enforce rules upon others, may also provide indications of the degree to which rules have been internalized.

a. Subjective Response to Noncompliance

The questionnaire item cited in Figure 2-13 was used to assess children's guilt feelings over rule violation. It was assumed that variations in intensity of reported guilt over breaking rules of different authority figures would reflect variations in the degree of children's identification with the figures and systems considered. Response variations may also indicate how socially desirable children consider confessing guilt about violation of rules of particular authority figures or systems.

Data shown in Figure 2-13 indicate that Greek children made clear distinctions among figures in reporting guilt over transgressions of their rules. These distinctions varied with the age and SES of the children but not with sex. At grade 4, children did not discriminate among parents, teacher, and religion, but they did discriminate between this group and government figures. Violation of rules and laws and the country, city, and policeman appeared to elicit less-intense feelings of discomfort than did violation of the rules of parents, teacher, and religion. Friends were ranked last.

With age, reports of guilt over violation of rules of the teacher and other non-family authorities declined significantly. However, this decline of reported guilt was more pronounced for violation of rules of the teacher, city, and policeman than for violation of rules of religion and laws of the country (see Figure 2-13).

Across all grades low status children reported significantly more-intense feelings of discomfort over transgressions of rules of the teacher and other non-family authorities than did high status children.

The means of low status children at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 5.20, 5.22, and 4.52 for the teacher; 4.55, 4.62, and 3.44 for the policeman; 4.50, 4.40, and 3.60 for the city; 4.77, 4.60, and 3.90 for the government; and 5.07, 5.35, and 5.21 for religion. The corresponding means of high status fourth, sixth, and eighth graders were: 5.15, 4.24, and 3.25 for the teacher; 3.79, 3.71, and 3.17 for the policeman; 3.82, 3.49, and 3.11 for the city; 3.99, 3.93, and 3.55 for the government; and 5.19, 5.21, and 4.17 for religion.

Responses concerning parents showed a significant grade by SES interaction (see Table 2-38): fourth grade high status children reported more-intense guilt toward parents than did their low status agemates; the direction of this SES difference was reversed at grade eight. The response level of low status children did not change significantly with increasing grade, while the response level of high status children decreased significantly from grade four to eight.

These variations indicate that younger and low status children were more inclined than older and high status children to report high degrees of guilt over transgression of rules of all authority figures and systems. The responses of younger and working class children may reflect less-independent self-criticism for rule violation than the responses of older and high status children. Perhaps the latter categories of Ss are more reluctant than the former to confess such feelings.

Relation of guilt to other variables of the study. The question of whether guilt, as an indicator of internalization of norms of authority, is a reliable measure of socialization and/or moralization is often asked by theorists and researchers. One approach to the problem is to inquire about the correlates of guilt. Examination of the degree to which the measure of guilt is related to other measures of the child's views about authority figures may provide useful indications about antecedents or correlates of guilt, and clarify questions regarding its reliability as a measure of morality. The important question is whether guilt correlates positively with the child's perception of authority figures as willing to help, likable and providing fair rules, or with his perception of figures as having power to punish and being likely to punish rule violation, or with both. Inspection of the correlational matrices shown in Tables 2-37 and 2-38 indicates that guilt is positively associated with all five sets of items.

However, across all grade and sex groups, the "guilt" items yielded many more significant positive correlations with the "liking" and "rules fair" items (87% of the coefficients in the former case and 83% in the latter were significant) than with the items indicating regard for the figures' helpfulness (45% significant coefficients) power to punish (43% significant coefficients) and punitive behavior (66% significant coefficients). In other words, the likelihood that children who feel affectively attached to authority figures and those who have confidence in the fairness of the figures' rules will experience feelings of discomfort over undetected violation of their rules is very high. On the other hand, although children who experience guilt over undetected violation of rules of authority figures are also likely to have positive views about the figures' willingness to help, power to punish and punitive behavior, recognition of these characteristics of authority figures appears to coexist less often with the child's tendency to feel guilty over violation of the figures' rules which is unknown to others. Since a significant correlation between variables does not indicate a causal association among them these data only suggest that positive orientations toward authority (in particular, liking for authority figures and confidence in the fairness of their rules) are more likely to coexist with guilt than is awareness of the figures' punitive as well as nurturant powers. In conjunction with this generalization it is useful to recall here that confidence in the fairness of rules of authority figures was found to be in more consistent positive association with liking for authority figures than with a high regard for their willingness to help and power to punish noncompliance(see Table 2-34). The data also indicated that an important correlate of children's confidence in the fairness of rules of authority figures was their belief that these figures consistently punish noncompliance with their rules.

Relationship between guilt and classroom behavior. Whether guilt is considered as an indicator of moral development or of socialization conceptualized as internalization of the norms of the central systems of society, its importance should be ultimately evaluated by the extent to which its development influences behavior. The distribution of significant correlations shown in Table 2-39 indicates that guilt does indeed consistently correlate negatively with noncompliant behavior in the classroom, particularly for the older children. Correlations between guilt and peer ratings of compliant behavior are fewer and, in some instances not in the expected direction (particularly for girls). This inconsistency in the results (although smaller than that found in other sections of the data) may follow from the fact that for Greek children reports of guilt

as well as peer ratings of classroom behavior were significantly and consistently affected by SES. It should also be recalled that guilt was found to correlate to a notable extent not only with positive dimensions of authority figures but also with their punitive characteristics. Perhaps, for a number of subjects, feelings of discomfort over rule violation do not stem from pure guilt but from a combination of guilt and fear of delayed external punishment.

Self-punishment for disobedience. Assessment of the degree to which children think they may punish themselves for detected noncompliance with the rules of authority figures is another way of evaluating their ability to identify with authority and disapprove of themselves when they disobey rules and laws.

Data on this matter were obtained in the frame of the general question about children's expectations of punishment for disobedience of rules of one source of authority by other authority figures as well (see section B1d). One of the alternatives of responses to this item was "I (me)," meaning that the child would tend to punish or blame himself for his misbehavior. The alternative "I (me)" was repeated in reference to disobedience of several authority sources (father, mother, teacher, policeman, city, government). Table 2-40 shows that the percentages of "Yes" responses to this item across all authority figures follow a pattern of curvilinear change by grade, increasing sharply from grade four to six and decreasing slightly from grade six to eight.

The percentages of "Yes" responses pertaining to various authority figures showed no substantial differences by total grade (see Table 2-40). There were, however, marked social status differences, particularly in grade four, indicating that more high status than low status children reported that they would punish themselves for disobedience of the rules of all authority figures. With increasing grade, these SES differences tended to reverse direction with more low status than high status eighth graders reporting that they would punish themselves for disobedience of rules of all authorities, particularly the teacher, the policeman, and the government. These SES differences are congruent with SES differences which affected the previously reported measure of guilt.

Relationship between reports of guilt for undetected rule violation and reports of self-blame for detected disobedience of authority figures. Examination of the correlations between these items showed that the number

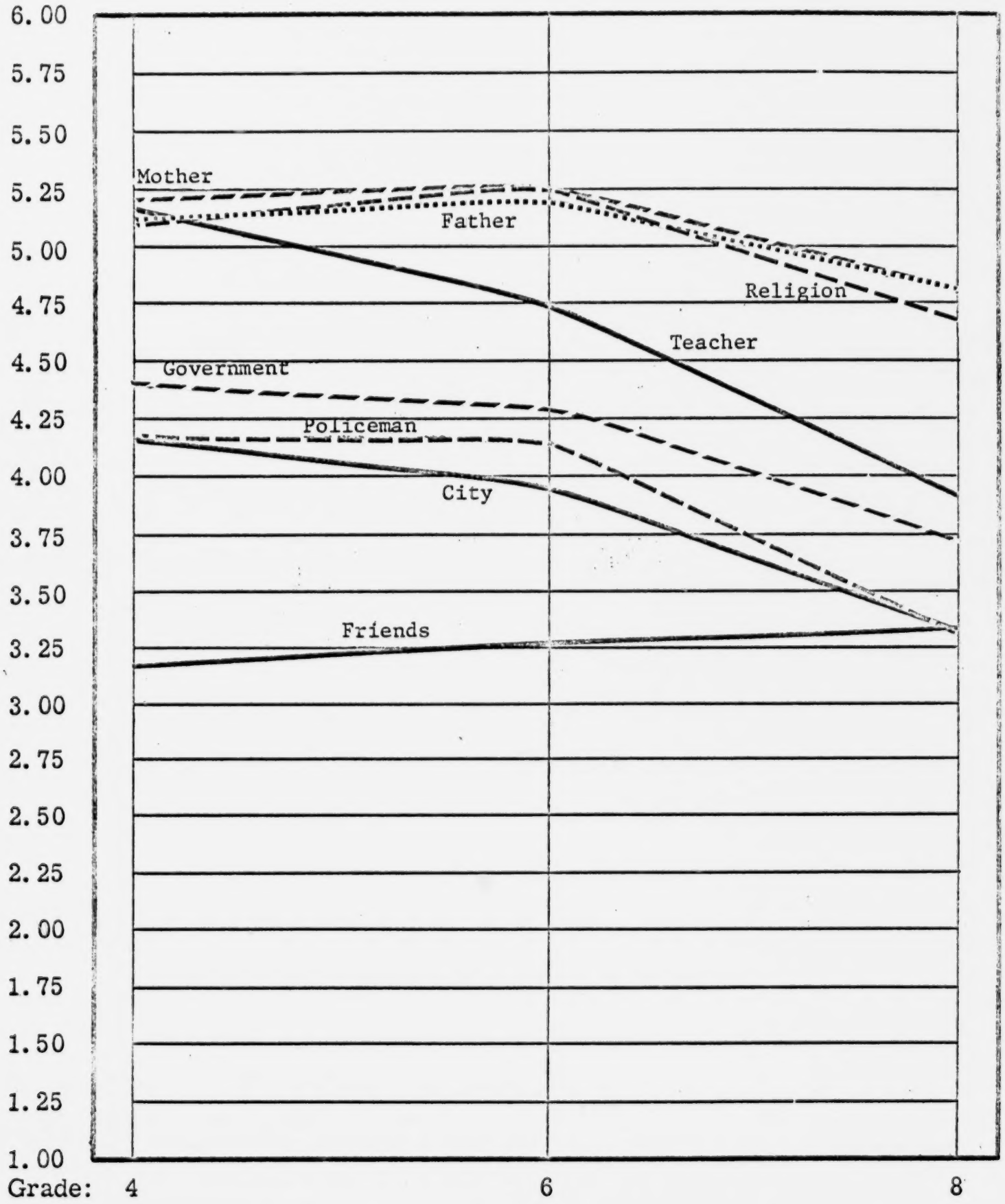
of those which are statistically significant across the six grade-sex groups is rather modest. As shown in Table 2-41 of forty-eight possible correlations for each alternative, twenty-two between guilt and punish-self items were significant. This table also shows that most of the other alternatives regarding belief in inter-system support yielded a greater number of significant correlations with measures of guilt. Belief, for example, that parents reinforce punishment for disobedience of rules of non-family authority figures yielded thirty-four significant (out of forty-eight possible) correlations with measures of guilt.

These findings suggest that, for many Greek children, guilt is related to expectations of external punishment. It is notable, however, that the index for punish-self responses correlated significantly and in the expected direction with peer ratings of behavior in the classroom (see Table 2-39) while most of the other indices regarding beliefs in inter-system support correlated negatively with cooperative behavior in the school (see Table 2-24).

Summary. For Greek children, reports of guilt feelings over violation of rules of all authority figures declined with age. Over all grades, high status children expressed less guilt over transgression of rules of the teacher and government authorities. With increasing age, high status children expressed less guilt over noncompliance with parental rules. Over all sampling groups, more guilt was expressed in relation to parents, teacher, and religion than in relation to government authorities. The variable of sex had no significant effects on this set of items. The frequency of Ss reporting self-punishment for detected (and punished) disobedience of rules of authority figures increased from grade four to six and remained relatively stable from grade six to eight.

For Greek children, guilt was positively related to their feelings of attachment to authority figures, their perception of the figures' rules as fair, and their regard for the figures' punitive characteristics. However, both measures of guilt were related to classroom behavior in the expected direction--particularly with avoidance of non-cooperative behavior--while the measures of children's regard for the punitive characteristics of the authority figures were found to correlate with classroom behavior ambiguously or in the opposite direction (i.e., the expectation of punishment correlated negatively with cooperative behavior and positively with negative behavior in the classroom).

FIGURE 2-13
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH FIGURE'S RULES, BY GRADE (GREECE)



Item: When you break (figure's) rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

TABLE 2 - 36

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH PARENTS' RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.13	5.16	4.87	5.02	5.42	5.12	5.26	5.28	4.99
SIX	5.19	5.07	5.39	5.24	5.23	5.05	5.13	5.14	5.23
EIGHT	4.77	5.21	4.94	5.08	4.12	4.80	4.45	4.67	4.87
TOTALS				5.12			4.95	5.03	5.05

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES BY GRADE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "WHEN YOU BREAK YOUR FATHER'S (MOTHER'S) RULES AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH

TABLE 2-37

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, LIKABLE AND JUST AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS

(GREECE)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
GUILT WITH: AFFILIATION (LIKING FOR AUTHORITY FIGURES)						
Father	.10	.26*	.27*	.22*	.25*	.25*
Mother	.42*	.27*	.03	.09	.48*	.34*
Teacher	.28*	.21*	.49*	.42*	.53*	.38*
Policeman	.60*	.56*	.38*	.43*	.51*	.38*
Prime Minister	.33*	.38*	.26*	.37*	.18	.45*
GUILT WITH: PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL						
Father	.12	.03	.18	.10	.29*	.29*
Mother	.13	-.06	.15	.25*	.51*	.29*
Teacher	.01	.09	.05	.13	.42*	.04
Policeman	.18	.32*	.17	-.09	.17	.37*
Religious Leader	.37*	.07	.21*	.06	.24*	.22*
Prime Minister	.45*	.06	.22	.37*	-.05	.48*
Friends	.16	.30*	.12	.30*	.21*	.29*
GUILT WITH: PERCEPTION OF RULES OF AUTH. FIGURES AS FAIR						
Father	.11	.05	.16	.25*	.34*	.23*
Mother	.33*	.11	.26*	.48*	.43*	.25*
Teacher	.36*	.03	.41*	.47*	.61*	.43*
Policeman	.54*	.30*	.49*	.44*	.37*	.49*
City	.30*	.33*	.32*	.44*	.48*	.33*
Government	.35*	.21*	.10	.39*	.19	.34*
Friends	.44*	.42*	.35*	.42*	.47*	.70*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

TABLE 2-38

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF PUNITIVE DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (GREECE)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
GUILT WITH: POWER OF FIGURE TO PUNISH						
Father	.12	.21*	.17	.03	.23*	.06
Mother	.04	.10	.27*	.34*	.24*	.16
Teacher	.12	.09	.05	.01	.39*	.03
Policeman	-.04	.14	.23*	.13	.40*	.33*
Religious Leader	.30*	-.22*	.25*	.09	.14	.18
Prime Minister	.42*	.17	.38*	.11	.01	.28*
Friends	.17	.28*	.30*	.13	.13	.34*
GUILT WITH: LIKELIHOOD THAT FIGURE WILL PUNISH DISOBEDIENCE						
Father	.08	.09	.19*	.26*	.40*	.14
Mother	.17	.10	.21*	.42*	.32*	.20*
Teacher	.19*	.11	.14	.22*	.32*	.28*
Policeman	.34*	.24*	.37*	.37*	.46*	.43*
Government	.24*	.14	.22*	.34*	.39*	.21
City	.19	.16	.09	.21*	.28*	.44*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

TABLE 2-39

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GUILT AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (GREECE)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.14	.11	.16	.07	-.04	.04	.09	-.02
	6	.17	.05	.16	.12	-.15	.10	-.21*	.02
	8	-.21*	.09	.05	.11	-.22*	-.22*	-.42*	-.25*
Mother	4	.19*	.13	.21*	.05	-.06	-.08	-.10	-.05
	6	.06	.00	.08	.06	-.01	.08	-.07	.05
	8	-.07	.18	.14	.15	-.19*	-.10	-.38*	-.13
Teacher	4	.15	.03	.15	-.06	-.05	.02	-.19*	.07
	6	.00	.15	-.03	.20*	-.22*	-.08	-.19*	-.05
	8	-.19*	.05	-.02	.02	-.16	-.35*	-.39*	-.30*
Policeman	4	.10	-.16	.10	-.14	.10	.18	.06	.22*
	6	-.10	.02	-.10	.03	-.09	.06	-.03	.10
	8	-.17	.26*	-.03	.23*	-.01	.06	-.19*	.13
Religion	4	.16	.15	.11	.14	.02	-.14	.00	.13
	6	.01	.18	.04	.20*	.02	.08	-.11	-.07
	8	-.23*	.05	.02	.01	-.31*	-.26*	-.46*	-.18
Government	4	.22*	-.12	.19*	-.15	.08	.17	.11	.20*
	6	.05	.12	-.01	.13	-.21*	-.10	-.20*	-.06
	8	-.08	.19	.06	.28*	.08	-.02	-.13	-.07
City	4	.15	-.11	.12	-.10	.07	.13	.07	.14
	6	.02	.06	-.05	.18	-.23*	.00	-.10	.01
	8	-.12	.25*	.09	.23*	.00	-.09	-.24*	-.10
Friends	4	.17	-.22*	.13	-.23*	-.03	.07	-.06	.17
	6	.04	-.05	-.02	-.06	-.01	.04	-.19*	.04
	8	-.09	.12	-.08	.25*	.04	-.17	.04	-.22*
Punish-Self Index[1]	4	.31*	.20*	.25*	.10	-.07	-.24*	-.06	-.21*
	6	.18	.06	.11	.16	-.22	-.02	-.18	-.06
	8	-.02	-.01	.13	.06	-.01	-.34*	-.15	-.41*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

[1] For content of Punish-Self Index see Table 2-40, footnote.

TABLE 2-40

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF Ss REPORTING PUNISHMENT OF SELF FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WITH RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

FIGURES	GRADE FOUR					GRADE SIX					GRADE EIGHT				
		SOCIAL STATUS		SEX			SOCIAL STATUS		SEX			SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	45	32	58	50	40	85	86	84	91	80	79	85	74	77	82
Mother	47	38	56	53	41	82	85	79	88	75	76	81	71	70	82
Teacher	49	40	59	56	42	80	86	75	88	73	76	88	64	73	79
Policeman	47	41	52	49	44	80	88	71	86	73	67	74	61	61	73
City	50	34	66	52	48	86	87	85	93	78	85	88	82	81	88
Government	45	37	53	47	43	78	86	72	86	72	68	77	59	64	72

Note. Significant Effects: (Punish-Self Index) Grade, Curv. Item: "Besides . . .(figure), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey (figure's) rules?" Alternative: "I (me)." Index: Number of "Yes" responses across six figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, city, government). Index scale: 0-6.

TABLE 2-41

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF INTERNALIZATION OF RULES AND NORMS OF COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS: BELIEF THAT DISCIPLINE BY ONE AUTHORITY FIGURE WILL BE REINFORCED BY OTHERS AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS. (GREECE)

INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT MEASURES (ACROSS DIFFERENT FIGURES)	GUILT OVER DISOBEDIENCE TO FIGURES (NO. OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS									
	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	RELIG. LEADER	GOV'T.	CITY	POLICE	FRIENDS	TOTAL SIGNIF. CORREL.	TOTAL POSSIBLE CORREL.
Would punish self	2	2	4	2	4	3	1	4	22	(48)
Parents reinforce Parents	3	2	4	4	1	1	2	-	17	(48)
Parents reinforce Non-Family Authority Figure	2	4	4	5	6	5	5	3	34	(48)
Other Family reinforce Parents	4	4	4	3	5	4	4	2	30	(48)
Other Family reinforce Non-Family Auth. Figures	3	2	5	2	5	5	5	3	30	(48)
Total Family reinforce School	4	3	5	2	4	5	5	-	28	(48)
Non-Family Figures reinforce Parents	3	3	4	4	6	6	6	3	35	(48)
Non-Family Figures reinforce School	2	1	3	-	5	5	6	3	25	(48)
Non-Family Figures reinforce other Non-Family Figures	1	3	4	1	6	6	6	2	29	(48)
TOTALS	24	24	37	23	42	40	40	20	250	(432)

Note: Tally includes coefficients of .19 and above. All tallied significant correlations are positive.

b. Identification with the Norms of the System

The extent to which children react to their peers' violations of societal norms and the particular methods they use to enforce these norms upon their noncompliant peers were assessed through the questionnaire items cited in Tables 2-42 and 2-43. Data show that across all grades Greek children reported that they would face noncompliant peers most often by "Telling the offenders they are wrong" and by "Asking them why." The next most frequent choices were for the alternatives "I would tell my parents," "I would tell the authority figure whose rules were violated," and "I would try to punish them myself." Across all grades few children definitely chose to "Do nothing" (see Table 2-43). In general, the range of percentages of children citing each action alternative across the five authority figures was not large (see Table 2-42). The only exception to this general tendency concerned the alternative "I would tell the figure whose rules were disobeyed." Across all grades children appeared to act in this way more often when peers break rules of their parents and least often against violators of city rules. The frequencies of Ss citing this alternative for violators of religion and the teacher were intermediate.

Analysis of the relationship of responses to the sampling groups showed significant variations by grade and SES but not by sex. Variations by grade followed different trends, depending on the types of reactions considered: the frequency of "Yes" responses to the alternatives "I would tell my parents," "I would tell their parents," "I would tell the figure," and "I would try to punish them myself" over-all-figures decreased with age. The over-all-figures frequency of "Yes" responses to the alternative, "I would do nothing" increased with age. The over-all-figures frequency of the alternatives "I would ask them why" and "I would tell them they are wrong" remained constant across the three grade levels (see Table 2-43).

The most striking feature of these data was that low status children of all grade levels appeared to be inclined to enforce rules upon noncompliant peers using all available alternatives, more frequently than did high status children; consequently, the frequency of "Yes" responses to the alternative "I would do nothing" was significantly higher for high status than for low status children (see Table 2-43).

These findings suggest that certain methods of facing peers' disobedience of rules of all authority figures tend to be abandoned by older children of both SES groups. For example, children seem to realize with age that trying to punish a peer disobeying the rules of an authority figure may fail its objectives of stopping rule violation or correcting the transgressor. Greek parents and teachers usually disapprove of children's trying to punish their peers by themselves. Therefore, this type of response to peers' transgressions is itself a rule violation. Tattling, on the other hand, is faced differently by individual parents and teachers. In general, adults are more lenient of children's tattling than of children's attempts to punish peers. However, with age, the peer group increasingly disapproved of tattling. Older children evidently take into consideration the counter-reaction of the peer group as well as of adults in reacting to rule violation by peers.

The finding that low status children of all grades cited all available methods of enforcing authority rules upon their peers significantly more often than did their high status counterparts suggests that the former are more inclined than the latter to take the side of all authority sources and enforce their rules upon peers. It is questionable, however, whether an individual's unqualified readiness to enforce authority norms upon others signifies internalization assuring his own behavior to be in accordance with these norms.

Relationships between choices of methods of enforcing rules upon disobeying peers and other measures of internalization of norms. The response alternatives used to evaluate children's tendencies to enforce rules of various sources of authority upon their peers were designed on the assumption that there would appear not only over-all differences in the extent to which children tend to do this but also variations in the degree to which different methods of enforcement would be cited by Ss of different age, sex, and/or SES. Responses such as "I would tell them they are wrong" or "I would ask them why" may reflect more mature attitudes vis-a-vis the situation of peers' breaking rules. By contrast, the response alternatives of denouncing rule violators to authority figures (the child's own parents, the offender's parents, or the authority figure whose rules were broken) may indicate less-independent ways of facing the situation; choice of these methods of coping with disobeying peers may reflect the responder's desire to please adult sources of authority rather than to correct peers or to act in a way which may help peers stop misbehaving.

If these hypotheses are correct, the above-mentioned methods of enforcing rules upon peers (i.e., questioning them and disapproving of them verbally) should be in positive correspondence with measures of guilt; also, children using these methods should be seen by peers as displaying cooperative behavior in the classroom. Table 2-44 shows that the responses "Ask why" and "Tell the offenders they are wrong" did yield many more significant (positive) correlations with measures of guilt than any of the other methods of enforcing rules upon peers (twenty-one and thirty-one significant correlations, respectively, out of forty-two possible for each row). It is also notable that choice of the alternative "Do nothing" yielded a substantial number of significant negative correlations with reported of guilt (seventeen out of forty-two possible). That is, children who feel discomfort when they themselves violate the rules of authority figures tend to face their peers' transgressions with direct inquisition and verbal rebuke rather than with denouncement to authority figures or by trying to punish the offender. Moreover, children who tended to feel guilty over their own transgressions did not appear to remain passive when their peers disobey rules of authority figures.

Relationships between choices of methods of facing peers' rule violations and peer ratings of classroom behavior. Table 2-45 shows that the reactions "Tell the offenders they are wrong" and "Ask the offenders why" correlate negatively with noncompliant behavior in the classroom, particularly among the older children. By contrast, the reactions "Try to punish the offenders" and "Do nothing" correlate positively with uncooperative behavior in the classroom, particularly for the older children. It is also notable that the reactions "Tell my parents" and "Tell their parents" tend to correlate negatively with positive behavior in the classroom, although the direction of the significant correlations is not entirely consistent. Finally, the alternative "Tell the figure whose rules were broken" correlates negatively with cooperative behavior in the classroom, particularly among sixth graders.

Summary. Of the three indicators of internalization of norms used in this study, guilt over undetected transgressions was found to decrease during the age period covered, while self-blame after punishment by authority figures tended to increase in frequency from grade four to six and to remain constant from grade six to eight. Data on these measures did not vary by sex. High status children reported less intense guilt than low status children. Social status differences on the

punish-self items, although non-significant, tended to be in the same direction as for the items eliciting reports of discomfort over rule violation.

The measure of identification with the norms of the system expressed through attempts to enforce rules of various authorities upon peers revealed that low status children show a greater readiness to take the side of all sources of authority and impose their rules upon peers, using all available methods, more than do high status children.

Classroom behavior was significantly related to all three measures of internalization of norms. Uncooperative behavior in the classroom was negatively correlated with both guilt and punish-self measures as well as with two particular reactions to rule violation by peers, i.e., with "Ask the offender why" and "Tell the offender he is wrong." The reactions "Do nothing" and "Try to punish the offender" were found to correlate positively with noncompliant behavior in school.

TABLE 2-42

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES ON REACTIONS FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY TOTAL GRADE
(GREECE)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	FIGURE OR SYSTEM WHOSE RULES ARE DISOBEYED BY PEERS														
	MOTHER			FATHER			TEACHER			RELIGION			CITY		
GRADE:	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8
Ask them why	62	68	66	65	64	69	69	66	55	74	64	61	71	67	59
Tell them they are wrong	75	77	78	75	79	80	79	73	70	77	80	74	72	75	64
Tell my parents	60	32	16	58	46	26	53	34	12	59	43	18	54	40	19
Tell their parents	53	32	16	60	36	24	54	27	8	56	33	16	54	31	12
Tell the figure	61	38	23	59	42	23	57	33	5	54	33	15	50	18	8
Try to punish them myself	44	32	19	45	37	23	45	22	8	43	24	12	41	22	11
Do nothing	51	50	49	49	44	38	52	50	64	55	52	56	53	55	59

Note. Item: "When other children break (figure's) rules, what do you do?" Percentages of "YES" responses to each of 7 alternatives for 5 figures (mother, father, teacher, church, city), by total grade.

TABLE 2-43

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON RESPONSES FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE TO RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS		
1. Ask them why	4	3.32	3.50	3.11	3.27	3.36	0-5	SES
	6	3.28	3.87	2.61	3.59	3.03		
	8	3.03	3.91	2.15	2.97	3.09		
Total			3.76	2.62	3.28	3.15		
2. Tell them they are wrong	4	3.67	3.73	3.59	3.56	3.76	0-5	SES
	6	3.81	4.29	3.25	3.98	3.67		
	8	3.59	4.35	2.83	3.49	3.70		
Total			4.13	3.22	3.68	3.71		
3. Tell my parents	4	2.85	3.58	2.04	2.87	2.83	0-5	Grade,SES
	6	1.95	2.40	1.42	2.32	1.65		
	8	0.89	1.09	0.69	1.02	0.75		
Total			2.38	1.38	2.06	1.75		
4. Tell their parents	4	2.79	3.59	1.90	2.58	2.99	0-5	Grade,SES
	6	1.65	2.34	0.85	1.45	1.81		
	8	0.74	1.17	0.32	0.79	0.70		
Total			2.36	1.02	1.60	1.83		
5. Tell the figure	4	2.76	3.41	2.11	2.55	2.97	0-5	Grade,SES
	6	1.64	2.27	1.00	1.63	1.64		
	8	0.72	0.86	0.58	0.79	0.65		
Total			2.18	1.23	1.66	1.75		
6. Try to punish them myself	4	2.16	2.38	1.92	2.05	2.27	0-5	Grade,SES
	6	1.36	1.60	1.09	1.60	1.17		
	8	0.73	0.86	0.60	0.86	0.59		
Total			1.63	1.19	1.50	1.34		

TABLE 2-43 (Cont.)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
7. Do nothing	4	0.26	0.05	0.50	0.35	0.18	0-5	Grade,SES
	6	0.56	0.25	0.91	0.44	0.65		
	8	0.77	0.27	1.28	0.86	0,68		
Total			0.19	0.90	0.55	0.51		

Note. Item: "When other children break (figure's) rules, what do you do?"
Index: Number of "YES" responses to each of 7 alternatives for 5 figures (father, mother, teacher, city, church).

TABLE 2-44

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF INTERNALIZATION OF RULES AND NORMS OF COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS: RESPONSES IN REACTION TO PEERS" DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND GUILT OVER ONE'S OWN NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (GREECE)

TYPE OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE	(NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS) GUILT TOWARD: FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	POLICEMAN	RELIGION	GOVERNMENT	CITY	TOTAL SIGNIF. CORREL.	TOTAL POSSIBLE CORREL.
Tell my parents	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	12	(42)
Tell their parents	1	-	1	3	1	-	2	8	(42)
Tell figure	-	-	1	3	1	1	3	9	(42)
Ask them why	2	1	5	2	3	4	4	21	(42)
Tell them they are wrong	3	4	6	3	5	5	5	31	(42)
Try to punish them	1	-	-	1	2	1	1	6	(42)
Do nothing	2*	2*	4*	2*	3*	1*	3*	17	(42)
TOTALS	11	8	19	16	16	14	20	104	(294)

Note. Tally includes coefficients of .19 and above.
* Indicates negative relationship.

TABLE 2-45

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPES OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(GREECE)

TYPES OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Tell my parents	4	-.09	-.18	-.10	-.18	.18	.24*	.18	.29*
	6	-.23*	-.08	-.25*	-.10	-.03	-.04	.07	.01
	8	-.04	.04	.06	-.04	-.14	.00	-.24*	.02
Tell their parents	4	-.19*	-.10	-.24*	-.10	.11	.15	.24*	.18
	6	-.30*	-.15	-.27*	-.21*	.20*	-.05	.28*	.01
	8	-.24*	-.10	-.12	.01	-.14	-.11	-.27*	-.11
Tell (figure)	4	-.08	-.06	-.12	-.03	.14	.17	.20*	.14
	6	-.33*	-.21*	-.30*	-.22*	.09	-.04	.21*	.02
	8	-.18	.05	-.08	.02	-.06	.10	-.22*	.13
Ask why	4	.11	.15	.07	.02	.20*	.06	.15	.01
	6	-.08	.03	-.15	.00	-.12	-.17	-.05	-.21*
	8	-.15	-.21*	.10	-.13	-.20*	-.31*	-.48*	-.32*
Tell them they are wrong	4	.12	.10	.02	.08	.21*	.09	.25*	-.05
	6	.01	-.05	-.06	.01	-.20*	-.19*	-.12	-.19*
	8	-.12	-.22*	.16	-.12	-.15	-.34*	-.42*	-.40*
Try to punish them	4	-.07	-.08	-.11	-.10	.18	-.03	.08	.00
	6	-.17	-.01	-.22*	-.07	.03	-.11	.18	-.07
	8	-.06	-.05	.00	-.10	-.02	.26*	-.10	.29*
Do nothing	4	.13	.08	.23*	.01	-.14	-.19*	-.24*	-.19*
	6	.12	.06	.15	.09	.21*	.08	.06	.09
	8	.07	06	-.16	.02	.10	.14	.45*	.23*

Note. Scores based on number of "Yes" responses to alternatives, summed across several items dealing with different authority figures.
* Indicates significant correlation.

B4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority

Previous sections of this report showed that the young children's confidence in the benevolence and justice of the rules of authority figures declines with age. Apparently, increasing social experience and cognitive and emotional development help the child realize that authority figures may misuse their power and make unjust decisions or enforce upon others unjust commands. Increasing awareness of the fallibility of authority figures is, therefore, one of the facets of the socialization process.

Of particular relevance to this study are the repercussions of this awareness upon adult-child interactions. How does a child deal--cognitively, emotionally, behaviorally--with experiences indicating to him that authority figures may act unjustly? How do authority figures respond to the child's attempts to deal with such experiences? Children's reports about the methods they would use to face injustice from authority figures may provide valuable insights into this important part of the socialization process.

This section deals with data collected through a set of questions exemplifying hypothetical situations where authority figures act unjustly on matters directly or indirectly affecting children. The assumption that children's ways of facing injustice from authority may range from passive obedience or submission to responses more or less active and more or less emotional or rational underlies the selection of response alternatives proposed and to which the Ss could answer "Yes" or "No." The categories of response alternatives used for this set of questions are listed in Table 2-46.

To assess differences in the extent to which children use various methods of coping with injustice from different authority figures, the base question, "If your ... [authority figure] did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" was asked for both parents, the teacher, the policeman, and the country's government, and was followed by the same categories of response alternatives. Data were analyzed in two ways. To assess the impact of adult authority as a whole on children's choices of methods to cope with injustice, a total authority index was generated for each category of reaction to injustice by grouping the frequencies of "Yes" responses to each category across all authority figures considered; to assess variations in the methods used to cope with injustice from different authority sources, the frequency of "Yes" responses to each category of reaction

was analyzed by figure-groupings, i.e., parents (combining responses to father and mother), teacher (a single figure index), and other authority (combining responses to policeman and government).

a. Reactions to Injustice from Total Authority

Tables 2-46 and 2-47 show the summary frequencies of "Yes" responses to the various categories of reactions to injustice of authority figures grouped into a "total authority" unit. The rank order by grade of these summary percentage scores (see Figure 2-14) indicates that these Greek children, when faced with unjust pronouncements of authority figures would be most likely to "Ask why" and least likely to choose extreme behavior alternatives such as revenge and passive submission to injustice. The frequencies of the three other categories of responses, i.e., discussion of the situation with peers, requests for familial intervention on their behalf, and verbal responses denoting open criticism of an adult pronouncement were grouped quite closely together (especially at grades four and six) and accupied intermediate rank positions.

With increasing age, especially from grade six to eight, two behavior alternatives popular already at grade four, i.e., "Ask why" and "Talk to peers," became significantly more frequent (see Figure 2-14 and Table 2-47). In contrast, the frequencies of Ss who would be willing to use "Verbal responses" and "Get even" tactics decreased significantly with age, especially between grades four and six (see Figure 2-14 and Table 2-47). The frequency of "Ask parents to intervene" also decreased with age, especially between grades four and six, but the downward trend of the frequency of this response category did not reach significance level.

The frequency of "Do nothing" responses was affected by a significant interaction of sex with age. At grade four more girls than boys appeared inclined to submit passively to injustice; with age the number of girls who would "Do nothing" to oppose adult injustice decreased linearly, while the number of boys who selected this alternative increased from grade four to six and then decreased again so that by the eighth grade the percentages of boys and girls who would "Do nothing" against injustice were almost equal (see Table 2-47).

The statistical analysis of responses by total authority showed no significant differences associated with the Ss' SES. This finding is interesting in view of the consistent SES differences which affected other facets of these children's orientations toward authority. Perhaps the experiences through which Greek children learn the methods they use to cope with unjust pronouncements of authority figures are not affected by the social status position of their families. It is also possible that the analysis of data by total authority masks significant SES differences on the frequencies of some options, depending on the authority figures considered as sources of injustice. Analysis of the data by authority figure groupings (see section B4b) will clarify this matter.

The above analysis suggests that the types of behavior with which children in the Greek research group are most likely to face unjust pronouncements of adults denote a good deal of confidence in the effectiveness of interpersonal exchange and cooperation in handling such problems. "Ask why" may communicate the child's feelings of frustration in the face of authority figures misusing their power to enforce compliance with questionable commands, as well as his willingness to challenge the rightness of the adult pronouncement itself. Although the specific connotation of "Ask why" may vary, children seem to be aware quite early that this approach can induce corrective action. Perhaps children believe that few authority figures make unfair pronouncements willfully. They also seem to realize that asking for an explanation of a decision or command is rather unlikely to be thought of as a demonstration of defiance and provoke punitive responses on the part of the authority.

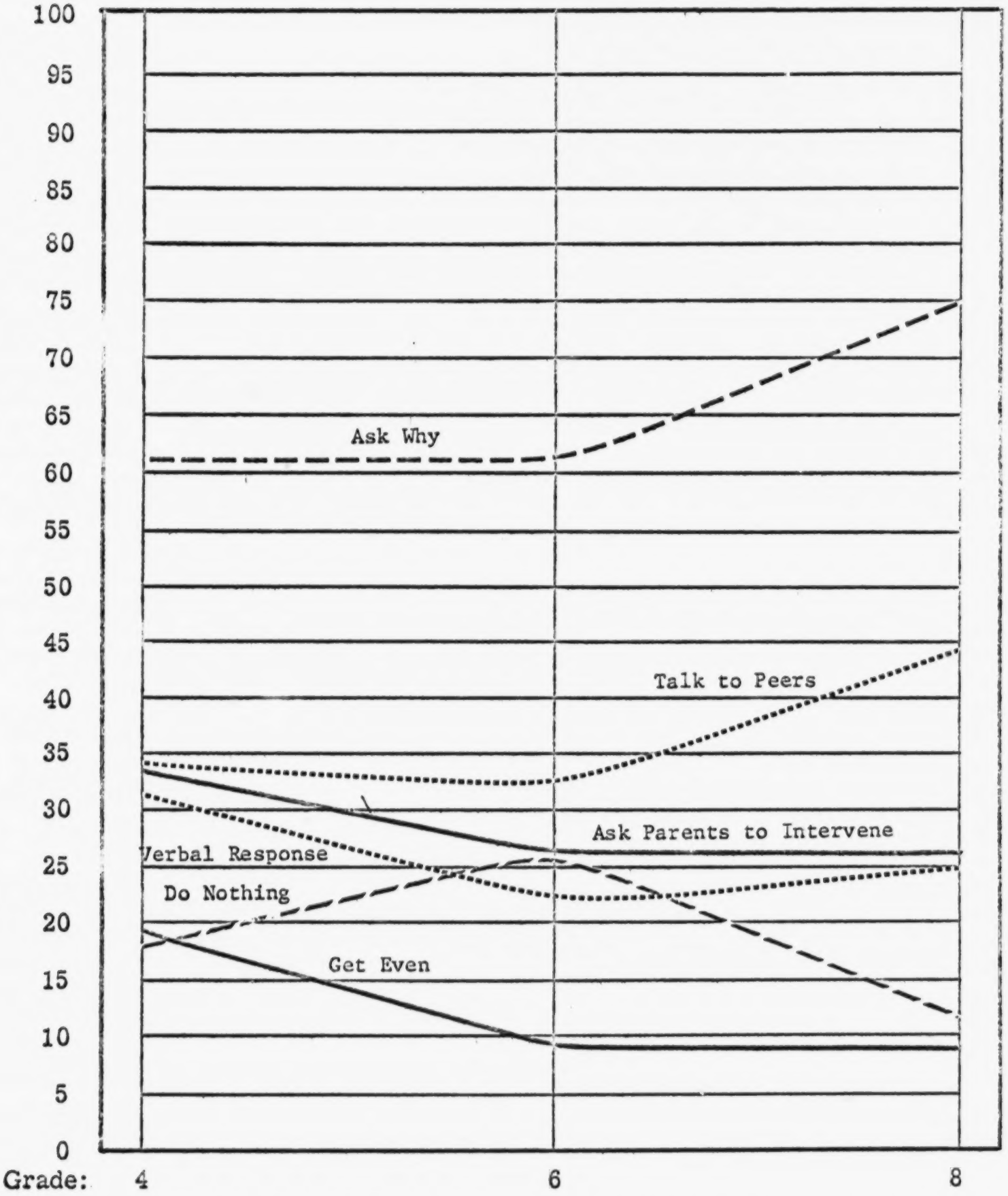
The finding that the second most frequent option, i.e., "Talk to peers," became more popular with age probably reflects the widely known developmental phenomenon of increasing identification with peers and confidence in their rationality as the child matures and his needs for autonomy from the world of adults become compelling. Sharing feelings of frustration with others probably provides some consolation. Moreover, discussing the behavior of higher status persons with peers and criticizing its flaws may help the child improve his personal understanding of the intricacies of interpersonal relationships and his methods of dealing with both equals and higher status persons.

Few of these children seemed likely to face adult injustice with open verbal criticism of the figure concerned. Furthermore this mode of action became significantly less frequent as children grew older. These points suggest that with age children learn that this mode of behavior is rather unlikely to be productive; apparently they realize that few adults would tolerate such reactions. An analogous age trend was observed for the over-all-grades least popular mode of reaction, i.e., "Get even," probably reflecting a similar learning process. The decline with age of the frequency of children requesting familial intervention on their behalf probably reflects their increasing needs for autonomous action.

The finding that rejection of the alternative of passive submission to injustice increases faster among girls than boys, as they grow older, may indicate that confidence in the effectiveness of other, more active methods of dealing with adult injustices is developing faster among the former than among the latter. It is, however, unclear which of the other behavior alternatives become more popular among girls as they grow older.

Summary. Assessment of children's responses to hypothetical situations where authority figures misuse their power and enforce upon children unjust commands indicated that over all grades, and with greater frequency as age increases, Greek children are likely to face injustice from authority in general mainly by "Asking why." Second in frequency across all grades and also increasing with age was the response category "Talk to peers." "Verbal responses," attempts to obtain parental intervention on their behalf, and retaliation reactions were chosen by substantially fewer children, and with decreasing frequencies as age increased. The tendency to face injustice passively was relatively infrequent and declined with age more rapidly among girls than among boys. None of the response categories varied significantly by SES.

FIGURE 2-14
COMPARISON OF ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE
IN RESPONSE TO UNJUST USE OF AUTHORITY, BY GRADE
(GREECE)



Item: If (figure) did something to you that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?

TABLE 2-46

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY FOR FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES), BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES)

(GREECE)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
				4		6		8				4		6		8			
	4	6	8	L	H	L	H	L	H	Low	High	G	B	G	B	G	B	Girls	Boys
Do nothing (Resp. Alt. 1)	18	26	12	17	20	30	22	15	9	20	17	24	12	20	31	12	12	19	18
Ask why (Resp. Alt. 2)	61	61	75	62	60	61	60	73	76	65	65	59	63	67	54	77	73	68	63
Verbal response (Resp. Alt. 3-6)	31	22	25	35	30	21	22	19	30	25	27	28	36	21	22	27	23	25	27
Talk to peers (Resp. Alt. 7-8)	34	32	44	35	42	28	37	41	46	35	41	31	40	35	30	43	44	36	38
Ask parents to intervene (Resp. Alt.9-10)	33	26	26	34	32	26	25	22	30	27	29	31	35	27	25	25	27	28	29
Get even (Resp. Alt. 11)	19	9	9	24	15	8	10	5	13	12	13	13	26	9	10	11	6	11	14

Note. Item: "If your father (mother, teacher, a policeman, the government of Greece) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?"

Response alternatives: (1) "I would do nothing and tell no one (I'd keep it to myself)."(2) "I would ask him (her, them) why." (3) "I would tell him (her, them) he was unfair." (4) "I would tell him (her, them) not to do it again." (5) "I would show him (her, them) my anger." (6) "I would tell other teachers (policemen) that this teacher (policeman) was unfair." (7) "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it." (8) "I would talk to my friends about it." (9) "I would ask my mother (father) or other adult relatives to stop him (her, them) from doing it again." (10) "I would ask my parents or other adult relatives to talk to him (her, them)."(11) "I would get even with or get back at him (her, them)."

TABLE 2-47

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY FOR FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES), BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX.
(GREECE)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES (Index Labels)	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS		
1. Do nothing	4	0.93	0.85	1.00	1.23	0.62	0-5	Sex by Grade
	6	1.29	1.49	1.09	1.01	1.57		
	8	0.61	0.75	0.46	0.59	0.62		
Total			1.03	0.85	0.95	0.93		
2. Ask why	4	2.42	2.43	2.41	2.33	2.50	0-4	Grade (linear)
	6	2.43	2.46	2.40	2.69	2.17		
	8	2.96	2.92	3.01	3.06	2.87		
Total			2.60	2.60	2.69	2.51		
3. Verbal Responses	4	5.32	5.45	5.19	4.67	5.97	0-17	Grade (Curv.)
	6	3.67	3.58	3.75	3.61	3.72		
	8	4.15	3.29	5.01	4.45	3.87		
Total			4.11	4.65	4.24	4.51		
4. Talk to peers	4	3.43	3.48	3.39	3.10	3.77	0-10	Grade (linear)
	6	3.24	2.81	3.68	3.47	3.02		
	8	4.34	4.12	4.56	4.28	4.40		
Total			3.47	3.87	3.62	3.73		
5. Ask Parents to intervene	4	1.63	1.65	1.61	1.53	1.73	0-5	None
	6	1.28	1.21	1.27	1.33	1.23		
	8	1.27	1.08	1.46	1.20	1.34		
Total			1.34	1.45	1.36	1.43		
6. Get even	4	0.97	1.18	0.75	0.66	1.27	0-5	Grade (linear)
	6	0.45	0.42	0.48	0.42	0.47		
	8	0.44	0.23	0.66	0.56	0.33		
Total			0.61	0.63	0.55	0.69		

Note. Item: "If your...(figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives comprising each response category across 5 figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, government).

b. Variations in Reactions to Injustice as a Function of the Identity of Authority Figures

Table 2-48 compares the percentages of children who cited each of the six behavior categories in response to injustice from different authority figures grouped as parents (combining responses to father and mother), teacher, and other authority (combining responses to policeman and government). Comparison of these percentage scores by total grade indicates that the specific sources of injustice did not substantially differentiate the frequencies with which children would be likely to resort to the two extreme behavior alternatives, i.e., "Do nothing" and "Get even." However, the behavior categories "Ask why" and "Verbal responses" appeared more likely to occur in reaction to injustices of parents and other authorities (i.e., of policeman and government) than when a teacher is the source of injustice. In contrast, "Talk to peers" and "Ask parents to intervene" appeared more likely to occur when a teacher and other non-family authorities are thought to be unjust than when parents are the source of injustice.

The effects of dimensions of the sample (i.e., age, sex and SES) on the frequencies of each of the six response categories were tested for statistical significance for the three indices of figure groupings, i.e., parents, teacher, and other authority. This analysis by figure groupings will further clarify indications obtained through the analysis of variance for total authority.

On the "Do nothing" alternative the analysis by total authority yielded a significant interaction of sex with grade. The analysis by groups of figures showed that this interaction accounted mainly for responses to parents and the teacher (see Table 2-49). The pattern of curvilinear progression of boys' tendency to face injustice passively (with failure to react being more frequent among sixth graders than among either fourth or eighth graders) was apparent in reference to all three sources of authority. However, girls' tendency to "Do nothing" to oppose injustice showed a linear decline with age only when parents and the teacher were the sources of injustice. The likelihood that injustice from non-family and non-school authorities (i.e., policeman and government) would be faced passively increased from grade four to six and decreased again by eighth grade; no significant sex differences affected this curvilinear pattern of change.

The analysis by groups of figures also revealed a significant difference by SES in the numbers of children who reported that they would "Do nothing" in response to injustice from other authority (i.e., the policeman and the government). Across all grades significantly more low status than high status children appeared inclined to

adopt attitudes of passive submission in the face of injustices of these authority figures. The finding is congruent with other data of this study which suggested that low status children, compared to their high status counterparts, not only have a higher regard for the punitive powers and punitive behavior of non-family and non-school authorities but also tend to demonstrate more affection (liking) for them and more guilt over undetected violations of the rules they enforce (see Sections B1 and B3). The fact that only with respect to non-family and non-school authorities was the incidence of submission to injustice significantly more frequent among low status than high status children possibly reflects a greater sense of powerlessness felt by the former children (and probably also by their parents) in the face of state authorities.

On "Ask why" and "Talk to peers" the analysis by total authority indicated significant increases of their frequencies as children grew older. The analysis by figure groupings indicated that on "Ask why" these age trends were significant for all three authority sources (see Table 2-50). On "Talk to peers," however, linear increases with age were significant only for teacher and other non-family authorities; the frequency of "Talk to peers" about injustice from parents changed curvilinearly with grade, decreasing from grade four to six and increasing again by eighth grade (see Table 2-52).

The analysis by groups of figures also showed that significantly more girls than boys across all grades would be willing to challenge a policeman's* unfair pronouncements by "Asking why" (see Table 2-50). This sex difference is congruent with another finding of this study indicating significant sex differences (in the same direction) in children's beliefs about the inevitability of punishment following disobedience of a policeman's orders (see Section B1c). Apparently children's reactions to injustice are substantially influenced by their beliefs regarding the likelihood that each type of reaction will or will not be tolerated by each individual authority figure.

On "Talk to peers," the analysis by groups of figures revealed that the tendency to discuss with peers the unjust pronouncements of teachers was significantly more frequent among high status than low status children across all grades (see Table 2-52). This finding also is congruent with previously discussed data indicating significant differences by SES (as a main factor or in interaction with grade) on children's regard for the teacher's helpfulness and fairness of rules, as well as on their estimates of his power to punish (see Sections B1a, b, and B2c).

*The response alternative, "Ask why," was not included among the options following the question about injustice from the government.

The summary percentage scores for "Talk to peers" masked some remarkable differences between "Talking to friends" and "Talking to siblings," depending on whether these action alternatives were selected in response to injustice from parents or non-family authorities (see Table 2-55). When faced with parental injustices, children of all grade levels appeared more likely to discuss the matter with their siblings than with their friends. In contrast, injustice from the teacher and other non-family authorities seemed as likely to be discussed with friends as with siblings. These relationships are perhaps due to a common familiarity with the teacher among friends and correspondingly with parents among siblings.

The analysis of variance by total authority showed that the frequency of "Verbal responses" followed a curvilinear pattern of decline with increase in grade. The analysis by groups of figures indicated significant grade effects only for parents and teacher; the likelihood that injustice from these two sources of authority would be faced with open verbal criticism decreased from grade four to six and then increased again slightly at the eighth grade.

Analysis of the index for "Verbal responses" in its component parts (see Table 2-56) showed that this pattern of curvilinear change with grade was apparent for all the specific types of behavior comprising that index except for "Tell the figure not to do it again," whose frequency declined linearly as children grew older. For other authority (i.e., policeman and government), the frequencies of "Tell the figure not to do it again," "Show anger," and "Tell other authority figures" dropped substantially from grade four to six and then remained constant; the frequency of "Tell the figure he was unfair" remained relatively constant across all grades.

Data in Table 2-56 also reveal notable SES differences on the frequencies of some of the specific types of behavior comprising the index "Verbal responses." For example, more high status than low status children maintained that they would show their anger when faced with injustice whatever its source; SES differences on this particular option increased as children grew older. On the other hand, more low status than high status children across all grades reported that they would face injustice from parents and the teacher by "Telling them not to do it again." The alternative "Tell the figure he was unfair" showed no substantial SES differences at grades four and six for either parents, teacher or other authorities; at grade eight, however, significantly more

high status than low status children seemed likely to face injustice from all sources of authority by stating their opinion in this direct way.

The analysis by groups of figures also revealed that the frequency of "Ask parents to intervene" in the face of parental injustice declined with age (see Table 2-53). Apparently increasing experience of relations within the family, emotional maturation and increasing needs for autonomy lead many children, as they grow older, to choose other, more direct ways in dealing with parental injustice rather than ask support from one of their parents when they think the other parent has been unjust. The finding that the likelihood of asking parental support in the face of injustice from non-family authorities remained quite high and unaffected by increase in age possibly reflects another facet of the sense of solidarity which is described as characteristic of the Greek family.

The analysis for total authority indicated a significant decline with age in the frequency of the "Get even" alternative. The analysis by figure groupings confirmed this downward trend with age for the frequencies of children seeking revenge in the face of injustice from parents and other non-family and non-school authorities (see Table 2-54). Older children probably realize that resorting to such an aggressive behavior is unnecessary with parents, whose injustices can be dealt with more efficiently through direct verbal exchange, and unrealistic with distant and powerful non-family authorities (i.e., the policeman and government). With respect to the teacher the frequency of "Get even" responses differed by SES in interaction with grade (see Table 2-54). At grade four more low status than high status children demonstrated tendencies to seek revenge against an unjust teacher; at grade eight the SES trend reversed direction. In other words, the frequency of "Get even" responses declined linearly with age for the low SES group, whereas, for the high SES group, it followed a pattern of curvilinear change, decreasing from grade four to six and increasing again at the eighth grade. This SES difference is probably contingent upon SES differences (discussed in previous sections) in children's feelings of attachment to the teacher, their confidence in his willingness to help and fairness of rules, and in their estimates of his power to punish noncompliance.

Relationships between reactions to injustice and other variables of the study. Correlations among the frequencies with which children selected each of the six behavior categories in response to injustice by parents, teacher, and other non-family authorities suggest that these behaviors tend to be general rather than figure specific (see Table 2-57). Although the magnitude of these correlations varies, especially for "Do nothing," all of the coefficients are positive and most of them statistically significant.

The extent to which estimates of the authority figures' likability, helpfulness, fairness of rules, power to punish, punitive behavior, and potency in inducing guilt are associated with children's preferences of methods of handling the figures' injustices was assessed through correlational data. Table 2-58 presents a summary of the significant correlations between the two sets of variables across the six grade-sex groups.* Data show that all sets of variables reflecting children's orientations toward authority figures had a bearing on their preferences of methods of dealing with the figures' injustices. However, liking for authority figures, confidence in the fairness of their rules, and guilt over rule-breaking were more often in significant association with the frequencies of the various types of responses to injustice than were confidence in the figures' helpfulness and regard for their power to punish and punitive behavior. For "Do nothing" most of the significant coefficients were positive; for active methods of dealing with injustice the association with perception of the various features of authority figures was most often negative.

Most of the significant correlations between the variables of "liking," "rules fair," and "guilt" on the one side and reactions to injustice on the other side pertained to "Do nothing" (positive associations), and "Verbal responses," "Get even," and "Talk to peers" (negative associations). That is, the most salient correlates of children's tendency to submit passively to injustice were their affective attachment to authority figures, their confidence in the fairness of the figures' rules and their tendency to feel guilty over violating the figures' rules and expectations. Concomitantly,

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*For Greek data which showed more variations by SES than by sex, computation of correlations by SES by grade is necessary to further clarify the degree and direction of the association among the variables.

children who liked authority figures, had a high regard for the fairness of their rules, and tended to experience guilt over violating their rules were the ones most likely to avoid to face their injustices with open verbal criticisms, discussions with peers, and retaliatory reactions.

It is also notable that preference for passive submission to injustice and avoidance of "Verbal responses" and "Get even" tactics were often significantly associated with children's beliefs regarding inevitability of punishment for noncompliance with the rules and expectations of authority figures. Apparently, not only perception of authority figures in a highly favorable manner but also expectations of punishment on their part can affect children's choices of methods of dealing with their injustices.

Relationships between reactions to injustice and peer ratings of classroom behavior. Inspection of Table 2-59 indicates that two of the six indices of reactions to authority figures' injustices--"Verbal responses" and "Get even" reactions--were consistently associated with peer ratings of compliant and noncompliant behavior in the classroom. Of a total 74 significant coefficients in this table, 25 (out of 72 possible) pertained to the "Get even" alternative, and 21 (out of 72 possible) to "Verbal responses" to injustice. Indices of compliant classroom behavior correlated negatively with the incidence of both these types of reaction to injustice while indices of noncompliant conduct in the school correlated positively. The positive correlations between the frequencies of "Get even" reactions and the scores of noncompliant behavior in the school were equally distributed among boys and girls and occurred most often for sixth and eighth graders. The positive association between scores of noncompliant classroom conduct and "Verbal responses" was also more salient for older than younger children but more salient for boys than girls.

On "Do nothing" few correlations were significant; however, the direction of most coefficients in this part of Table 2-59 suggests that compliant children tended to "Do nothing" to oppose authority figures' injustices.

Summary. Variations in the frequency of Ss citing each category of reaction to injustice, depending on the authority figure, showed that reactions considered to be mild and not insulting (e.g., "Ask why") as well as those denoting more open challenge of the authority figure's justice (e.g., "Verbal responses") are used more often toward parents and governmental authorities than toward the teacher. The frequency of Ss citing reactions denoting defiance (e.g., "Get even") as well as failure to cope with injustice in some active way (e.g., "Do nothing") showed no substantial difference across authority figures. "Talk to peers" (and particularly "talk to friends") was cited less often in response to injustice from parents than non-family authorities, indicating that this response category is also considered to denote some degree of disrespect.

Variations with grade indicate that the number of Ss who "Ask why" increased with age in response to injustice from all sources of authority while the frequency of Ss who "Talk to peers" increased with age only in response to injustice from non-family authorities. On the other hand, the frequency of Ss citing the "Get even" alternative decreased with age in response to injustice from parents as well as government authorities while the number of Ss who "Ask for parental intervention" decreased only in response to parental injustice.

Variations by sex indicated that more girls than boys would "Ask why" in the face of injustice from a policeman. Also, the frequency of Ss who would "Do nothing" in reaction to parents' and teacher's injustice declined linearly with grade among girls while the number of boys who would "Do nothing" to oppose injustice from all sources of authority remained constant in grades four and eight after an increase in grade six.

Variations by social status indicated that in all grades, more low status than high status children would "Do nothing" to oppose injustice from a policeman and the government; further, more high status than low status children in all grades would "Talk to peers" about a teacher's injustice; and with increasing age more high status than low status children would "Get even" with an unjust teacher.

Correlations between children's reactions to injustice and their views about positive and punitive dimensions of authority figures suggested that the tendency to face injustice from authority figures passively

as well as the tendency to avoid reactions considered to reflect some degree of defiance or lack of respect toward authority figures is more consistently related to children's regard for the figures' positive characteristics than to their estimates about the figures' punitive powers.

Correlations between reactions to injustice and peer nomination indices of classroom behavior showed that children citing verbal protests, retaliation reactions, and attempts to obtain parental intervention to face injustice from non-family authorities were more likely to be seen by peers as not displaying cooperative behavior in the classroom. In contrast, children saying that they would "Do nothing" to face injustice from authority figures were more likely to be seen by peers as displaying cooperative behavior in school.

TABLE 2-48

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, GROUPED AS PARENTS, TEACHER AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX.
(PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES)
(GREECE)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
				4		6		8				4		6		8			
	4	6	8	L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
1. DO NOTHING:																			
Parents	17	26	10	13	22	26	25	13	12	17	18	23	12	19	32	9	12	17	18
Teacher	23	29	9	20	25	32	27	12	6	21	19	30	16	20	38	8	10	19	21
Other Authority	17	24	15	20	16	32	16	19	13	23	15	23	12	21	27	17	14	20	17
2. ASK WHY:																			
Parents	62	63	77	60	63	65	62	76	79	67	68	57	66	70	56	77	78	68	66
Teacher	58	51	69	61	55	53	49	68	68	60	57	54	62	54	48	72	64	60	58
Other Authority	60	66	73	62	59	64	67	72	75	66	67	64	56	74	57	80	67	73	60
3. VERBAL RESPONSES																			
Parents	31	19	26	33	28	21	19	18	30	24	26	25	36	20	19	28	21	24	25
Teacher	24	13	18	25	23	12	14	12	25	16	20	20	28	11	15	22	15	17	19
Other Authority	31	24	24	40	36	26	29	24	31	30	32	34	38	28	28	28	28	30	31
4. TALK TO PEERS																			
Parents	30	23	32	34	26	22	23	27	39	28	29	32	33	26	19	33	32	29	28
Teacher	31	34	52	30	32	27	40	47	58	35	43	26	36	37	30	54	51	39	39
Other Authority	39	41	49	37	42	34	48	52	46	41	45	36	43	41	40	47	52	41	45
5. ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE																			
Parents	30	19	17	33	28	22	17	15	19	24	21	27	33	22	16	19	15	23	22
Teacher	31	24	30	34	29	23	25	24	35	27	30	28	36	21	28	28	32	25	32
Other Authority	35	33	32	33	38	32	33	27	36	30	36	35	35	35	31	27	35	32	34

TABLE 2-48 (Continued)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
				4		6		8				4		6		8			
	4	6	8	L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
6. GET EVEN																			
Parents	19	6	7	23	15	7	6	3	11	11	10	12	25	7	6	9	6	9	12
Teacher	17	7	11	20	14	6	8	2	21	9	14	10	24	8	6	13	10	10	14
Other Authority	21	12	9	26	16	10	14	7	12	15	14	16	26	10	15	12	5	13	16

Note. Item: "If your ...(figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"
Response Alternatives: See list in Table 2-46, footnote.

TABLE 2-49

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "DO NOTHING" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	0.35	0.30	0.22	0.26	0.64	0.24	0.44	0.47	0.23	0-2	Sex by Grade
	6	0.52	0.39	0.68	0.53	0.38	0.63	0.50	0.39	0.65		
	8	0.20	0.27	0.25	0.26	0.08	0.20	0.14	0.17	0.23		
Total					0.35			0.36	0.34	0.37		
Teacher	4	3.23	0.27	0.14	0.20	0.33	0.18	0.25	0.30	0.16	0-1	Sex by Grade
	6	0.29	0.23	0.40	0.32	0.18	0.36	0.27	0.20	0.38		
	8	0.09	0.06	0.19	0.12	0.10	0.02	0.06	0.08	0.10		
Total					0.21			0.19	0.19	0.21		
Other Authority	4	0.35	0.52	0.25	0.39	0.40	0.22	0.31	0.46	0.24	0-2	SES, Grade
	6	0.48	0.64	0.63	0.64	0.20	0.44	0.32	0.42	0.54		
	8	0.31	0.37	0.38	0.37	0.31	0.20	0.26	0.34	0.29		
Total					0.46			0.30	0.41	0.35		

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative "I would do nothing and tell no one (I'd keep it to myself)" for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, Government).

TABLE 2-50

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "ASK WHY" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX.
(GREECE)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
			GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS		
Parents	4	1.24	1.23	1.18	1.20	1.07	1.47	1.27	1.15	1.32	0-2	Grade
	6	1.27	1.46	1.12	1.29	1.36	1.12	1.24	1.41	1.12		
	8	1.55	1.46	1.58	1.52	1.63	1.53	1.58	1.54	1.56		
Total					1.34			1.36	1.37	1.33		
Teacher	4	0.58	0.57	0.65	0.61	0.51	0.59	0.55	0.54	0.62	0-1	Grade
	6	0.51	0.59	0.46	0.53	0.49	0.49	0.49	0.54	0.48		
	8	0.68	0.73	0.63	0.68	0.71	0.65	0.68	0.72	0.64		
Total					0.60			0.57	0.60	0.58		
Other Authority	4	0.60	0.64	0.59	0.62	0.64	0.53	0.59	0.64	0.56	0-1	Sex, Grade
	6	0.65	0.70	0.58	0.64	0.78	0.56	0.67	0.74	0.57		
	8	0.73	0.75	0.69	0.72	0.84	0.65	0.75	0.80	0.67		
Total					0.66			0.67	0.73	0.60		

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative "I would ask why" for parents (father, mother) teacher, other authority (policeman).

TABLE 2-51

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "VERBAL RESPONSES" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
			GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS		
Parents	4	1.85	1.71	2.29	2.00	1.31	2.08	1.69	1.51	2.19	0-6	Grade
	6	1.18	1.39	1.09	1.24	1.07	1.19	1.13	1.23	1.14		
	8	1.46	1.37	0.83	1.10	1.96	1.69	1.83	1.66	1.26		
Total					1.45			1.55	1.47	1.53		
Teacher	4	0.97	0.88	1.16	1.02	0.76	1.08	0.92	0.82	1.12	0-4	Grade
	6	0.52	0.41	0.58	0.50	0.44	0.64	0.54	0.43	0.61		
	8	0.73	0.75	0.21	0.48	0.98	0.98	0.98	0.87	0.59		
Total					0.66			0.81	0.70	0.78		
Other Authority	4	2.50	2.02	2.84	2.43	2.67	2.49	2.58	2.34	2.67	0-7	None
	6	1.96	1.63	2.06	1.84	2.29	1.86	2.08	1.96	1.96		
	8	1.96	1.98	1.44	1.71	1.86	2.55	2.21	1.92	1.99		
Total					1.99			2.29	2.07	2.21		

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives:

(1) "I would tell (figure) he (she, they) was (were) unfair," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government).
(2) "I would tell (figure) not to do it again," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government).
(3) "I would show (figure) my anger," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government).
(4) "I would tell other teachers or the principal (or other policeman) that this teacher (or this policeman) was unfair," for teacher and other authority (policeman).

TABLE 2-52

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "TALK TO PEERS" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
			GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS		
Parents	4	1.22	1.25	1.53	1.39	0.96	1.16	1.06	1.10	1.34	0-4	Grade
	6	0.92	1.00	0.80	0.90	1.13	0.75	0.94	1.07	0.77		
	8	1.31	1.00	1.15	1.07	1.65	1.43	1.54	1.32	1.29		
Total					1.12			1.18	1.16	1.13		
Teacher	4	0.62	0.46	0.75	0.60	0.60	0.69	0.64	0.53	0.72	0-2	SES,Grade
	6	0.67	0.63	0.48	0.55	0.84	0.75	0.80	0.73	0.61		
	8	1.04	0.94	0.94	0.94	1.20	1.10	1.15	1.07	1.02		
Total					0.70			0.86	0.78	0.78		
Other Authority	4	1.59	1.23	1.75	1.49	1.69	1.69	1.69	1.46	1.72	0-4	Grade
	6	1.65	1.18	1.54	1.36	2.16	1.73	1.94	1.67	1.63		
	8	1.99	2.10	2.13	2.11	1.69	2.06	1.87	1.89	2.09		
Total					1.65			1.83	1.67	1.81		

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it," and "I would talk to my friends about it," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 2-53

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE"
IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER AND OTHER AUTHORITY,
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(GREECE)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX		INDEX	SIGNIF.
			GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	SCALE	EFFECTS
Parents	4	0.61	0.61	0.71	0.66	0.49	0.63	0.56	0.55	0.67	0-2	Grade
	6	0.38	0.54	0.32	0.43	0.33	0.32	0.33	0.43	0.32		
	8	0.34	0.31	0.31	0.31	0.45	0.31	0.38	0.38	0.31		
Total					0.47			0.42	0.45	0.43		
Teacher	4	0.31	0.30	0.37	0.34	0.24	0.33	0.29	0.27	0.35	0-1	None
	6	0.24	0.21	0.25	0.23	0.20	0.31	0.25	0.21	0.28		
	8	0.30	0.23	0.25	0.24	0.31	0.39	0.35	0.27	0.32		
Total					0.27			0.30	0.25	0.32		
Other Authority	4	0.71	0.63	0.69	0.66	0.80	0.73	0.76	0.71	0.71	0-2	None
	6	0.66	0.61	0.65	0.63	0.78	0.61	0.69	0.69	0.63		
	8	0.63	0.60	0.46	0.53	0.51	0.96	0.73	0.55	0.71		
Total					0.60			0.73	0.65	0.68		

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative: "I would ask my mother (father) or other adult relatives to stop him (her) from doing it again," for parents (father, mother) and "I would ask my parents or other adult relatives to talk to (figure)," for teacher, and other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 2-54

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "GET EVEN" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
-(GREECE)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
			GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS		
Parents	4	0.38	0.36	0.57	0.46	0.13	0.45	0.29	0.25	0.51	0-2	Grade
	6	0.13	0.16	0.12	0.14	0.11	0.14	0.12	0.14	0.13		
	8	0.14	0.10	0.04	0.07	0.25	0.18	0.22	0.18	0.11		
Total					0.22			0.21	0.19	0.25		
Teacher	4	0.17	0.14	0.25	0.20	0.04	0.24	0.14	0.09	0.25	0-1	SES,Grade
	6	0.07	0.09	0.03	0.06	0.07	0.08	0.08	0.08	0.06		
	8	0.11	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.24	0.18	0.21	0.13	0.10		
Total					0.09			0.14	0.10	0.14		
Other Authority	4	0.42	0.38	0.67	0.52	0.27	0.37	0.32	0.32	0.52	0-2	Grade
	6	0.25	0.21	0.22	0.21	0.20	0.36	0.28	0.21	0.29		
	8	0.18	0.23	0.04	0.14	0.27	0.18	0.23	0.25	0.11		
Total					0.29			0.28	0.26	0.31		

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative, "I would get even with or get back at (figure)," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 2-55

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ALTERNATIVES "TALK TO BROTHERS AND SISTERS" AND "TALK TO FRIENDS" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(GREECE)

FIGURES		TALK TO BROTHERS & SISTERS					TALK TO FRIENDS				
	GRADE	TOT.	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS
Parents	4	41	41	32	34	40	25	31	22	23	29
	6	30	29	31	34	25	17	17	16	20	13
	8	43	35	50	41	44	24	19	29	26	21
	Total		35	37	36	36		22	23	23	22
Teacher	4	34	34	35	30	39	28	27	29	23	33
	6	33	29	36	33	32	35	26	44	41	29
	8	48	45	50	49	46	58	50	66	60	56
	Total		36	40	37	39		34	46	41	39
Other Authority	4	43	43	43	41	42	37	33	41	33	40
	6	44	37	49	45	42	40	31	49	40	40
	8	50	55	46	46	55	50	51	49	50	50
	Total		46	46	43	48		38	46	41	43

Note. Item: "If your...(figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"
Response Alternatives: "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it" and "I would talk to my friends about it."

TABLE 2-56

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES TO VARIOUS TYPES OF VERBAL REACTIONS TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TELL FIGURE HE WAS UNFAIR					TELL FIGURE NOT TO DO IT AGAIN					SHOW THE FIGURE MY ANGER					TELL OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURE				
		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX	
			L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B
Parents	4	32	32	32	25	39	34	39	30	30	38	30	30	30	23	36					
	6	23	25	22	23	24	21	23	17	21	20	21	16	26	22	20					
	8	35	28	42	37	32	16	16	16	20	11	25	15	35	29	21					
	Total	30	29	32	29	32	23	26	21	24	23	25	20	30	25	25					
Teacher	4	26	24	27	24	28	27	34	20	22	32	21	18	24	15	26	24	26	22	21	27
	6	16	16	16	15	18	12	15	9	9	15	13	11	16	15	11	11	8	14	4	17
	8	25	14	36	32	18	11	14	7	16	5	19	7	31	20	18	20	14	25	21	18
	Total	22	18	26	24	21	16	21	12	16	17	18	12	23	17	18	18	16	20	15	21
Other Authority	4	39	37	41	35	43	40	39	40	41	38	28	28	28	20	35	40	40	41	43	38
	6	36	34	39	38	35	29	30	28	28	29	20	17	23	21	19	26	24	28	21	31
	8	40	35	45	40	40	27	24	30	28	25	20	14	25	21	18	26	28	25	20	33
	Total	38	35	42	37	39	31	31	32	31	31	22	19	25	21	23	31	37	31	28	34

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"

TABLE 2-57

INTERCORRELATIONS OF FREQUENCIES OF ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE BY PARENTS, TEACHER AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(GREECE)

CATEGORIES OF RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE	PARENTS CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS						TEACHER					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT		GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
DO NOTHING												
Teacher	.61	.48	.55	.80	.13	.58						
Other authority	.52	.56	.42	.62	.20	.39	.52	.47	.40	.63	.50	.43
ASK WHY												
Teacher	.60	.51	.62	.63	.34	.49						
Other authority	.56	.32	.51	.64	.37	.42	.36	.48	.48	.53	.43	.48
VERBAL RESPONSES												
Teacher	.74	.72	.48	.71	.45	.61						
Other authority	.59	.50	.45	.60	.46	.52	.52	.63	.50	.65	.55	.69
TALK TO PEERS												
Teacher	.69	.75	.60	.56	.70	.69						
Other authority	.60	.54	.50	.43	.56	.54	.64	.67	.69	.57	.66	.53
ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE												
Teacher	.51	.41	.30	.59	.42	.22						
Other authority	.32	.32	.24	.47	.32	.09	.31	.38	.46	.55	.50	.38
GET EVEN												
Teacher	.75	.73	.48	.36	.46	.62						
Other authority	.67	.53	.48	.31	.42	.61	.61	.64	.60	.57	.28	.47

TABLE 2-58

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY FIGURES AND THEIR CHOICES OF METHODS OF FACING AUTHORITY FIGURES' INJUSTICES, ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(GREECE)

FEATURES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE						TOTAL NUMBER OF CORREL.	
	DO NOTHING	ASK WHY	VERBAL RESPONSES	TALK TO PEERS	ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE	GET EVEN	SIGNIF.	POSSIBLE
Willing to Help	7*	2*/3	12	5	8	10	9*/38	324
Likable	15*	6	17	16	9	11	15*/59	324
Rules Fair	19*	5	19	11	14	15	19*/64	324
Guilt	23*	5	17	10	4	14	23*/50	324
Power to Punish	6*/1	4	7	1*/2	4	5	7*/23	324
Inevit. of Punishment	13*/2	4*/7	10	7	4	1*/12	18*/42	324
Total Signif. Correl.	83*/3	6*/30	82	1*/51	43	1*/67		
Total Possible Correl.	324	324	324	324	324	324		

Note. Number of possible correlations for each cell comprises 54 coefficients computed for three groupings of authority figures (parents, teacher, other authority) across six sampling divisions (two sex groups by three grade levels) 3X3X6).
*Indicates positive relationship.

TABLE 2-59

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CATEGORIES OF RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (GREECE)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
DO NOTHING									
Parents	4	.30*	.05	.35*	.08	.02	.15	-.16	.13
	6	.07	.10	.07	.09	-.10	-.06	-.08	.02
	8	.03	-.07	.17	.02	.01	-.10	-.16	-.11
Teacher	4	.20*	.14	.26*	.20*	.07	.09	-.14	.02
	6	.10	.13	.12	.13	.03	-.10	-.06	-.06
	8	.02	-.05	-.02	.06	.04	-.26*	.08	-.26*
Other Authority	4	.08	-.03	.12	-.03	.22*	.13	.02	.16
	6	-.01	.11	.04	.12	.02	.06	-.09	.03
	8	.02	-.16	.09	-.12	-.14	-.15	-.13	-.08
ASK WHY									
Parents	4	-.05	.08	-.11	.04	-.05	-.15	.12	-.14
	6	-.12	-.01	-.14	-.02	.07	.02	.08	-.06
	8	.03	.01	-.08	-.01	.02	.03	.08	.06
Teacher	4	-.06	-.04	-.14	-.09	-.01	-.07	.20*	.00
	6	-.04	-.05	-.14	-.10	.04	.03	.11	-.01
	8	.07	.01	.14	-.04	-.01	.10	-.04	.10
Other Authority	4	.08	.04	.09	.02	-.19*	.15	-.08	.07
	6	-.04	-.08	-.08	-.09	.00	.08	-.03	-.03
	8	-.02	.03	.03	.04	.14	.08	.17	.03
VERBAL RESPONSES									
Parents	4	-.17	-.25*	-.18	-.31*	.06	.09	.03	.10
	6	-.05	-.18	-.05	-.24*	.09	-.04	.13	.09
	8	.01	.06	-.06	-.00	.11	.26*	.14	.26*
Teacher	4	-.23*	-.23*	-.23*	-.25*	.11	.27*	.12	.28*
	6	-.19*	-.15	-.18	-.20*	.30*	.06	.27*	.14
	8	.05	.05	.03	-.06	.09	.33*	.05	.40*
Other Authority	4	.06	-.15	.06	-.12	-.11	.17	-.10	.16
	6	-.13	-.14	-.12	-.21	.19*	.07	.21*	.13
	8	-.14	.13	-.08	.01	.11	.30*	-.03	.25*
TALK TO PEERS									
Parents	4	-.13	-.15	-.17	-.22*	-.03	.09	.12	.17
	6	-.04	-.07	-.07	-.11	.07	-.04	.09	.04
	8	.20*	.08	.17	.07	-.05	.23*	.13	.19*
Teacher	4	-.08	-.10	-.11	-.13	-.05	.03	.01	.09
	6	.06	.01	.00	-.05	.05	-.08	.10	-.07
	8	.13	.02	.05	-.02	-.04	.17	.11	.12

TABLE 2-59 (Continued)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS
TALK TO PEERS (Cont.)									
Other Authority	4	.10	-.04	.03	-.05	-.11	.05	-.02	.10
	6	.09	-.09	.11	-.07	.04	.13	.03	-.01
	8	-.07	.14	.01	.18	-.05	-.02	-.11	-.15
ASK PARENTS TO TALK OR STOP									
Parents	4	-.09	-.24*	-.08	-.31*	.15	.06	.12	.11
	6	.13	-.16	-.13	-.20*	.19*	-.04	.24*	.08
	8	-.03	.03	.02	-.03	.04	.05	.03	.11
Teacher	4	-.20*	-.25*	-.20*	-.28*	-.01	.10	.03	.16
	6	-.13	-.09	-.17	-.11	.17	.01	.21*	-.03
	8	.11	.04	.09	.07	-.04	.06	.04	.01
Other Authority	4	.10	-.08	.05	-.09	-.08	.08	-.02	.06
	6	-.14	-.16	-.14	-.20*	.04	.12	.16	.11
	8	-.01	.34*	-.02	.27*	.11	.21*	.01	.04
GET EVEN									
Parents	4	-.21*	-.18	-.20*	-.23*	.12	.12	.09	.13
	6	-.09	-.05	-.07	-.15	.14	-.06	.20*	.08
	8	.10	-.14	-.06	-.19*	.16	.35*	.20*	.44*
Teacher	4	-.16	-.19*	-.17	-.24*	.12	.14	.09	.18
	6	-.18	-.16	-.19*	-.18	.24*	.15	.24*	.22*
	8	.36*	-.08	.22*	-.16	.08	.34*	.23*	.41*
Other Authority	4	-.11	-.14	-.09	-.13	.02	.20*	.02	.18
	6	-.20*	.04	-.16	.01	.45*	.03	.35*	-.02
	8	.13	-.03	.06	-.04	.08	.24*	-.03	.26*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

B5. Involvement and Participation in Authority Systems

In a study of socialization of children's orientations toward authority it is important to inquire about their views and experiences concerning their personal participation in authority systems. This section deals with data from questionnaire items designed to assess how the child perceives himself as a member not only of his family and school, but also of the political system of his society.

a. Participation in the Political System

This section will present data regarding Greek children's interest and concern about political affairs of their country, their assessment of the political efficacy of adult citizens like their parents, and the extent to which they engage in forms of political activity not prohibited by law. The questionnaire items used to assess these topics are cited in Tables 2-60, 2-61 and 2-64.

Political interest and efficacy. Greek children demonstrated more interest in political affairs than confidence in their parent's political efficacy; across all grades mean ratings of their personal interest in the country's political affairs ranged from "much" to "some," whereas means reflecting their beliefs about their parents' political efficacy ranged from "a little" to "not at all" (see Table 2-60 and 2-61). Greek children's responses to these items were probably influenced by the political situation of the country during the period of field work. The political crisis was so acute that it seems reasonable to suppose that children in the age range covered by the study were aware of it, although their understanding of the issues involved probably varied, especially by age. The relatively high level of political interest reflected in the mean ratings across all grades may also be related to the phrasing of the question used, in which interest in politics and concern about the nation's problems were identified (see Appendix 2, Item 408).

Analysis of the relationship of responses to dimensions of the sample showed no significant variations by sex. However, significant interactions of social class with grade affected responses to both items. Low status children's political interest and their sense of their parents' political efficacy declined with age. By contrast, high status children's sense of their parents' political efficacy remained constant with age and their political

interest increased from sixth to eighth grade (see Tables 2-60 and 2-61). That social class membership influences the Ss' political interest as well as their sense of political efficacy--with middle class having a higher degree of both--has been reported in previous studies in the U. S. with both adults and children (Hess and Torney, 1965).

Relationships between measures of political interest and efficacy and dimensions of children's images of authority figures. Table 2-62 presents a summary of the significant correlations between children's political interest and sense of political efficacy on the one side and their estimates about the various features of authority figures on the other side. Data show that political interest and sense of political efficacy were more consistently related to children's perceptions of authority figures which denote a favorable orientation toward authority than to their high regard for the figures' power to punish and their expectations of punishment for noncompliance. Guilt over undetected rule violation, i.e., the measure used in this study to assess children's internalization of societal norms, was the variable which showed the most consistent positive relationships with children's political interest and, to a lesser degree, with their sense of political efficacy of their parents. For political interest the number of significant correlations with guilt was equally distributed among boys and girls; for political efficacy, the relationship with guilt was significant only for boys.

The variables of "liking" and "rules fair" were less often associated with either political interest or sense of political efficacy. However, both these measures of political socialization were in a stronger relationship with the children's confidence in the fairness of rules of authority figures and liking for them than with awareness of their punitive characteristics.

Certainly a significant correlation between two variables does not imply a causal relationship among them. However, the notion that attachment to an authority system, concern with its affairs and allegiance to its values is contingent upon a positive view of that system (i.e., upon acceptance of its norms and regard for its leaders) rather than to a view of the system as powerful and punitive seems to receive some support from these data.

Relationships between peer ratings of classroom behavior and measures of political interest and political efficacy. Correlation coefficients between these sets of variables are presented in Table 2-63. For fourth graders both political interest and sense of political efficacy of the family correlated negatively with scores of compliant behavior and positively with scores of noncompliant behavior at school. For eighth graders both these measures of political socialization were in ambiguous association with peer nomination scores of classroom behavior; that is, political interest and sense of political efficacy correlated positively with scores for both compliant and noncompliant classroom conduct. Apparently, political interest and sense of political efficacy were expressed at grade four especially by assertive children. The behavior of these children could be in conflict with the standards regulating the socializing climate of the classroom, especially at the lower grades of Greek schools. The ambiguity of correlations at grade eight may reflect conflicting trends in low and high SES groups. Computation of correlations by SES by grade should clarify this point.

Political activity. The summary frequencies of "Yes" responses to questions regarding political activity (see Table 2-64) indicate that few children of the Greek research group participate in political activities. It should be noted, however, that, as Table 2-65 shows, activities such as "reading newspapers" and "talking with parents" were reported by considerably more children than were "demonstrating political preferences" and "helping candidates or parties in the elections." Involvement in political activities was reported more frequently as children grew older and, across all grades, more by high status than by low status children (see Table 2-64). These social status differences were substantially larger for the items concerning reading newspapers and talking with parents about political affairs than for the items concerning demonstration of political preferences and help offered to candidates or parties during electoral campaigns (see Table 2-65). The variable of sex did not affect the frequency of reported participation in the political life of the country.

Relationships between political activity and dimensions of children's images of authority figures. These data are shown in Table 2-62. The direction of these correlations suggests that a number of Greek children may feel that political activity denotes defiance, especially toward non-family authorities, rather than a normal and legitimate demonstration of concern with the affairs of

their society. Political activity correlated negatively with regard for both positive and punitive characteristics of authority figures--particularly non-family figures. The relationship was significant especially at grades six and eight. Over all grades, there were more negative correlations between involvement in political activities and children's regard for positive dimensions of authority (i.e., with the variables "wants to help," "liking," "rules fair" and "guilt") than with their estimates of the punitive features of authority figures.

The reasons for these associations are not clear. Of interest to the problem is that political activity was found to be positively associated with political interest as well as with children's sense of political efficacy of their families; these positive associations were more consistently significant for the older than for the younger children (see Table 2-66). In view of the significant SES differences found for all three measures of political socialization it seems reasonable to hypothesize that computation of correlations among the variables by SES by grade would reveal different patterns of associations for each SES group.

Relationship between political activity and peer ratings of classroom behavior. Correlations between these variables were significant only for eighth grade boys. The direction of correlations was ambiguous: political activity was correlated positively with both cooperative and uncooperative behavior in the classroom (see Table 2-63).

Summary. Data regarding participation in the political system indicated that Greek children's interest about the political life of the country is substantially higher than their sense of the political efficacy of their families. With increasing age, both these indicators of emotional involvement in the political life of the country declined for low status children. Data on political activity showed that, across all grades, very few Greek children engage in public political activities. However, substantial percentages of children--more of high status than of low status--said that they read newspapers and magazines and talk with their parents about political subjects.

Correlational data suggested that both political interest and sense of the family's political efficacy may be enhanced more by the children's high regard for positive characteristics of non-family authorities (justice, helpfulness, etc.) than by regard for their punitive

characteristics. Political activity, on the other hand, appeared to be in negative relationships with both positive and punitive characteristics of non-family authorities, an indication that a substantial part of the Greek research group perceived political activity as denoting dissent with and defiance of government authorities rather than a constructive and legitimate wish to participate in the management of the affairs of the nation.

Political interest and sense of political efficacy appeared to be in negative relationships with peer ratings of fourth graders' cooperative behavior in school. All three measures of involvement in the political life of the country yielded ambiguous correlations with peer ratings of eighth graders' classroom behavior.

TABLE 2 - 60

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON POLITICAL INTEREST, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.21	4.71	4.74	4.73	3.24	3.98	3.64	4.06	4.36
SIX	3.76	4.02	4.17	4.10	3.09	3.59	3.38	3.60	3.89
EIGHT	3.60	3.37	3.17	3.27	3.41	4.47	3.93	3.39	3.82
TOTALS				4.05			3.64	3.68	4.02

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES BY GRADE. ITEM " HOW MUCH ARE YOU INTERESTED IN READING OR TALKING ABOUT OUR COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE AND RUN IT? FOR EXAMPLE, HOW MUCH DO YOU CARE ABOUT WHAT THEY DO AND HOW OUR COUNTRY IS RUN?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NOT AT ALL; 6 - VERY, VERY MUCH

TABLE 2 - 61

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON FEELINGS OF POLITICAL EFFICACY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	2.64	2.89	3.17	3.02	2.26	2.19	2.22	2.61	2.68
SIX	1.85	2.11	1.79	1.94	1.76	1.75	1.75	1.95	1.77
EIGHT	1.72	1.39	1.30	1.35	2.02	2.18	2.10	1.70	1.74
TOTALS				2.11			2.02	2.09	2.05

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES BY GRADE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "COULD YOUR FAMILY HAVE ANY PART IN WHAT HAPPENS IN OUR COUNTRY AND HOW IT IS RUN?" AND "DO THE PEOPLE WHO RUN OUR COUNTRY CARE WHAT YOUR FAMILY THINKS?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH

TABLE 2-62

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN THREE MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES BY SEX ACROSS ALL GRADES (GREECE)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Wants to Help									
Father									
Mother	1	1		1*		1*	1*		1*
Teacher				1*		1*	1*	1*	2*
Prime Minister	1		0*/1				2*	2*	4*
Policeman	1		1					1*	1*
Relig. Leader									
Total Signif. Correl.	0*/2	0*/1	0*/3	2*/0	0*/0	2*/0	4*/0	4*/0	8*/0
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36
Likable									
Father									
Mother				1*		1*	1*		1*
Teacher	1	1*/1	1*/2				2*	1*	3*
Policeman	1	1	2		1	1	2*/1		2*/1
Prime Minister	1		1	2	2	4	1*		1*
Total Signif. Correl.	0*/3	1*/2	1*/5	1*/2	0*/3	1*/5	6*/1	1*/0	8*/1
Total Possible Correl.	15	15	30	15	15	30	15	15	30

TABLE 2-62 (CONTINUED)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Rules Fair									
Father					1*	1*		1*	1*
Mother				1*	1*	2*	1*		1*
Teacher	1	1*	1*/1		1*	1*	1*	1*	2*
Government		1	1	1*		1*	1*	2*	3*
Policeman	1	2	3				2*	1*	3*
City		1	1				1*		1*
Total Signif. Correl.	0*/2	1*/4	1*/6	2*/0	3*/0	5*/0	6*/0	5*/0	11*/0
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36
Guilt Inducing									
Father									
Mother		2	2						
Teacher	3	1	4						
Religion	3	2	5	1*		1*		1*	1*
Government	1	2	3		2	2	1*		1*
City	2	2	4		2	2	2*		2*
Policeman	2	2	4		1	1	2*	1*	3*
Total Signif. Correl.	0*/11	0*/11	0*/22	1*/0	0*/5	1*/5	5*/0	2*/0	7*/0
Total Possible Correl.	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42

TABLE 2-62 (CONTINUED)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Power to Punish									
Father				1*		1*	1*		1*
Mother									
Teacher				1*		1*			
Policeman				1*		1*	1*		1*
Prime Minister		1*	1*				1*		1*
Judge									
Relig. Leader				1		1	1*		1*
Total Signif. Correl.	0*/0*	1*/0	1*/0	3*/1	0*/0	3*/1	4*/0	0*/0	4*/0
Total Possible Correl.	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42
Inevitability of Punishment									
Father		1*	1*	1*		1*		1*	1*
Mother							1*		1*
Teacher							1*		1*
City	1	1	2	1		1			
Government		2	2				2*	1*	3*
Policeman	1	1	2				1*		1*
Total Signif. Correl.	0*/2	1*/4	1*/6	1*/1	0*/0	1*/1	5*/0	2*/0	7*/0
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36

Note. *Indicates negative correlation.

TABLE 2-63

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (GREECE)

MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Efficacy	4	-.35*	-.30*	-.37*	-.30*	-.05	.20*	-.02	.26*
	6	-.12	-.14	-.10	-.10	.13	.01	.07	.11
	8	.30*	.37*	.20*	.23*	.16	.35*	.26*	.25*
Political Interest	4	-.22*	-.21*	-.13	-.16	.32*	.12	.14	.16
	6	-.07	.12	-.00	.22*	.05	.08	.01	.05
	8	.08	.32*	.11	.12	-.08	.30*	-.02	.32*
Political Activity	4	-.15	.16	-.12	.14	.14	-.04	.14	.00
	6	.12	-.04	.13	-.02	.10	.17	.06	.09
	8	.02	.21*	-.05	.13	.14	.37*	.18	.32*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 2-64

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	0.97	0.77	0.96	0.86	0.78	1.35	1.08	0.77	1.16
SIX	1.37	1.05	1.35	1.21	1.58	1.53	1.55	1.29	1.44
EIGHT	1.81	1.77	1.42	1.60	1.96	2.08	2.02	1.86	1.75
TOTALS				1.22			1.56	1.31	1.44

Note. Significant effects: Grade, SES, Index: No. of "Yes" responses for 4 items: "I have read, talked, worn a button, done other things." Index scale: C-4.

TABLE 2-65

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES CITING VARIOUS TYPES OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

TYPES OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Read Newspapers	4	50	43	56	40	59
	6	77	72	82	76	78
	8	93	89	97	95	90
Total			68	78	70	76
Talk with Parents	4	37	31	43	29	45
	6	51	37	65	51	51
	8	65	50	81	64	66
Total			39	63	48	54
Political Activity	4	7	9	5	6	8
	6	6	7	4	4	8
	8	10	6	13	12	7
Total			7	7	7	7
Advanced Pol. Activ.	4	3	3	3	3	3
	6	4	4	4	1	7
	8	14	17	11	16	12
Total			8	6	7	7

TABLE 2-66

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THREE MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (GREECE)

MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
			Political Acitivity			
Political Interest	.22*	.06	.23*	.40*	.28*	.42*
Political Efficacy	.13	.01	.01	.12	.35*	.30*
			Political Efficacy			
Political Interest	.22*	.31*	.08	.17	.16	.37*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Participation in Family and Classroom Decision-Making

The child's sense of involvement and participation in authority systems is subject to distortions of various origins. His sense, for example, of his family's political efficacy and his reports regarding his involvement in political activity may be strongly influenced by more or less temporary social events, which alter his sense of political efficacy and attitudes toward adult political activity. Therefore, assessment of the child's sense of personal involvement in decision-making processes in his family and his classroom may provide more reliable information about his sense of personal efficacy in authority systems. The role of family and school in creating in the child feelings of personal efficacy and interest in participating effectively in the social systems to which he belongs may be usefully evaluated by comparing the responses to these two items.

The two parallel questions used to assess the child's sense of participation in family and classroom decision-making processes are cited in Tables 2-67 and 2-68. Comparison of grade means for these two items shows that Greek children perceived themselves as participating to a greater extent in decision-making at school than at home. With increasing grade, the children's sense of participation in making decisions at school declined. The variables of sex and social status had no significant influence on the magnitude of mean responses to this item (see Table 2-68). Responses concerning participation in making decisions at home showed no significant sex differences. There was, however, a significant interaction of social status with grade: in grade four, low status children thought they participated more in the decision-making process of their family than did high status children. With increase in age, however, high status children thought their participation in making home decisions increased, while the mean responses of low status children declined significantly from grade four to eight (see Table 2-67).

Differences in the sense that low and high status children develop with age about their own efficacy at home are probably related to differences between low and high status parents in their attitudes toward their

children's position in the family power structure.* The high sense of personal efficacy in the family reported by low status fourth graders seems to be in contradiction with the sense of low efficacy reported by older low status children. A possible explanation is that the younger low status Greek children do not realize their actual position in the family structure. The young child is generally more suggestible and less skillful in presenting personal views to adults. Therefore, he can easily be induced into conformity with his parents' wishes and at the same time be persuaded that he is influencing decisions favorable to him in everyday life situations. Moreoever, parents may give their children a fictitious image of democratic home relationships as long as children are young. But as the child grows older he becomes less suggestible, develops personal views and wishes, and is more able to present arguments for his own positions. The parents' tendencies to raise their children in a more or less democratic way are tested at this moment of the child's personality development. As Baldwin (1955) pointed out "the democratic philosophy is easier to follow when the child is young than when he is older..."

Correlates of the child's sense of participation in decision-making processes in the family and the classroom. Inspection of the correlation matrices revealed a close correspondence between sense of personal efficacy in the family and in the classroom; the correlations between these two items were significant for five of the six grade-sex groups (see Table 2-69). However, the measures of the child's involvement in the political system--sense of the political efficacy of the family, political

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*It is notable that the social status interaction with age which affected children's responses to this item is similar in direction to social status interactions with grade which affected their responses about rule-makers and rule-enforcers in the family (see Section B2b and B3d). With increasing age, belief in democratic rule-making and enforcing, involving the entire family, increased among high status and declined among low status children.

interest and political activity--appear to correspond more closely with the sense of personal efficacy he obtains by participating in decision-making in the family than in the classroom. Data in Table 2-69 indicate that political activity correlates significantly with sense of personal efficacy in the family but not in the school. It should also be noted in passing that sense of personal efficacy obtained through participation in decision-making in the family or classroom yielded significant correlations with measures of involvement in the political system more for boys than for girls.

Correlations between peer ratings of behavior and measures of sense of personal efficacy in decision-making in the family and classroom. These data, shown in Table 2-70, indicate that, for fourth graders, sense of personal efficacy in the family correlated negatively with compliant classroom behavior and positively with noncompliant behavior. For eighth graders, the relationship was ambiguous. By contrast, a sense of personal efficacy in making decisions in the classroom was positively related to cooperative behavior in the classroom; the relationship, however, was significant only for sixth and eighth grade boys.

The significance of these findings is not clear. Again, the fact that the correlation coefficients have been computed by sex within each grade, while variations of mean responses were determined mostly by SES in interaction with grade, prevents evaluation of whether the latter represent coherent patterns of response tendencies by children of the two social classes.

Despite these difficulties, some generalizations could be drawn from the data. It appears that a sense of personal efficacy enhanced by the socializing conditions of the family is conducive to behavior patterns more likely to be felt by peers--particularly in grade four--as indicative of noncompliance. A sense of personal efficacy developed through classroom experiences seems, however, to enhance behavior patterns more likely to be seen by peers as conforming with school standards. It is not surprising that democratic functioning of the classroom group helps develop a sense of personal effectiveness in accord with group standards. It may also be that children who feel that their families function more democratically than their classroom group are more inclined to display less-conforming classroom behavior. That the sense of personal efficacy developed through classroom experiences is less likely to lead to assertiveness arousing group criticism is also suggested by the fact that political activity--which was found to have a

connotation of noncompliance with non-family authorities--corresponds with participation in decision processes in the family, but not in the classroom.

Summary. Data in this section indicated that, over all grades, children felt they participated more in decision-making in their classrooms than in their homes. With age, children's sense of participation in classroom decisions declined for both sexes and both SES groups. Sense of participation in family decisions was significantly higher for low status than for high status fourth graders; with increase in grade, however, it declined for the low status group and rose for the high status group.

Correlations between these items and peer ratings of classroom behavior showed that, at grade four, a high sense of personal efficacy in the family is related to a reputation for uncooperative behavior in the classroom; for older children, the direction of the correlations was ambiguous. A sense of personal efficacy in the classroom correlated positively with cooperative behavior in the classroom, particularly for older children.

There was more correspondence between measures of the child's involvement in the political system and his sense of personal efficacy in the family than between the former measures and his sense of personal efficacy in the classroom.

TABLE 2-67

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING IN THE HOME BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.17	4.77	4.68	4.72	3.59	3.65	3.62	4.18	4.16
SIX	3.21	3.19	2.92	3.06	3.42	3.31	3.36	3.30	3.11
EIGHT	3.73	3.58	3.40	3.49	3.75	4.21	3.98	3.66	3.81
TOTALS				3.75			3.65	3.71	3.69

Note. Significant effects: SES by grade. Item: "How often do you help make the decisions in your family?" Item scale: 1 - Never, 6 - Always.

TABLE 2-68

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING IN THE CALSSROOM, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.54	4.54	4.67	4.60	4.49	4.47	4.48	4.52	4.57
SIX	4.03	3.84	3.94	3.89	4.11	4.24	4.18	3.96	4.08
EIGHT	3.92	3.74	3.75	3.75	4.06	4.13	4.09	3.91	3.94
TOTALS				4.08			4.25	4.13	4.19

Note. Significant effects: Grade. Item: "How often do you help make the decisions in your classroom?" Item scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 2-69

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG VARIOUS MEASURES OF INVOLVEMENT IN AUTHORITY SYSTEMS, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(GREECE)

MEASURES OF PARTICIPATION IN AUTHORITY SYSTEMS	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
			Family Decision-Making			
Classroom Decision Making	.20*	.19*	.21*	-.05	.23*	.48*
Political Efficacy	.07	.22*	.15	.14	.08	.20*
Political Interest	.29*	.16	-.08	.02	.00	.39*
Political Activity	.02	.21*	-.02	.26*	.03	.24*
			Classroom Decision-Making			
Political Efficacy	.25*	.23*	.10	.14	.15	.22*
Political Interest	.19*	.09	.14	.18	.10	.20*
Political Activity	.09	-.00	.02	.08	-.02	.17

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 2-70

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SENSE OF PARTICIPATION IN FAMILY AND CLASSROOM DECISION MAKING PROCESSES AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(GREECE)

SENSE OF PERSONAL PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
In the Family	4	-.19*	-.12	-.14	-.18	.28*	.13	.24*	.20*
	6	.09	.11	.15	.14	-.13	-.12	-.06	-.23*
	8	-.06	.32*	.14	.24*	.10	.30*	.04	.26*
In the Classroom	4	.03	-.05	-.01	-.08	.15	-.03	.05	.02
	6	.16	.27*	.15	.25*	-.04	-.34*	-.04	-.29*
	8	.07	.44*	.13	.38*	.08	.04	.07	.01

Note: *Indicates significant correlation

C. Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom

One of the major assumptions of this study was that children's perceptions of authority figures influence their overt behavior toward both authority figures and their peers. The Peer Nomination Inventory, a sociometric technique, was used to assess children's compliant and noncompliant behavior at school as rated by their classroom peers. Data obtained through this technique were analyzed in terms of total positive and total negative scores, the former summarizing the frequency of Ss nominated by peers for compliant behavior toward both teacher and peers and the latter, the frequency of Ss nominated for noncompliant behavior. These two total scores were subsequently broken down into four set scores which point out variations in the frequency of compliant and noncompliant behavior toward peers vs. the teacher.

C1. Compliance and Noncompliance in the Classroom

Peer ratings of Greek children's compliant and noncompliant behavior toward peers and teacher indicated that, over all sampling groups, children who were pointed out by their peers for their compliant behavior in the school outnumbered those who were nominated for noncompliant behavior. Over all grade groups, compliant behavior appeared to be displayed equally toward peers and the teacher, while the amount of noncompliant behavior directed against the teacher exceeded that directed against peers (see Tables 2-75 and 2-76).

Set scores for compliant behavior were affected by the same sampling factors, and variations had the same direction for peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher positive scores. This was true also for the peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher negative scores. In other words, score variations by sampling factors depended on the quality of behavior (compliant vs. noncompliant) rather than on its target (peers vs. teacher).

All three scores of compliant behavior (i.e., total, peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher) were across all grades higher for high status children than for their low status counterparts (see Table 2-71). In addition, for both SES groups, all three scores for compliant behavior increased from grade four to six and then decreased again at grade eight (see Table 2-71). Sex differences on the scores of compliant behavior did not reach significance levels; however, girls tended to receive higher scores than did boys, especially at grades four and six (see Table 2-71).

All three scores of noncompliant behavior (total, peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher) differed significantly by sex and by SES in interaction with grade (see Table 2-72). Across all grades more boys than girls were nominated by their classmates for noncompliance with both peers and teacher. Further, while low status fourth and sixth graders exceeded their high status counterparts in amount of nominations received for noncompliant behavior, at the eighth grade level the SES trends reversed direction. A closer examination of the negative set scores for each SES group reveals that for low status fourth and sixth graders there appeared to be a greater incidence of noncompliance with the teacher than with peers and that no substantial changes occurred on these two scores between grades four and six; for eighth grade low status children the incidence of noncompliance appeared to decline considerably and the two set scores for noncompliance with peers and teacher were almost equal. In contrast, for high status fourth graders, the incidence of noncompliant behavior toward peers and the teacher was almost equal; the increase with age of the total score for noncompliant behavior for the high status children was accounted for almost entirely by the increase of the nominations they received for noncompliance with the teacher (see Table 2-72).

The significant differences by sex in the scores for noncompliant behavior paralleled reciprocal, although statistically nonsignificant, differences among boys and girls in incidence of compliant behavior. Peer nomination indices clearly suggest that girls across all grades were more conforming with group standards and less aggressive than boys, a not unexpected finding. It reflects differences in the sex-role standards underlying the socialization of children in many cultures.

The curvilinear change with grade in the frequency of compliant behavior for both SES groups may be related to developmental factors as well as to changes in the socializing conditions of the school. In the Greek school system, sixth graders belong to the last year of elementary school, while eighth graders are in the second year of high school. From grade four to six, increasing familiarity with and adjustment to formal and informal aspects of children's relationships with both teacher and classroom peers probably contribute to increasing the incidence of their cooperative behavior with both. The transition from elementary to high school is marked by changes in the socializing conditions to which children are exposed. The stress resulting from these changes is probably intensified by the fact that they occur at the beginning of

adolescence. The fact that by eighth grade the frequency of compliant behavior toward both peers and teachers declined for both SES groups may reflect one facet of children's reactions to this situation.

The finding that, at grades four and six, high status children compared to their low status age-mates scored higher in compliant behavior and lower in noncompliant behavior toward both peers and teacher suggests that the former SES group was more able to exercise control over its aggressive tendencies and be cooperative in the classroom setting. This SES difference in incidence of compliant and noncompliant behavior among the younger children may be related to varying experiences in role-relationships with authority figures, the major source of which is probably the family. Such differences may follow from the comparatively more democratic distribution of decision-making power between husband and wife in high status families (Safilios-Rotschild, 1967), and from the greater tendency of high status parents to discipline their children through psychological sanctions rather than physical punishment (Prothro, 1966). The conditions of functioning of the classroom group may also have a bearing on the quality of behavior of each SES group. The majority of higher SES children in the Greek sample were enrolled in private schools. Although private and public schools follow the same curricula and pursue the same ideals, there are substantial differences between them, especially in terms of teacher to student ratios and the schools' material resources which probably influence to an appreciable degree the style of relationships both among pupils and between teachers and pupils.

It is notable that for high status eighth graders the incidence of compliance with peers (although decreased somewhat in comparison to the lower grades) was considerably higher than the incidence of noncompliance with peers, whereas the opposite was true with respect to the teacher. Perhaps high status children tend to adjust to the stressful experience of transition from elementary to high school by becoming increasingly more positively oriented toward peers than toward teachers. This shift with age in the quality of high status children's behavior toward peers vs. toward the teacher probably reflects the changes observed with age in their perceptions of and attitudes toward authority figures, especially their declining confidence in the authority figures' wisdom and justice.

For low status eighth graders no differences were apparent in the incidence of either kind of behavior (i.e., compliant or noncompliant) depending on its target (i.e., peers vs. teacher). For this group, scores for both compliant and noncompliant behavior (and especially for the latter) decreased substantially from grade six to eight and the incidence of compliance appeared to be higher than the incidence of noncompliance. In other words, the stress presumed to accompany the transition from elementary to high school seemed to be met by low status children more with compliance with both peers and teachers than with noncompliance. The considerable decrease from grade six to eight of the number of nominations received by low status children on either kind of behavior may indicate that their emotional and behavioral involvements with both peers and teachers were reduced. Perhaps this was another way through which these children tried to adjust to the new school situation. The fact that eighth grade low status children worked in very crowded classrooms may explain the lack of group cohesion reflected in the very low number of nominations they received on both positive and negative PNI items.

Relationships between PNI set scores. Correlations between peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher positive scores and between peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher negative scores were all positive and high for all sampling groups, indicating that both compliant and noncompliant behavior are subject to generalization across figures. It appeared, however, that compliant behavior is more likely to be generalized from peers to teachers and vice versa than is noncompliant behavior (see Tables 2-77 and 2-78).

As expected, correlations between positive and negative scores were all negative, indicating that the dimensions of compliance and noncompliance were sufficiently contrasted in most children's behavior and/or in most raters' judgments about their peers' behavior (see Table 2-79). Correlations between peer-to-teacher positive and negative ratings were generally higher than correlations between peer-to-peer positive and negative ratings. This indicates that peer-to-peer behavior is more likely to be actually inconsistent (and/or inconsistently evaluated by peers) than is peer-to-teacher behavior. Apparently, personal likes and dislikes and friendship ties among classroom peers account for the greater variability or inconsistency of direction in peer-to-peer behavior.

The magnitude of correlations between positive and negative scores with respect to the teacher as well as peers varied by grade and social status. With age, the direction of high status children's behavior toward the teacher appeared to become more consistent. The consistency of direction of high status children's behavior toward peers increased from grade four to six and decreased again moderately by grade eight. Despite these variations with grade, the negative relationships between positive and negative scores were sufficiently high to suggest that the scores received by the high SES groups at all grades for both compliance and noncompliance with peers and teachers reflect individual behavior with satisfactory reliability.

The corresponding correlations for low status children indicated that the consistency of direction of their behavior toward both peers and the teacher increased from grade four to six and decreased by grade eight, the decrease being less pronounced with respect to the teacher. The correlation between peer-to-peer positive and negative ratings for low status eighth grade boys was very low. For this group, the likelihood that children judged to be compliant with peers would not be nominated under items denoting noncompliance with peers was very low. In other words, the number of children who were pointed out for both compliant and noncompliant behavior with peers was considerable. Such conflicting judgments probably come from different raters. They may be largely true, since one can be friendly, helpful and fair with his friends and start fights, fight back when hit first, or even insult children who are not his friends. The extent to which such conflicting ratings occurred among low status eighth grade boys suggests that within this sampling group the behavior of many Ss actually differed (and/or was judged differently), depending on whether it was directed toward (and was judged by) different groups of classmates. This inference is supported by the fact that in our sample, low status eighth graders, unlike their high status counterparts, belonged to crowded classroom groups, naturally lacking in cohesion. Lack of group cohesion is also reflected in the corresponding correlations of low status eighth grade girls, but its effect upon peer ratings was less pronounced. These data suggest that for low status eighth graders (especially the boys) the apparent prevalence of compliance over noncompliance with both peers and teacher masks important inconsistencies in the quality of individual behavior within the group, especially in the quality of peer-to-peer behavior.

TABLE 2-71

COMPARISON OF GRADES, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX ON SCORES FOR COMPLIANT BEHAVIOR (GREECE)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTALS BY SEX TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Total	4	24.52	20.41	17.14	18.77	32.82	27.71	30.26	26.62	22.42	Grade (Curve)
	6	30.70	24.55	27.49	26.02	40.78	29.98	35.38	32.67	28.74	SES
	8	20.34	13.98	11.46	12.72	26.94	28.98	27.96	20.46	20.22	
	Total				19.17			31.20	26.58	23.79	
Peer-to-Peer	4	24.00	20.57	16.76	18.67	31.87	26.78	29.33	26.22	21.77	Grade (Curve),
	6	30.19	24.00	27.68	25.84	38.20	30.90	34.55	31.10	29.29	SES
	8	21.39	13.19	11.54	12.37	29.27	31.55	30.41	21.23	21.55	
	Total				18.96			31.43	26.18	24.20	
Peer-to-Teacher	4	25.05	20.41	17.65	19.03	33.62	28.51	31.07	27.02	23.08	Grade (Curve),
	6	31.24	25.13	27.26	26.19	43.38	29.20	36.29	34.25	28.23	SES
	8	19.22	14.67	11.19	12.93	24.63	26.39	25.51	19.65	18.79	
	Total				19.38			30.95	26.97	23.37	

Prevalence of compliance with peers and noncompliance with the teacher at the eighth grade level probably reflect the widely known developmental phenomenon of increasing identification with peers and confidence in their judgment as the child grows up and his needs for autonomy from the world of adults become compelling. Such differential orientations toward peers vs. toward the teacher are clearly reflected in the changes with age of both attitudes and behavior of high status children. For low status eighth graders no differentiation between peers and teacher was apparent in their scores for either compliant or noncompliant behavior; and the prevalence of compliance over noncompliance toward both peers and teacher masked inconsistent behavior, especially toward peers. Perhaps continuing idealization of authority figures and a high regard for their punitive powers impede manifestation of the children's needs for autonomy and self-assertion with respect to the teacher and contribute to peer-to-peer behavior which is basically inconsistent in quality and, therefore, unpredictable.

TABLE 2-72

COMPARISON OF GRADES, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX ON SCORES FOR NONCOMPLIANT BEHAVIOR (GREECE)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Total	4	19.51	19.07	29.78	24.43	11.09	18.10	14.59	15.08	23.94	Sex, SES by
	6	22.07	24.30	25.63	24.94	15.89	22.46	19.17	20.10	24.04	Grade
	8	16.16	6.73	6.10	6.42	21.00	30.80	25.90	13.87	18.45	
	Total				18.60			19.89	16.35	22.15	
Peer-to-Peer	4	17.85	16.36	26.96	21.66	10.20	17.88	14.04	13.28	22.42	Sex, SES by
	6	19.99	20.23	24.03	22.13	14.89	20.80	17.84	17.56	22.41	Grade
	8	11.89	7.83	4.46	6.14	11.29	24.00	17.65	9.65	14.23	
	Total				16.64			16.51	13.47	19.69	
Peer-to-Teacher	4	21.16	21.68	32.59	27.13	12.09	18.27	15.18	16.88	25.43	Sex, SES by
	6	24.22	28.39	27.40	27.90	16.96	24.14	20.55	22.67	25.77	Grade
	8	20.44	5.63	7.79	6.71	30.78	37.53	34.16	18.21	22.66	
	Total				20.58			23.29	19.26	24.62	

TABLE 2-73

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMONT RATINGS OF POSITIVE BEHAVIOR BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(GREECE)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	TOTAL POSITIVE				PEER TO TEACHER POSITIVE			
SEX		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES		LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer to Peer Positive	4	.98	.98	.97	.96	.93	.92	.88	.87
	6	.96	.97	.98	.94	.90	.90	.92	.82
	8	.94	.91	.96	.92	.82	.74	.88	.80
Peer to Teacher Positive	4	.98	.98	.97	.97				
	6	.98	.98	.98	.98				
	8	.97	.95	.97	.97				

TABLE 2-74

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMONG RATINGS OF NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(GREECE)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	TOTAL NEGATIVE				PEER TO TEACHER NEGATIVE			
SEX		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES		LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer to Peer Negative	4	.88	.80	.98	.94	.70	.54	.94	.81
	6	.89	.97	.92	.89	.71	.89	.78	.87
	8	.94	.76	.87	.91	.84	.54	.64	.80
Peer to Teacher Negative	4	.96	.94	.98	.96				
	6	.95	.98	.96	.93				
	8	.97	.96	.94	.97				

TABLE 2-75

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN RATINGS OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (GREECE)

PNI SCORES		PEER TO PEER NEGATIVE				PEER TO TEACHER NEGATIVE				TOTAL NEGATIVE			
	SEX	GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
	SES	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer to Peer Positive	4	-.25	-.17	-.25	-.34	-.44	-.37	-.31	-.32	-.40	-.33	-.29	-.35
	6	-.34	-.39	-.45	-.60	-.68	-.53	-.69	-.63	-.59	-.48	-.62	-.67
	8	-.34	-.33	-.04	-.49	-.40	-.32	-.24	-.68	-.37	-.37	-.18	-.64
Peer to Teacher Positive	4	-.19	-.15	-.14	-.23	-.46	-.47	-.25	-.34	-.39	-.40	-.20	-.30
	6	-.23	-.37	-.35	-.40	-.65	-.58	-.66	-.68	-.52	-.50	-.56	-.60
	8	-.26	-.37	-.02	-.50	-.34	-.63	-.33	-.75	-.30	-.62	-.20	-.70
Total Positive	4	-.22	-.16	-.20	-.30	-.46	-.43	-.30	-.34	-.40	-.38	-.26	-.34
	6	-.28	-.39	-.40	-.51	-.68	-.58	-.68	-.69	-.56	-.50	-.60	-.66
	8	-.30	-.38	-.01	-.52	-.38	-.53	-.30	-.76	-.34	-.54	-.20	-.71

C2. Summary of Relationships Between Questionnaire Variables and Peer Ratings of Compliant and Noncompliant Classroom Behavior

For the Greek research group, the magnitude of means pertaining to questionnaire items and to peer ratings of compliant and noncompliant classroom behavior varied more consistently by social status (as a main effect or in interaction with grade) than by sex. The computation of correlation coefficients between these two series of variables by sex by grade may have confounded social status differences in the direction of relationships between questionnaire variables and peer ratings of compliant and noncompliant classroom behavior. For that reason our conclusions from the available correlational matrices will be tentative.

The available correlational data suggest that compliance and/or avoidance of noncompliance with peers and teacher are enhanced by children's perception of authority figures as likable and providing fair fules. High regard for the authority figures' helpfulness, punitive power, belief that disobedience of a figure's (or a system's) rules will inevitably be punished by the figure himself (or the system's officials), and belief that the various authority figures reinforce each other's disciplinary acts yielded few significant correlations with peer ratings of classroom behavior. In many instances, the correlations between the above-mentioned questionnaire variables and peer ratings of compliant and noncompliant behavior were in ambiguous direction. Ambiguity in the direction of correlations may mask social status differences in the impact of children's perceptions of the various features of authority figures upon the quality of their classroom behavior.

Of particular importance appears to be the finding that measures of children's guilt over violation of rules of authority were in somewhat higher and more consistently positive correspondence with their perception of authority figures as likable, helpful, and providing fair rules than with beliefs about the figures' punitive dimensions. The difference, however, was small; belief, for example, in inter-system support for sanctions against noncompliance was in substantial direct correspondence with guilt for undetected rule violations and with reports of self-blame following detected (and punished) disobedience of rules of authority figures.

On the other hand, both measures of guilt correlated negatively with noncompliant classroom behavior, particularly for the older children. This finding suggests that whether guilt is motivated by high regard for the positive dimensions of authority or by fear of eventually delayed punishment, it is likely to prevent uncooperative classroom behavior. Crude awareness of authority figures' punitive dimensions does not, however, seem to have such an effect upon children's behavior, especially at the older age levels.

Important also is the finding that, of the various methods used by children to enforce rules of authority figures upon disobeying peers, only "asking the offender why" and "telling the offender he is wrong" consistently correlated positively with both measures of guilt and negatively with scores of noncompliant classroom behavior, particularly for older children. All other methods of handling peers' disobedience of rules of authority figures were in direct correspondence with scores of noncompliant behavior or in negative correspondence with scores of compliant behavior. "Doing nothing," on the other hand, in the face of peers breaking rules of authority figures, correlated negatively with measures of guilt and positively with noncompliant classroom behavior. In other words, lack of concern with peers' disobedience--reflecting lack of identification with authority and lack of internalization of norms--is directly related to noncompliant behavior; however, unqualified identification with authority may also be related to noncompliant classroom behavior and, in the last analysis, be a sign of immaturity. Unqualified readiness to enforce authority rules upon disobeying peers may reflect a defense allowing the individual to reduce his fear of powerful authorities through "identification with the aggressor" and simulation of power over equals.

Children's choices of methods of coping with injustice from authority were substantially influenced by their perceptions of the various dimensions of authority figures. Failure to react to authority figures' injustices, as well as avoidance of reactions considered to reflect some degree of defiance or lack of respect toward authority, were in higher and more consistent correspondence with children's regard for the figures' positive characteristics (especially with the variables of "liking," "rules fair," and "guilt") than with estimates about the figures' punitiveness. Also, children citing verbal protests, retaliatory reactions, and attempts to obtain parental intervention on their behalf were not likely to be nominated by peers as displaying cooperative classroom

behavior. In contrast, children saying that they would do nothing to oppose authority injustices tended to be seen by peers as displaying cooperative behavior in the classroom.

The relationships between the three measures of children's political socialization, on the one side, and their estimates about the various features of authority figures, on the other, suggest that the process of political socialization is also contingent upon perception of the qualities of authority figures, especially of non-family authorities. Political interest was directly associated with the children's tendency to feel intense guilt over their undetected violations of the rules and expectations of authority figures, their confidence in the fairness of the figures' rules, and their liking for authority figures. The association of the latter variables with the children's sense of political efficacy was in the same direction, but fewer correlation coefficients across all grades and sex groups were significant. The measures of children's political interest and sense of political efficacy of their families yielded substantially fewer significant correlations across all grade-sex groups with the children's estimates about the punitive features of authority figures. Political activity, on the other hand, yielded a substantial number of negative correlations with the children's estimates of both positive features of authority figures (such as likability, fairness of rules, helpfulness, and potency in inducing guilt) and the figures' power to punish and punitive behavior. The direction of these associations suggests that several children within the Greek research group may have felt that political activity denotes defiance rather than a legitimate wish to participate in the management of the nation's affairs.

Children's political interest and sense that their parents are politically efficacious were in negative correspondence with peer nomination scores of compliant behavior in the classroom, especially at the fourth grade level. Perhaps at this early age political interest and a sense of political efficacy tended to be high especially among assertive children, whose behavior would be likely to be troublesome within the restrictive socializing climate of the classroom. At the eighth grade, all three measures of political socialization yielded ambiguous correlations with peer ratings of classroom behavior. This ambiguity in the direction of correlations may reflect differences by SES in the direction of the association between the children's political interest, sense of political efficacy, and involvement in political activities, on the one side, and the quality of their behavior in the classroom on the other.

How important the role of the school may be in children's political socialization is suggested by the direction of the association of peer nomination scores of classroom behavior with the children's sense of personal participation in decision-making processes within the family as opposed to within the classroom. For the younger-age groups the children's sense of personal efficacy in the family correlated negatively with the scores of compliant behavior and positively with the scores of noncompliant behavior at school. For eighth graders, the relationship was in ambiguous direction. By contrast, the children's sense of personal efficacy in making decisions in the classroom was positively associated with the scores of cooperative behavior at school, particularly for sixth and eighth graders. These findings suggest that democratic functioning of the classroom group helps children develop a sense of personal effectiveness whose behavioral expressions are in accordance with the group's standards. Political activity, which appeared to have a connotation of noncompliance with non-family authorities, was in significant positive association with participation in [redacted] decision-making processes in the family, the correlations being significant for boys across all grades but insignificant for girls. In contrast, the correlation coefficients between participation in decision-making processes in the classroom and participation in political activities were nonsignificant for all grade-sex groups. Moreover, political interest was associated with a sense of personal efficacy in making decisions at home as well as in the classroom only for fourth grade girls and eighth grade boys, and political interest was in a stronger association with a sense of personal efficacy in the family than in the classroom. Apparently, the socializing climate of the family is a more salient correlate of these Greek children's political socialization than is the socializing climate of the school. Perhaps the role of the school in these children's political socialization is not merely neutral or noncommittal but also restrictive.

D. Summary and Conclusions

This study was designed to assess children's perception of and attitudes toward authority figures and systems of society, and the impact of these orientations toward authority on children's overt behavior within one authority system, the classroom group. Data for the Greek part of the study were obtained from pupils of schools located in the greater Athens area. The research group included approximately equal numbers of Ss from the lower and higher SES levels of the population. This allowed some exploration of the effects of position in the social stratification upon children's attitudinal and behavioral orientations toward authority figures and systems. Further analysis of the data is needed to clarify the relationships between attitudes toward authority and overt behavior in the school by SES by grade. The need for this additional correlational analysis derives from the fact that SES, as a main factor or in interaction with grade, affected the level of responses of the Greek research group on most of the attitudinal and behavioral measures used in this study. Differences by sex were rarely significant.

For the Greek research group the differences between low and high status children tended to increase with age. This general finding suggests that the patterning with age of children's attitudinal and behavioral orientations toward authority tends toward social diversity rather than cultural uniformity. The finding may reflect the effects of position in the social stratification on the socializing "climate" of the family. Evidence from other independent studies suggests that such differences do exist (Lee-Demetracopoulou, 1955; Friedl, 1962; Campbell, 1964; Prothro, 1966; Safilios-Rothschild, 1967). The data of this study suggest that the impact of SES may be mediated to a large extent through its effects upon the family power structure and the values and socialization practices or parents.

Incongruities between the socializing "climates" of the family, the school, and the larger community, respectively, may be of great importance. The child's direct interactions with the non-family social environment increase with age. These interactions may certainly be influenced by such consequences of the parents' SES as the type of neighborhood in which the family lives, the kind of school the child attends, and the youth organizations to which he is likely to belong. It is reasonable, however, to expect that the family's control over the quality of a child's interactions with the wider environment becomes

increasingly indirect as the child grows up. With age, the child's increasing realism of perception, maturation of judgment, and social experience should normally reduce his tendency to generalize his perceptions of and his attitudes toward his parents to non-family authorities. The extent and the form of the family's contribution to the child's cognitive development--which is presumably related to the development of his social perception--may account for differentiations with age in his orientations toward authority both within and outside the family. The outstanding features of Greek data which are summarized below will further clarify the above generalizations.

Children in the Greek research group tended to perceive their parents in a clearly more favorable manner than any other authority. Affective attachment to parents and recognition of their power to punish children appeared to be almost as strong in the oldest age group as in the youngest. Furthermore, the children's confidence in their parents' willingness to help increased significantly as they grew older. The additional finding that perception of these qualities of parents showed no significant variations by SES is in line with other independent evidence suggesting that strong kinship ties is a characteristic quite common in Greek society (Lee-Demetracopoulou, 1955; Friedl, 1962; Campbell, 1964).

The hypothesis that development of strong emotional and moral ties between family members is related to, and perhaps fostered by a perception of the wider social environment as powerful and potentially threatening also seems to receive some support from these data. Generalization of children's perceptions of, and attitudes toward parents to non-family authorities was selective even at the youngest age level. Fourth graders of both SES groups rated the teacher on a par with their parents on most questionnaire scales. However, the fourth graders' ratings of state authorities--the Prime Minister, policeman, and government officials--were on a relative par with their ratings of parents and the teacher only on the scales of helpfulness, power to punish and inevitability of punishment. These children rated state authorities substantially below their parents and the teacher on the scales of justice of rules, affiliation and guilt. Moreover, even the younger children appeared to feel that their parents' power is limited within the family and that the family is practically powerless in the face of state authorities. This may be inferred from children's very low assessment of the political efficacy of their families and from the fact that, across all grades, very few children perceived their parents as participating in rule-making activities of the community.

With increasing age, these children's perception of and attitudes toward parents, the teacher, and state authorities were significantly and consistently differentiated by social status. As they grew older high status children appeared to question the fairness of their parents' rules and reported less-intense guilt over violating them; no such changes affected, however, the responses of low status children. Furthermore, high and low status children, as they grew older, depicted their families as functioning quite differently. The former appeared to function more democratically than the latter. This can be inferred from the children's perception of the locus of rule-making and rule-enforcing power in their families as well as their sense of personal participation in family decision-making processes. With age, more high status than low status children perceived their families to function democratically, with the family rules being made and enforced by all its members. Also, the children's sense of participation in family decision-making processes rose with age for the high status group and declined for the low status group. These findings confirm other, independent, evidence regarding social status differences in family power structure and parental values and practices of child-rearing (Safilios-Rothschild, 1967; Prothro, 1966).

Position in the social stratification also affected the children's perception of parents' handling of their role of rule-enforcers as compared to non-family authorities. Belief in the inevitability of punishment from non-family authorities for disobedience of their rules was not affected by age or SES; belief in non-family authorities' support of parents' discipline declined with age and, across all grades, was expressed significantly more often by low status than by high status children. In contrast, belief in the inevitability of punishment from parents for disobedience of their rules declined significantly with age and, across all grades, was stronger among low status than among high status children. Further, belief in parents' support of the discipline of non-family authorities remained constant with age and was expressed more often by low status than by high status children. In other words, with increasing age, children appeared to realize that noncompliance with the rules of non-family authorities is more likely to be sanctioned with punishment than is disobedience of parental rules. While the perceived strictness of non-family authorities in punishing disobedience of their systems' rules did not vary by grade or SES, low status parents were depicted by

their children as more strict than were high status parents in punishing disobedience of their own rules, and more willing to reinforce the discipline of non-family authorities.

These findings suggest that low status parents emphasize conformity with the established social order more than do high status parents. This inference is in line with evidence obtained in other countries (Bronfenbrenner, 1958; Hess, in press) about SES differences in parental socializing practices and values underlying them. Variations in the emphasis put by low and high status parents upon behavior conforming with the rules and expectations of the society at large may be an important antecedent of the differences which were observed in the development of low and high status children's orientations toward both family and non-family authorities.

The socializing climate of the school was depicted with substantial similarity by low and high status children. Apart from the finding that belief in the inevitability of punishment by the teacher for disobedience of his rules showed no variation by grade or SES, children's sense of their personal efficacy in classroom decision-making processes declined significantly with age, but remained unaffected by their SES position. However, older low status children continued to idealize the teacher almost as much as did the younger. With age, their regard for his helpfulness rose, and their confidence in the fairness of his rules remained unshaken. Regard for the teacher's punitive power increased with age for low status girls and remained relatively constant across the grades for low status boys. Affection (liking) for the teacher and guilt over violation of his rules remained constant for low status fourth and sixth graders, and the lowering of both these ratings by eighth grade was substantially less pronounced for low status than for high status children. The development with age of the high status children's ratings of the teacher indicated a considerable decline of their initial high regard for his helpfulness, punitive power, and justice of rules. Concomitantly, affection (liking) for the teacher and guilt over violating his rules declined with grade more among high status than among low status children.

The development with age of children's perception of state authorities (the Prime Minister, policeman, and government officials) was congruent with previous information indicating that Greeks view state authorities with distrust and apprehension (Campbell, 1964; Friedl, 1962; Lee-Demetracopoulou, 1955; McNeill, 1957; Sanders, 1962;

Triandis and Vassiliou, 1967a). The children's estimates of the punitive features of state authorities remained stable with age; however, confidence in their willingness to help and fairness of rules as well as affection (liking) for these figures and guilt over violation of the rules and laws they enforce declined significantly as the children grew older. Moreover, children of all grades felt that their parents have very little power to influence governmental decisions and that government authorities pay very little attention to what their parents think. Political activity was also very infrequent among Greek children across all grades. The situation of acute political crisis during which our data were gathered probably contributed greatly to the development of such feelings and attitudes even among elementary school children.*

The patterns of low and high status children's responses to state authorities were less sharply differentiated than were their responses to parents and the teacher. That is, a declining regard for the qualities of state authorities, especially for qualities defining their moral prestige among children, was observed with age in both social status groups. However, the pattern of responses of each SES group to state authorities was congruent with the group's style of responding to parents and the teacher. Across all grades, low status children, compared to those of high status, attributed more punitive

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*Greek law does not normally prohibit children's participation in the types of political activity assessed in this study. However, informal observation suggests that discussion about politics with parents and reading of newspapers is generally not encouraged (except perhaps in highly educated families). Perhaps parents believe that encouragement of political interest in children is dangerous, because it may lead to expression of criticism of some state policies. They may believe that criticism of state authorities by their offspring may bring them into trouble with government officials. The apparent emphasis put by low status parents upon behavior conforming with the norms of the established social order may perhaps be related to a belief that they are more powerless than those of high status in the face of state authorities.

power to state authorities, demonstrated more affection (liking) for them and reported more guilt over violating the rules they enforce. These children also showed a decreasing personal interest for the political life of the country, and, across all grades, they reported significantly less involvement in political activities than did high status children. These SES differences parallel findings indicating that, across all grades, belief in intersystem support for sanctions against noncompliance is stronger among low status than high status children while belief in the family's inefficacy or powerlessness in the face of state authorities increases with age among low status children but remains constant among those of high status.

The above comparisons point to the conclusion that children invest parents, teachers, and state authorities with varying degrees of benevolence, justice, punitive power, strictness (or inflexibility) in punishing disobedience of their own rules, and readiness (or competence) to reinforce the discipline of other authorities upon disobeying children. In other words, the contribution of each of these three groups of figures to the formation of the children's concept of authority seemed to vary. For the Greek research group, overestimation of the positive dimensions of authority such as nurturance, likability and fairness of rules, appeared to be based primarily upon children's perception of parents. Overestimation of the punitive dimensions of authority seemed, however, to stem from perception of parents as well as non-family authorities. Low and high status children appeared to differ mainly in their estimates of the punitive features of authority figures both within and outside the family. With age, low status children continued to overestimate the punitiveness of both family and non-family authorities. High status children appeared, however, to perceive their parents quite early as less punitive than non-family authorities. Moreover, their expectations of punishment for noncompliance with their parents' rules declined significantly with age whereas their conviction that noncompliance with the rules of non-family authorities will be sanctioned with punishment remained unshaken.

Perception of imperfections in the acts of leaders of a social system seems fostered by the system's democratic functioning and by its members' acceptance of the notion that fallibility is a normal characteristic of the human condition. In such a socializing climate, punitive exchanges among members are likely to be rather moderate. Regard for the justice of parental rules and guilt over violating them declined with age among high status children, while their affection for parents and their confidence in

parents' willingness to help did not. This suggests that development of realistic perception need not jeopardize the members' allegiance to the system and its leaders.

Realistic perception, however, once developed through the conditions of functioning of the family, is quite likely to permeate the child's encounters with other social systems as well. If the functioning of the systems of school and state is perceived as incongruous with that of the family (i.e., more punitive and less tolerant of democratic interactions among members), increasing realism of perception is likely to lead a child to judge these systems as less fair than his family. When, however, the socializing climate of the family impedes realistic perception of parents not only perception but also attitudes toward parents may perhaps be generalized to non-family authorities.

Age did not appear to change the low status children's tendency to overscore their parents' positive as well as punitive characteristics; nor did age reduce these children's emotional attachment to parents and their guilt over violating parents' rules. Moreover, the development of low status children's perception of, attitudes and overt behavior toward the teacher denotes a similar pattern of continuing overestimation of his positive as well as punitive characteristics, resulting in behavior that can be seen as authoritarian submissiveness. These findings may reflect the impact of an authoritarian socializing climate in the low status family.* The data of this

*There is considerable evidence indicating that the ways in which parents assume their roles, i.e., the ways in which they use their power over children, depend to a great extent on their own personality structure. The parents' need for power and authoritarianism have been found to correlate positively with their actual techniques of power assertion over children and with predicted outcomes of these parental practices in preschool children's behavior (Hoffman, 1963). It has also been argued that the authoritarian personality may be the outcome of parental socializing practices (Adorno, et al., 1950). On the other hand, recent evidence suggests that the personality dimensions of power need and authoritarianism may have varying effects upon parental behavior, depending on the family's power structure and the extent to which parents have the opportunity to express their power motives outside the family. In complex societies, such differences appear along social class lines (Hoffman, 1963; McKinley, 1964). This evidence points to the notion that cultural or social class differences in the relationships of parents with other adults outside the family circle affect intra-familial relationships and parental practices of child training.

study do not allow exploration of the question whether such a family climate is primarily fostered by the circumstances surrounding the life of low status families or by cultural values supposedly autocratic and authoritarian. The writer of this report--Greek by birth, upbringing, and citizenship--is well aware that the Greek culture may be seen as the cradle of democracy and rationalism as well as of tyranny and irrationality (Dodds, 1966). History teaches that democratic values flourish in societies where fear is reduced through experiences of growing competence in dealing with the physical as well as the social environment, competence being a prerequisite for social interactions allowing a constructive satisfaction of the individual's needs for self-assertion and self-esteem. Authoritarianism has been described as one of the adaptive consequences of the circumstances of life of the lower working class in the U. S. (Hess, in press). Knowing that the circumstances of life for the majority of contemporary Greeks can be described in similar terms (see Introduction to this chapter) one may speculate that the indications of authoritarianism in the socializing climate of low status families in our sample should be attributed to their position in the social stratification rather than to cultural values.

Submission to the authority of adults seems to be a normal, adaptive response to the life circumstances of the young child, i.e., to his actual low competence in dealing with the physical as well as social environment. Continuation of this characteristic in the adult life is probably enhanced by the socializing climate of the family. Other socializing agencies, however, especially the school, should play an even more decisive role than the family in determining the extent to which children will enter the adult life adequately prepared to increase their social competence and reduce the feelings of powerlessness which may normally permeate childhood experiences.

As already mentioned, this study was not coupled with a systematic exploration of the values and socializing practices of the Ss' parents and teachers. Therefore, inferences about the socializing climate of the family and school, the two agencies most influencial in the socialization of children in the age range covered by the study, are drawn from the Ss' responses to our investigations. Apart from the data summarized up to this point, two additional sets of questionnaire items provided useful evidence regarding children's responses to the authority of parents as compared to that of the teacher and state authorities. These sets of questions deal with children's reports regarding their most probable

responses to other children who break rules and to authority figures who make unfair pronouncements or commands. A gross comparison of children's reactions to violations of societal norms by their peers and by authority figures (i.e., by equal status vs. higher status persons) should give an illustration of how a sense of powerlessness and low social competence may be related to authoritarian attitudes in children. In the face of peers' violations of societal norms children across all grades were most likely to "Tell the offenders they are wrong" and "Ask them why." Younger children were almost as likely to report disobeying peers to adults (i.e., to their own parents, the offenders' parents or the figure whose rules were disobeyed) as to "Tell them they are wrong" and "Ask them why." Very few of the younger children appeared, however, inclined to "Do nothing" in the face of peers breaking rules. With age, "Ask the offenders why" and "Tell them they are wrong" remained constant, whereas the frequency of denouncing noncompliant peers to authority figures and of trying to punish them decreased, and the frequency of "Do nothing" responses increased. Moreover, across all grades, low status children, compared to their high status counterparts, demonstrated more willingness to use all available means to enforce authority norms upon their peers and were significantly less inclined to "Do nothing."

Children's choices of methods of dealing with authority figures' injustices were patterned quite differently, however. Although relatively few children appeared willing to submit passively to authority injustices, the over-all-grades frequency of their "Do nothing" reactions was higher in response to "misbehaving" adults than peers; moreover, in the face of injustice from state authorities (i.e., the policeman and the government) more low status than high status children across all grades reported that they would "Do nothing." Further, while "Ask why" appeared to be felt as the most appropriate way of dealing with unjust pronouncements of authority figures ("Ask why" was the most popular alternative across all grades and its frequency increased with age), "Tell the figure he was wrong" and other forms of verbal protest against adult injustices were chosen by significantly fewer children and their frequency declined with age. Furthermore, both "Verbal responses" and "Ask why" appeared more likely to occur in the face of injustice from parents and state authorities than in response to an unjust teacher, and most forms of overt verbal criticism were cited toward all authority sources thought to be unfair more often by high status than low status children, especially at grade eight.

Requests for familial intervention, another quite unpopular reaction to injustice, appeared more likely to occur in response to non-family authorities' than parents' injustices and their frequency declined with age for both SES groups only when parents were the source of injustice. Apparently, a substantial number of children feel that they have neither the competence to challenge the pronouncements of non-family authorities nor the power to make their voice heard. Thus, even when they are older they continue to rely on parental support in facing injustice from the teacher and state authorities. "Talk to peers," the second most popular type of coping behavior, was cited more often in response to injustice from the teacher than from parents and state authorities. Also, its frequency increased linearly with grade only in response to non-family authorities' injustices. This may indicate that consultation of peers in times of stress is a compensatory reaction to children's feeling of personal powerlessness, especially in the face of non-family authorities. The fact that more high status than low status children were likely to resort to this type of behavior in the face of teachers' injustices may follow from the fact that most high status children in the Greek sample attended private schools, where the small size of the classroom groups favored development of strong and positive peer-to-peer relations. The fact that selection of "Get even" tactics decreased with age among both SES groups in the face of injustice from parents and state authorities, but increased among high status eighth graders against the teacher (while low status eighth graders rejected this alternative in the face of teacher's injustices) may be related to the above mentioned differences in the quality of peer-to-peer relations.

The above comparisons point to the conclusion that both age and SES membership may have a bearing on children's sense of personal efficacy in dealing with both authority figures and peers. It seems quite reasonable to expect that the more a person feels (and/or actually is) socially incompetent and powerless, the more his reactions to higher status persons' misbehaviors will be colored with uncertainty, caution and possibly submissiveness, while his reactions to equal status persons' misbehaviors will tend to punitiveness.

For the Greek research group, differences by SES in the patterning with age of children's response tendencies toward authority figures and toward peers were strikingly congruent with the development with age of each SES group's scores of compliant and noncompliant behavior toward their classroom peers and teachers. For

the low status group, scores of both compliant and non-compliant behavior (and especially the latter)toward both peers and teachers decreased significantly with age. However, the decrease of incidence of both compliance and noncompliance in the group of low status eighth graders seemed to mask submissiveness toward the teacher and inconsistency of the quality of behavior toward peers for the individual children comprising that group. For the high status children, however, increase with age of the incidence of noncompliance with the teacher and of compliance with peers seemed to reflect individual behavior within each grade group with satisfactory reliability.

Children's choices of methods of coping with both peers' disobedience of rules and authority figures' injustices were found to be related to their estimates of both positive and punitive dimensions of authority. The patterns of these relationship suggested that unqualified readiness to enforce authority norms upon peers as well as passive submission to authorities' injustices and avoidance of reactions denoting disrespect or defiance are significantly associated with a generalized over-idealization of authority figures. Moreover, relationships between peer ratings of classroom behavior and reactions to both peers' and authority figures' "misbehavior" suggest that submissiveness to injustice from authority figures and avoidance of coping with them in ways denoting disrespect are likely to be approved by classroom peers as much as lack of concern with enforcing rules upon disobeying peers and peer-to-peer punishment are likely to be disapproved. Children's judgments about the quality of their own and their peers' behavior are, of course, greatly influenced by the quality of sanctions each type of behavior receives from adults. The children's sense of powerlessness as well as their low social competence probably enhance their learning of authoritarian attitudes. The behavioral expression of these attitudes and their fixation with age probably depend mainly on adult sanctions.

For the Greek research group, authoritarian attitudes appeared to be learned through parents' as well as non-family authorities' sanctions. Our data also suggest that low status children are more subject to adult sanctions enhancing development of authoritarian attitudes than are high status children. This may be due to the greater conformity of low status families with the norms of the established social order, this itself being enhanced by a stronger sense of powerlessness and incompetence in low status adults.

Such sentiments, it has been argued, are fostered in adults by state policies such as the centralization of the state administration (see Introduction). Our data do not allow contradiction or confirmation of this argument. They do suggest, however, that the socializing climate of the school--an institution which in Greece is controlled by the state--does little to help the child to overcome the authoritarian attitudes he acquires through family experiences.

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FINAL REPORT

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AUTHORITY, RULES, AND AGGRESSION

A CROSS-NATIONAL STUDY

OF THE SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN INTO COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS

3. INDIAN DATA

B. KUPPUSWAMY
Institute for Social and Psychological Research
Jayanagar, Bangalore, India

K. GERA
University of Delhi, Delhi, India

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A. Introduction

The behavior of a child is a complex phenomenon. Its patterns are learned through interactions with the adult community in which the child is reared. The adult community is stratified into component groups, the social systems, which act as socializing agencies, and the stability of the society as well as its progress depend upon the techniques of socialization adopted by these different social systems. Each of them has its own values or norms of behavior which are built into the behavior of the child. From the very inception of the socialization process, the child is faced with a multiplicity of social norms which affect his attitudes toward these systems. It is generally expected that when authority figures within the various systems support the values and behavioral norms of the other systems they will contribute to the stability of the social system as a whole and lead to its progress.

During the course of socialization the child becomes aware of the interdependence of the components of the society. He also establishes preferences and dislikes for certain norms and also for different authority figures within the various social systems. These individual authorities are identified with the various systems and directly influence the socialization of the child's behavior. The degree of compliance of the child with the norms of a system depends upon his affiliation with these authorities and his internalization of the norms they enforce. Internalization also depends upon the child's active participation in the social systems. Factors governing the functioning of a social system also influence socialization by compelling the child to comply with the system's rules or norms. The younger child may comply with a system's rules because he is afraid of the consequences of noncompliance.

The social systems selected for study in this project are the family, school, city, religion, and state. The degree of their influence on the child varies, depending upon various factors. The family, neighborhood, and school influence the child by direct teaching of values and by inducting him into the behavior and the roles appropriate to these systems. Early experience in the family orients the child toward authority and prepares him for induction into the non-family systems. Similarly, the neighborhood and school help the child to adjust himself to the other social systems. The family is the main

agent which inducts the child to the religious values and various other social norms.

Children acquire basic social values and behavioral patterns through their family; parents consciously transmit attitudes which they consider to be of value for the child. But children also obtain a large number of behavioral norms by way of incidental learning, and the family supports and reinforces the teachings of the other systems and institutions. It presents models which the child may emulate. The values, attitudes, and norms of the family are those of the community of which the family is a part. The social class and religion affect the norms and behavioral patterns transmitted to children. However, the effects of affiliation with different religions or religious denominations have not been systematically analyzed in this report.

The school is likely to reinforce the values and behavioral norms enforced by the family. The cardinal figure in the school is the teacher. The parents and the teacher are expected to have a common set of values which will help the child develop into a responsible citizen. The school, as an agent of socialization, operates through classroom instruction, class rituals (such as those adopted to maintain discipline), and other social functions. Schools in India do not seem to have recognized their own importance as socializing agencies. Teachers tend to look upon themselves as channels of imparting information concerning the various branches of knowledge. This might cause some difference in the respective impact of the family and school in the socialization of the child.

The neighborhood also teaches social values to children. To a large extent it may be regarded as the platform where the child practices the values taught by the family and the school. Acceptance or rejection of these values by the neighborhood strengthens or shatters the child's conviction regarding these values. Thus, the importance of the neighborhood's role in the socialization of the child into compliance systems stems to a substantial degree from the fact that it provides reward and punishment for the norms implied in children's behavior. Thus, the forces acting in the neighborhood lead children to comply with the city and state authorities. Compliance with these systems is strengthened by the family and the school, but the socializing process is also strengthened through peer-to-peer interactions. Peers are not only those to whom a child can confide his secrets, but also those who would appraise his behavior and criticize his noncompliance with authority figures' rules.

In short, the parents, the school, and the peer group may be regarded as playing a very important part in the induction of the child to the various social systems. The aim of the present investigation is to study the extent to which the child's perception of and attitudes toward figures in the various systems mentioned influence his behavior within the classroom setting.

The following information regarding the changed attitudes toward authority figures in Indian society since the beginning of the twentieth century may contribute to a better understanding of the data of this study.

Two historical events greatly altered the attitudes of Indian people toward the British authority in India. First, the revolt against British imperialism took a formidable shape in 1905 when the government of Lord Curzon decided on the partition of Bengal. The entire Bengali society, which was in the forefront of the national movement, revolted against this decision and before long the whole country joined the protest. The second contributory event was the defeat of the Russians in the Russo-Japanese War of 1905. Until then, most of the Indian people accepted the British domination and were afraid of the government and its authority and power.

The Indian people became even more fearless n 1920 when Gandhi launched the non-cooperation movement While the 1905 events affected largely the classes, the 1920 movement became a mass movement. Gandhi asked th. students to come out of their schools and colleges; he asked the lawyers to boycott the courts. In 1930 he launched the salt Satyagraha campaign and asked the people in the whole country to break the law and manufacture salt out of sea water. In 1942, when Gandhi launched the "Quit India" movement and all the congress leaders were arrested, there was a complete revolt of the students and the masses. Schools and colleges had to be closed for some months because the students refused to attend classes and prevented the attendance by the small minority who did not join the movement. Finally, in 1947, India attained independence. It is very significant that between 1920 and 1947 many people broke many laws and courted imprisonment. Men and women, adults and children were sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment and it became a matter of social prestige to have served a period of imprisonment.

Some individual authority figures may now be considered to see what effect the above events had on the attitude of students toward them.

1. Policeman. The British Government used the police and the military to maintain law and order in the Indian society (the national movements from 1905 onward had led to much disorder). The Indian police, armed with "Lathis" (stout sticks) and rifles, sought to terrorize the people. But the Indian school children as well as the adults marched to defy the prohibitory orders and never flinched from physical pain or even death at the hands of the policemen. Often there were pitched battles between the students and the police, the former breaking the law and cheerfully courting punishment from the latter. There was open defiance of police authority without violence. The policeman was looked upon as a mercenary of the British and the students had a contempt for his work and role.

After independence the political leaders tried to modify the public's image of the police. Citizens as well as police were taught that the policeman is a servant of the society and that his function is to help the citizen when he is in trouble, and also to maintain law and order. Side by side, the educational qualifications of the constables and the officers were upgraded and new courses were added to the curriculum of their training.

The net result, in a broad way, is that today children have an ambivalent attitude toward the police. They look upon the policemen as cruel and heartless. At the same time, they regard them as a force in society to maintain law and order. In short, the policeman is tolerated as a necessary evil.

The efforts made by the leaders in general and police department in particular to alter the students' and citizens' image of the policeman have not been successful. It may be long before the Indian child looks upon the policeman with a favorable attitude as a friend and guide. Even now children are afraid to go to the police station, though the authorities are now trying to build police stations reflecting modern architecture and an overall pleasant appearance.

2. Judicial Authority. During the independence movement the judges punished both resistance leaders and citizens for breaking the law. Thus, the public's attitude toward judges was generally unfavorable. However, since many judges were highly educated men with a good deal of social prestige they were not looked down upon with the contempt afforded the police.

However, after independence the attitudes of the students and citizens toward the judge changed. The

separation of the judiciary from the executive authorities, the establishment of the Supreme Court in India, and the enunciation of fundamental rights in the Indian constitution greatly contributed to this change. Finally, the fact that judges at the various levels have been independent and fearless in their judgments enhanced their reputation. Thus, the judge now enjoys great esteem among school pupils as well as adult citizens.

3. Teacher. The Indian society has a great respect and reverence for the teacher. He is looked upon as the "Guru," the root meaning of which is grave or dignified. During the non-cooperation days many teachers showed their independence by speaking about nationalism and national and individual freedom.

In the earlier days the teacher was not only respected but also obeyed. Today the students do not want to obey the teacher quite as implicitly and unquestioningly as did the students of the previous generations. There are many reasons for this change. First, the atmosphere of equality and democracy militates against unquestioning obedience. Another very important reason appears to emanate from problems related to rural-urban and class and caste differences; while in the beginning of the century teachers came from urban middle classes, and from the upper castes, during the thirties and later, men from the villages and from lower castes, if duly qualified, were also allowed to become teachers. This was also one of the reasons for the lowering of the prestige of teachers.

Prior to 1960 teachers were poorly paid. Their standard of living was far behind that of many students who were coming from prosperous rural and urban homes; this also helped to erode the students' respect for the teacher. In general, while the student has become democratic in outlook, the teacher is yet maintaining an authoritarian outlook and so he feels that the students are turbulent. Finally, the students become easily influenced by political leaders. This is an aftermath of the non-cooperation days. The opposition leaders today try to exploit the grievances of the students so that there is a breakdown in the government. This is one of the main reasons for the students being turbulent. They soon become violent and destroy the public property.

4. Parents. Over and above the conflict between generations which universally leads to the parents' complaint that their children are disobedient and wayward there is the fundamental problem of difference in outlook.

The parents of today were brought up by their authoritarian parents in the first two or three decades of the present century. According to the traditional Indian pattern the children had to be absolutely obedient to the parents, never questioning their authority. The political leaders, however, were encouraging the students to be free, to disobey political authority. Since Independence, the value of equality has been stressed. The parents thus have an ambivalent attitude. They want to bring up their children with freedom but they also want them to be obedient. While the social and political norm emphasizes equality and freedom, the home norm is more authoritarian. Many parents complain that their children are defiant. They have not yet completely altered the patterns of child upbringing in line with the ideals of democracy adopted by the society as a whole. They do not encourage their children to try new things and new ways of doing things. They do not inculcate the spirit of adventure and enterprise. They lay undue stress on social conformity because of the importance that they continue to give to religion and caste in a secular and democratic society.

5. <u>The religious leaders in the Hindu religion</u>. The Hindu religion does not have any organization comparable to that which exists in Christianity. There are various religious organizations called the "Mathas." In each of these organizations there is a "Jagatguru," the teacher for the whole world. The people belonging to the corresponding sects look upon these religious leaders with great reverence; others also respect them. However, the "Jagatguru" does not exercise any control over the members of the sect as, for example, the Pope does over Catholics. There are also the "Sanyasins," greatly respected people who have given up their homes and occupations and pursued the path of self-realization.

Aside from the "Jagatguru" and "Sanyasins," there are family priests who come to the homes and conduct rituals on occasions of birth, marriage, death, and for days of religious observances. A fourth group consists of the temple priests who officiate in the temples and help the devotees to offer their worship to the image in the temple.

None of these four classes of priests control the behavior of the members of the group except indirectly; they are holy men who should be respected and before whom one should behave properly. There are no paid priests to study and propagate the tenets of Hinduism.

The main sources of religious observance and religious instruction are the parents and the grandparents, whether there is joint family* or not. Each Hindu home in the towns and cities has a "Pooja" room where the idols or the photos are installed. The members of the family offer their worship individually or in a group as a whole before partaking of the meals. The parents help the children to recite the various names of the god or the verses from the Bhagavad Gita and other books early in the morning or late in the evening.

These peculiar characteristics of Hinduism probably flow from the fact that there is no proselytism. Every Hindu is a born Hindu. His religious training comes from his parents and there is no paid official priesthood.

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*A joint family consists of the parents, their married sons and their families, the unmarried daughters, and the unmarried sons. There may also be the widowed daughters and their children. All of them live in one large house, and eat the food cooked in one kitchen. They hold property in common. The joint family may continue even when both parents die; all the brothers, married and unmarried, will live together. In time there may be division of the property and the brothers may then set up their own homes and the new cycle may start when their sons get married.

B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System

B1. Images of Authority Figures

An important feature of the normal social development of a child is that through a gradual process he establishes affinities with family and non-family authorities. These authorities directly or indirectly (consciously or unconsciously) affect the process of socialization. The degree of the child's affinity with authority figures may be determined by the degree of his feelings of respect, personal liking, and other expressions of affective attachment. These positive feelings may provide a psychological justification for his willingness to cooperate with their expectations and for his feelings of discomfort when disobedience or failure invokes displeasure or punishment.

a. Affective Attachment

The data about affective attachment to authority figures were obtained from questionnaire items dealing with the child's views on the helpfulness of authority figures and his personal liking for them. The format and wording of these questions may be found in Figures 3-1 and 3-2. The relationship between these two sets of items was positive (see Table 3-1). Correlation coefficients ranged from .01 to .45. Of a total of 30 coefficients across grade-sex groups, 14 were significant.

A comparison of the data shown in Figures 3-1 and 3-2 indicates that across all grades the mean ratings pertaining to individual figures are somewhat more scattered on the scale of "liking" than on the scale of "willingness to help." On both scales, the range of ratings for individual figures is substantially smaller at grade four than at grades six and eight. In other words, the younger children made relatively little discrimination among individual figures in reporting belief in each figure's willingness to help and personal liking for him. However, even at grade four, the policeman appeared to be liked substantially less than all other figures, and the religious leader appeared to be seen as less helpful than the other figures, including friends. The low ratings of these two figures probably reflect children's awareness of their respective roles in Indian society (see Introduction).

The overall grades pattern of the various figures' ratings on the "liking" scale suggests that Indian children do not discriminate among family and non-family figures in reporting personal feelings of attachment to them. Across all grades, their reported liking for the Prime Minister was almost as high as their liking for parents. Attachment to the teacher also remained very high across the grades. Only the policeman's rating, being lower than that of other figures at grade four, declined even more at the subsequent grades.

The figures are grouped somewhat differently on the scale of "willingness to help." At grade four, the father occupies the highest rank position. The ratings for mother, teacher, Prime Minister, and policeman were almost identical and ranked second, followed by friends and the religious leader. At grades six and eight, parents rank highest and their means are almost identical. The teacher, Prime Minister, policeman and friends, and finally the religious leader follow in that order. In other words, with age Indian children discriminated among family and non-family figures in their estimates of the various figures' willingness to help, showing more confidence in the parents' help than in the help of all other figures. Of the non-family figures, the teacher appeared to be seen as the most helpful, retaining the second rank position at grades six and eight.

The variables of age, sex, and SES affected these ratings in various ways. Liking for parents increased significantly with age, and was stronger among high status children and girls than among low status children and boys (see Table 3-2). Liking for the policeman and the Prime Minister differed by SES in interaction with grade. At grade four high status children rated both these figures higher than did low status children; at grade eight the SES trend was reversed and both policeman and Prime Minister appeared to be more popular among low status than among high status children (see Tables 3-3 and 3-4). The SES difference at grade eight was substantially larger for the policeman than for the Prime Minister. Data also show that with age the policeman's popularity declined among both SES groups, the decline being sharper and deeper for high status than low status children. On the other hand, the Prime Minister's popularity increased with age among low status children and remained relatively stable among those of high status.

High status children were more positive than their low status peers in rating parents' willingness to help. The difference was, however, substantial only at grades four and eight; at grade six no SES difference was

apparent (see Table 3-5). The teacher's willingness to help was perceived differently by boys and girls within each SES group: across all grades, low status girls held more positive views than low status boys; within the high status group, no sex difference was apparent at grade four while, at grades six and eight boys perceived the teacher as more helpful than did girls.

Ratings of the helpfulness of non-family and non-school authority figures declined with age. The decline was significant for the index combining responses to all these figures (see Table 3-7). Inspection of the grade means for individual figures comprising this index (i.e., policeman, Prime Minister, and religious leader) indicates that the decline was more pronounced for the religious leader and the policeman than for the Prime Minister (see Figure 3-2).

Ratings of the helpfulness of these non-family authorities differed also by sex. Across all grades, girls rated them higher than did boys; however, the sex differences decreased with age (see Table 3-7).

A sex by grade interaction also affected estimates of the friends' willingness to help. Girls at grades four and eight, but especially the former, appeared to hold more positive views than boys about their friends' helpfulness; at grade six no sex difference was apparent. (see Table 3-8).

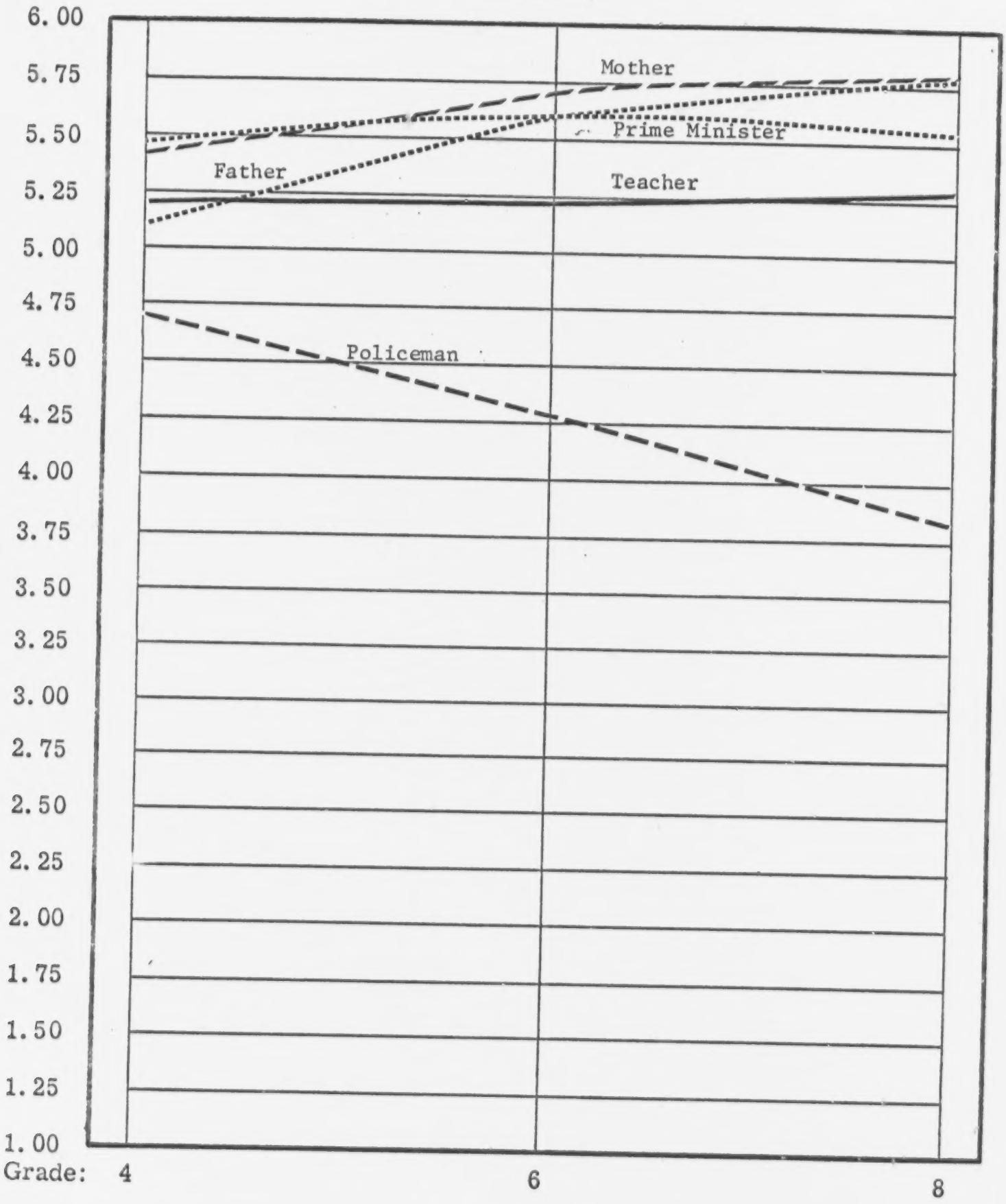
Relationships between attachment to figures and classroom behavior. The extent to which attachment to authority figures influences children's behavior at school was assessed by computing correlation coefficients between, on the one side, the children's ratings of authority figures on the scales of personal liking and helpfulness and, on the other, the scores received by children from their classroom peers for compliant and noncompliant behavior toward peers and the teacher.

Correlations shown in Table 3-9 indicate that, in general, liking for authority figures correlates positively with peer ratings of compliant classroom behavior and negatively with noncompliant behavior. Although the direction of correlations shown in this table is not entirely consistent across grade and sex groups and the number of coefficients which are significant is rather small, the data suggest that liking for authority figures does prevent children from displaying noncompliant behavior in the classroom. For girls at grades four and six, uncooperative behavior with both peers and the teacher appeared to be significantly related to their low level

of regard for the teacher. For grade four boys a similar relationship was significant with their low level of affection for their mothers. However, for eighth graders, whether boys or girls, the correlations were rarely significant and often of ambiguous direction. Perhaps liking for authority figures is not as strong an incentive for compliant classroom behavior for the older children.

As shown in Table 3-10, the correlations between perception of authority figures as helpful and peer nomination indices of positive and negative classroom behavior are also, for the most part, in the expected direction, i.e., perception of the figures as helpful tends to correlate positively with compliant behavior and negatively with noncompliant behavior. However, the number of significant coefficients is even smaller than in Table 3-9. Apart from the indications that at grade four noncompliant classroom behavior correlates negatively (and significantly) with boys' high regard for the father's helpfulness and with girls' high regard for the mother's helpfulness, no other patterns are clear enough to support the view that perception of authority figures as nurturant enhances cooperative behavior in the school.

FIGURE 3-1
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT
TO AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE
(INDIA)



Item: Do you like (figure)?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

TABLE 3-1

CORRELATION BETWEEN LIKING FOR AUTHORITY FIGURES AND PERCEPTION OF THEM AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

FIGURES	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	.16	.23*	.27*	.01	.32*	.10
Mother	.14	.24*	.03	.09	.15	.08
Teacher	.37*	.28*	.34*	.14	.45*	.20*
Policeman	.17	.16	.42*	.21*	.26*	.14
Prime Minister	.20*	.16	.17	.19*	.15	.06

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

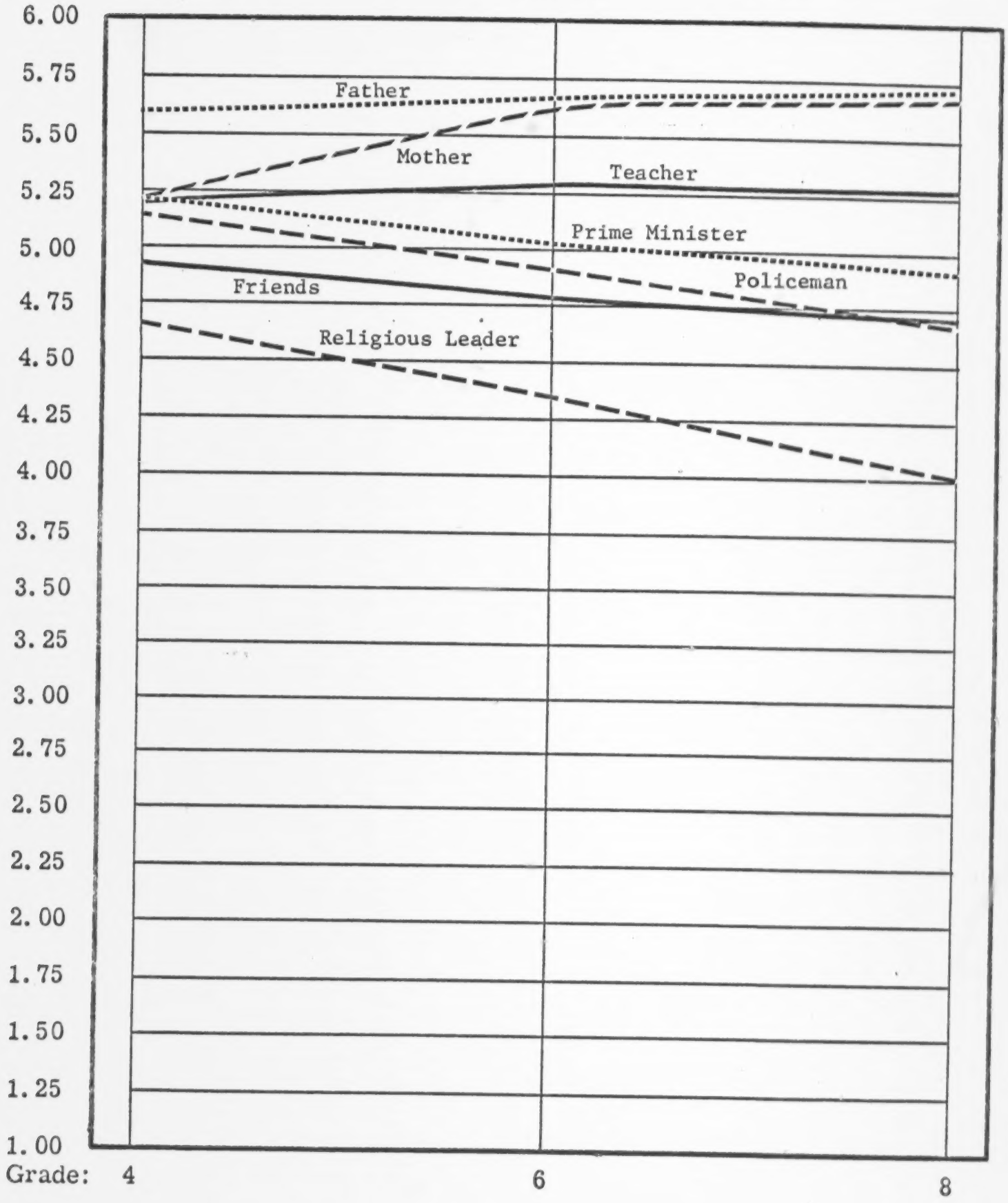
TABLE 3-2

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO PARENTS BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	5.24	5.35	4.76	4.98	5.59	5.52	5.56	5.48	5.04
Six	5.66	5.59	5.48	5.52	5.92	5.81	5.87	5.75	5.59
Eight	5.77	5.72	5.73	5.72	5.88	5.73	5.81	5.81	5.73
Totals				5.38			5.74	5.68	5.43

Note. Significant Effects: Grade, SES, Sex. Index based on combination of 2 items: "Do you like your father (mother)?" Item Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - yes, very, very much.

FIGURE 3-2
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE
(INDIA)



Item: Does (figure) want to help you when you need it?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 3 - 3

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO POLICEMAN, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.69	4.85	4.54	4.66	4.75	4.67	4.72	4.80	4.59
SIX	4.27	4.31	4.51	4.43	3.87	4.19	4.02	4.09	4.40
EIGHT	3.87	4.52	4.20	4.36	2.98	3.78	3.39	3.77	3.98
TOTALS	4.30			4.49			4.07	4.23	4.36

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) SES BY GRADE. ITEM: "DO YOU LIKE POLICEMEN?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 3 - 4

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO PRESIDENT OR PRIME MINISTER, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.44	5.53	5.18	5.32	5.54	5.66	5.60	5.54	5.37
SIX	5.66	5.63	5.53	5.57	5.84	5.73	5.79	5.73	5.60
EIGHT	5.54	5.72	5.68	5.70	5.42	5.38	5.40	5.56	5.53
TOTALS				5.52			5.60	5.61	5.50

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) SES BY GRADE. ITEM: "DO YOU LIKE THE PRESIDENT OR PRIME MINISTER OF INDIA?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 3 - 5

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF PARENTS AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.40	5.27	5.05	5.14	5.72	5.76	5.74	5.51	5.32
SIX	5.65	5.73	5.61	5.66	5.64	5.62	5.63	5.69	5.61
EIGHT	5.66	5.48	5.56	5.52	5.75	5.82	5.79	5.62	5.70
TOTALS				5.44			5.72	5.61	5.53

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES BY GRADE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "DOES YOUR FATHER (MOTHER) WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 3 - 6

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF TEACHER AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.21	5.53	4.72	5.02	5.45	5.43	5.44	5.49	4.98
SIX	5.29	5.74	5.09	5.34	4.96	5.52	5.23	5.35	5.24
EIGHT	5.28	5.47	5.17	5.32	5.14	5.34	5.24	5.30	5.26
TOTALS				5.22			5.30	5.38	5.15

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SEX BY SES. ITEM: "DO TEACHERS WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 3 - 7

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF SEVERAL AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.97	5.06	4.76	4.88	5.37	4.77	5.09	5.23	4.76
SIX	4.61	4.87	4.42	4.59	4.66	4.62	4.64	4.77	4.48
EIGHT	4.37	4.67	4.49	4.58	4.20	4.15	4.17	4.42	4.31
TOTALS				4.69			4.64	4.81	4.54

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SEX. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 3 ITEMS: "DOES THE PRESIDENT OR PRIME MINISTER (POLICEMAN, RELIGIOUS LEADER) WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 3 - 8

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF VIEW OF FRIENDS AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.93	5.44	4.65	4.95	5.32	4.40	4.89	5.38	4.56
SIX	4.78	4.93	4.87	4.89	4.55	4.69	4.62	4.74	4.81
EIGHT	4.72	4.91	4.65	4.78	4.68	4.64	4.66	4.79	4.65
TOTALS				4.89			4.72	4.97	4.69

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SEX BY GRADE. ITEM: "DO YOUR FRIENDS WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 3-9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTACHMENT TO AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIPLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	407	.08	.09	.18	.03	-.30*	.06	-.18
	6	.06	-.02	.05	-.01	-.02	-.11	-.08	-.03
	8	.10	-.05	.08	-.05	-.19*	-.01	-.11	-.09
Mother	4	.02	.06	.03	.16	-.17	-.34*	-.18	-.21*
	6	.05	.03	.07	.04	-.04	-.10	-.13	-.07
	8	.08	-.09	.10	-.09	-.16	.03	-.08	-.02
Teacher	4	.15	.11	.15	.22*	-.20*	-.12	-.26*	-.04
	6	.14	.08	.09	.09	-.23*	-.03	-.29*	.00
	8	.07	-.04	.12	.00	.01	.04	.02	-.01
Policeman	4	.06	.20*	.05	.28*	-.07	-.06	-.08	-.03
	6	.18	.07	.03	.09	.02	-.03	-.04	.07
	8	-.01	.07	.06	-.01	.07	.11	.07	.05
Prime Minister	4	.04	.05	.02	.14	-.13	-.21*	-.14	-.11
	6	.05	-.06	.07	.00	.02	-.15	-.06	-.09
	8	.06	.04	.09	.00	.03	.05	.07	.03

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 3-10

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.08	.03	.05	-.07	-.02	-.21*	-.07	-.21*
	6	.04	.04	-.11	.09	.04	-.13	-.06	-.11
	8	-.03	.00	-.01	.05	-.02	-.15	-.03	-.23*
Mother	4	.10	-.05	.10	-.15	-.22*	-.15	-.27*	-.16
	6	.12	-.01	.07	.10	.07	.10	.03	.11
	8	.08	-.07	.09	-.00	-.04	-.06	-.03	-.16
Teacher	4	.15	.08	.16	.11	-.03	-.09	-.08	-.06
	6	.18	-.03	.04	-.02	-.08	-.02	-.18	.01
	8	.14	.16	.11	.18	-.01	-.15	-.01	-.16
Policeman	4	.16	.09	.17	.12	.04	-.21*	.03	-.13
	6	.09	.12	.04	.07	-.11	-.02	-.05	-.02
	8	.14	.05	.08	.06	-.01	.02	.10	-.06
Prime Minister	4	.00	-.11	.01	-.09	.08	-.16	.08	-.17
	6	.02	.09	-.05	.05	.10	-.20*	.14	-.06
	8	-.06	-.11	.00	-.16	.10	-.14	.13	-.16
Religious Leader	4	-.02	-.01	-.11	.02	-.05	-.00	.04	.03
	6	.12	.12	.07	.06	.08	-.01	.11	.18
	8	.07	.22*	.13	.04	.05	.02	.15	-.07

Note. *Indicates signficant correlation.

b. Perception of the Power of Authority Figures to Punish Noncompliance

The very nature of authority systems defines their rights to demand compliance with their regulations. The allocation of power to certain members of each system to sanction the other members' behavior is determined by law and by custom. The extent to which the systems' regulations are complied with may be seen as a function of the effectiveness of the participants in performing their roles. Hence, the child's awareness of the punitive power of various authority figures has been studied.

Children's estimates of the punitive power of each figure may not correspond to the figure's actual legal privileges. Such estimates are very likely to reflect opinions and beliefs that children form on the basis of their interaction with peers and adults. Children's internal psychological states may distort or magnify the information they receive directly or indirectly from their environment.

Figure 3-3 shows the rank position of the various figures as rated by children of grades four, six, and eight in terms of their respective power to punish wrongdoing. The data indicate again that the younger children make little discrimination among the various authority figures in rating their power to punish. The only authority figure whose punitive power is rated clearly below that of other figures is the religious leader. The friends' power to punish is rated even lower across all grades.

The rank order of the various figures' mean ratings by fourth graders suggests that the teacher and the judge are seen as having somewhat more power to punish than parents. At this grade level, the father is rated slightly higher than the mother. Policeman and Prime Minister are rated very closely together.

As with the ratings concerning liking for authority figures and perception of their willingness to help, data concerning the figures' punitive power indicate that as children grow older their ability to discriminate among individual figures increases. The age trends indicated by the means of each figure suggest that the older children do not distinguish among parents and the teacher to whom they attribute the highest degree of power to punish. The judge and policeman rank below parents and the teacher, but the difference between the means of these two groups of figures is relatively small. By contrast, sixth and eighth grade children do not attribute to the Prime

Minister as much punitive power as do the younger children. The means indicating children's estimates of the punitive power of the Prime Minister decline sharply with age. A similar age trend is apparent with respect to the religious leader.

Analysis of the relationship of responses to the sampling variables indicated significant grade effects on the ratings concerning the punitive power of parents and the teacher. As children grew older they attributed more power to punish to both parents and the teacher (see Figure 3-3).

No grade differences are noticeable in the index combining children's estimates of the punitive power of all other non-family authority figures (see Table 3-11). However, the means concerning judge and policeman rose with age, while the means concerning Prime Minister and religious leader declined with age (see Figure 3-3). Apparently these opposite age trends were confounded when ratings for the four figures were combined into one index.

The finding that with age children made clear distinctions among judge, policeman, and Prime Minister in terms of their respective punitive power apparently reflects a better understanding of these figures' roles. With age, increasing realism of perception and richer social experience help children realize that in a democratic society the Prime Minister has no more power than other citizens to directly inflict punishment to wrongdoers. Older children seem to be aware that the policeman has more power than the Prime Minister to induce punishment of wrongdoing either by direct coercive action or by reporting law breakers to judicial authorities, who are the authorities "par excellence" to establish a person's fault and decide about the appropriate punitive action.

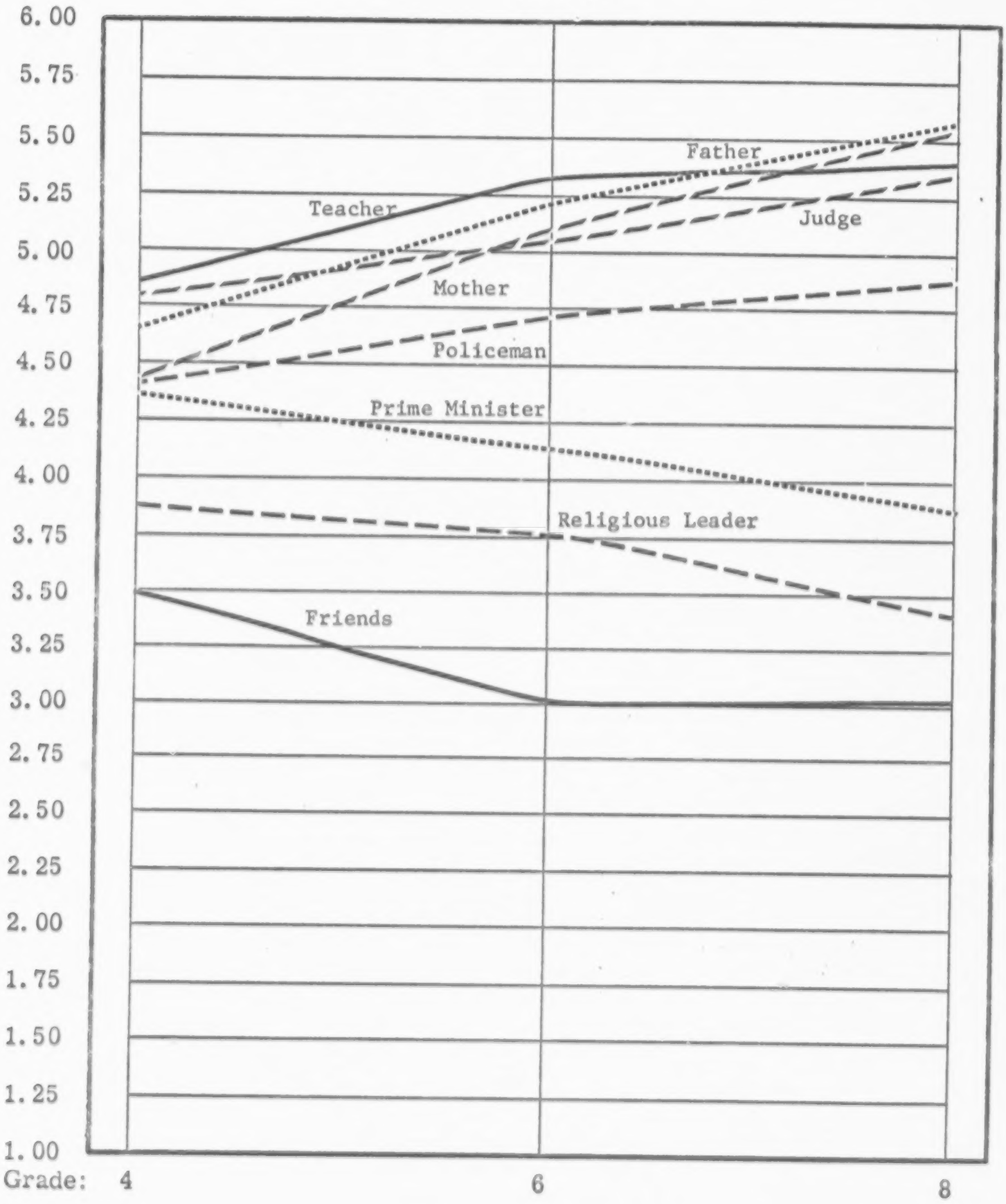
Ratings of the punitive power of non-family and non-school authorities (i.e., the judge, policeman, Prime Minister, and religious leader) differed significantly by sex. Across all grades girls appeared to attribute to these figures more power to punish than did boys (see Table 3-11).

SES differences were significant only on the ratings of friends' power to punish. Across all grades low status children attributed to their friends more power to punish than did high status children (see Table 3-12).

Relationships between views on the authority figures' power to punish and classroom behavior. Correlations between the two sets of variables are shown in Table 3-13. Although the number of significant coefficients is rather small (20 out of a total of 192) there are some patterns worth mentioning. First, regard for the punitive power of authority figures is more often in significant association with PNI scores of compliant behavior than with scores of noncompliant behavior. Second, most of the significant correlations between compliant behavior and regard for the figures' power to punish are positive and most of them pertain to fourth grade girls, in the areas of their regard for the punitive power of both parents, the religious leader, friends, and the policeman. Eighth grade girls' compliant classroom behavior was significantly (and positively) associated only with their regard for the father's power to punish. Third, for eighth grade boys, scores of noncompliant classroom behavior were in significant negative association with their estimates about the mother's power to punish. Fourth, for eighth grade girls, scores for noncompliant classroom behavior were in a significant positive association with their ratings of the Prime Minister's power to punish. Interestingly, no significant relationship appeared to exist between estimates of the teacher's power to punish and peer ratings of classroom behavior.

Taken as a whole these data suggest that awareness of the figures' power to punish may denote either acceptance (i.e., endorsement) of this function of authority figures or belief that punishment inevitably follows noncompliance with the figures' rules or both. Such beliefs appear to be conducive to compliant behavior, especially in the younger girls. The finding that for older children only regard for the parents' punitive power appears to enhance compliance or impede noncompliance with the school's standards of behavior may indicate that the impact of parental imperatives is so profound and lasting that with increasing age these imperatives orient children's behavior regardless of the social setting in which they operate.

FIGURE 3-3
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH, BY GRADE
(INDIA)



Item: Does (figure) have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 3 - 11

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF SEVERAL AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.30	4.46	4.19	4.30	4.45	4.13	4.30	4.45	4.17
SIX	4.34	4.56	4.26	4.37	4.44	4.14	4.30	4.50	4.22
EIGHT	4.29	4.74	4.33	4.54	4.14	3.96	4.05	4.43	4.14
TOTALS				4.39			4.22	4.46	4.18

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SEX. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 4 ITEMS: "DOES THE PRESIDENT OR PRIME MINISTER (POLICEMAN, JUDGE, RELIGIOUS LEADER) HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 3 - 12

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF FRIENDS' POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.47	3.92	3.88	3.90	3.57	2.25	2.95	3.74	3.26
SIX	3.30	3.90	3.23	3.47	2.43	2.29	2.37	3.13	2.90
EIGHT	3.02	3.27	3.57	3.41	2.66	2.60	2.63	2.97	3.08
TOTALS	3.17			3.61			2.65	3.29	3.07

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES. ITEM: "DO YOUR FRIENDS HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 3-13

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PERCEPTION OF THE POWER OF AUTHORITY FIGURES TO PUNISH NONCOMPLIANCE AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.21*	.10	.24*	.12	.14	.13	.15	.06
	6	.07	.07	.01	.07	-.06	.03	-.11	.02
	8	.19*	.10	.22*	.14	.02	-.09	-.03	-.07
Mother	4	.24*	.08	.26*	.10	.09	-.13	.12	-.09
	6	-.12	.06	-.14	.09	-.16	.04	-.17	-.04
	8	.08	.03	.02	.13	.05	-.30*	-.01	-.24*
Teacher	4	.17	.05	.15	.03	.04	-.18	.08	-.12
	6	-.12	.06	-.11	.04	-.06	-.09	-.04	-.09
	8	-.09	.08	-.09	.09	-.10	.07	.01	.03
Policeman	4	.20*	.01	.17	.08	.13	-.09	.17	-.15
	6	-.03	.15	-.03	.18	.04	.04	.03	.07
	8	.08	.08	.11	.09	.16	.08	.20	.03
Prime Minister	4	.15	.08	.14	.07	.10	.09	.16	.08
	6	-.18	.12	-.21*	.03	-.03	.02	-.06	.06
	8	-.14	-.08	-.11	-.08	.30*	.10	.34*	.03
Judge	4	.14	-.02	.14	-.01	.10	-.13	.15	-.02
	6	-.11	-.07	.01	-.03	.05	-.07	.06	-.04
	8	.14	-.22*	.06	.01	-.08	-.12	-.08	-.06
Religious Leader	4	.23*	-.04	.22*	.03	.15	.07	.19*	.18
	6	.02	-.12	-.04	-.18	.18	.12	.11	.19*
	8	-.06	.14	-.04	.08	.17	.09	.25*	.03
Friends	4	.27*	.12	.20*	.13	.08	.09	.15	.09
	6	-.00	-.06	-.15	-.07	.17	.17	.12	.21
	8	-.04	.02	-.01	-.06	.01	.08	.16	.11

Note. *Indicates signficant correlation.

c. Children's View of the Consequences of Noncompliance--Inevitability of Punishment

The questionnaire items used to assess children's beliefs regarding the extent to which authority figures punish disobedience of their rules and commands are cited in Figure 3-4. The data in this graph indicate that children across all grades hold the belief that disobedience of authority figures, regardless of the figure's identity, is followed by punishment "almost always" or "usually." Of all figures compared, the teacher ranks highest and the city officials lowest. However, the differences are very small even between the two figures receiving the highest and lowest ratings.

The importance of these data lies not only in the fact that children do not discriminate among figures in their expectations of punishment for disobedience but also in the finding that the ratings were consistent across all sampling divisions. The analysis of variance yielded no significant variations by any sampling factors for any of the figures compared.

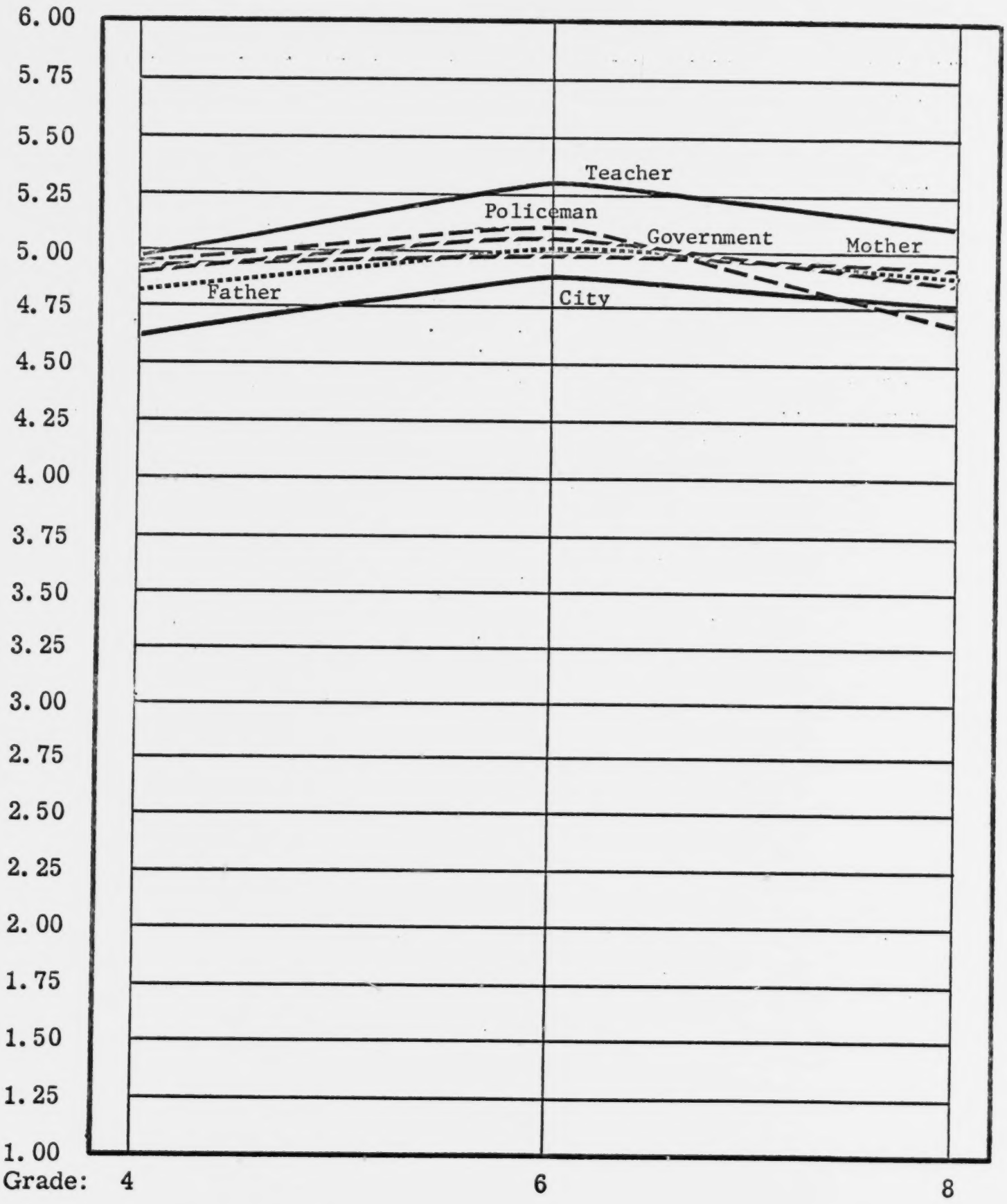
A comparison of Figures 3-3 and 3-4 suggests that the patterns of children's responses to these two sets of questions are quite different. However, the association between the two sets of variables is quite strong, especially for the two extreme grade groups (see Table 3-14). For girls, the association was significant across all grades and for all authority figures included in both sets. These data lend support to the hypothesis formulated in the previous section that for many children awareness of the punitive power of authority figures may be associated with expectations of actual punishment in case of noncompliance with the figures' rules.

Relationship between belief in inevitability of punishment and classroom behavior. Inspection of the correlational matrix shown in Table 3-15 indicates that 18 out of a total of 144 correlation coefficients are significant. Although the number of significant relationships between the two sets of variables is not large, some are grouped in meaningful ways. For example, for fourth grade girls belief in the inevitability of punishment by parents for noncompliance with their rules is positively associated with compliant behavior at school. This finding parallels data reported in the previous section, indicating that for the same sampling subgroup (fourth grade girls) regard for the punitive power of parents correlates positively with compliant classroom behavior.

For eighth grade boys, cooperative behavior toward the teacher and peers appeared to be enhanced by their belief that noncompliance with the teacher's rules is inevitably punished. For eighth grade girls, noncompliance with the classroom standards of behavior correlated negatively with expectations of punishment for disobedience of the government's rules.

Table 3-15 also contains several other significant correlations which are cell-specific. As a whole, the data suggest that expectations of punishment from authority figures for noncompliance are likely to induce cooperative behavior or impede noncompliant behavior in the classroom setting more among younger than older children and more among girls than boys.

FIGURE 3-4
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT
FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH AUTHORITY FIGURES' RULES, BY GRADE
(INDIA)



Item: If you do not obey the laws or rules of (figure), does he punish you?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 3-14

CORRELATION BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH AND BELIEF IN INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	.48*	.46*	.36*	-.03	.26*	.22*
Mother	.35*	.22*	.28*	.16	.33*	.36*
Teacher	.48*	.34*	.42*	.06	.20*	.36*
Policeman	.31*	.42*	.29*	.31*	.36*	.18

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 3-15

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF IN INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOR DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND SYSTEMS AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.29*	.15	.30*	.17	.09	-.03	.14	-.10
	6	.01	.01	-.01	.03	.02	-.03	.02	-.03
	8	-.10	.10	-.06	-.01	-.06	-.09	-.10	-.14
Mother	4	.24*	-.01	.27*	.04	.20*	.07	.21*	.04
	6	-.05	-.02	-.01	.01	.10	.07	.03	.09
	8	-.03	.16	-.05	.09	-.10	-.02	-.11	-.07
Teacher	4	.14	.08	.16	.12	.01	-.12	.03	-.19*
	6	.02	.00	.06	.06	.04	.05	-.00	.03
	8	-.07	.26*	-.11	.23*	-.08	-.04	-.04	-.07
City	4	.15	-.02	.18	.02	.20*	-.06	.18	-.02
	6	.10	-.04	.13	-.01	.06	.10	.12	.12
	8	.10	.20*	.06	.14	-.14	.16	-.13	.08
Government	4	.16	-.07	.14	.01	.11	-.09	.12	-.04
	6	-.15	.13	-.19*	.14	-.02	.09	-.05	.11
	8	.15	.14	.09	.12	-.41*	.02	-.28*	.02
Policeman	4	.18	-.15	.20*	-.02	.16	-.26*	.20*	-.16
	6	-.01	.16	-.08	.13	.11	-.05	.12	-.01
	8	.18	.21*	.13	.18	-.05	.05	-.04	.01

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

d. Inter-system Support for Sanctions against Noncompliance

The construction of the items cited in Tables 3-16 and 3-17 and Figures 3-5 through 3-9 stems from the assumption that direct experience, adult teaching, or both lead the child to perceive the world of adults as united and cooperative. Thus, he comes to believe that authority figures, whether they operate within the same system or represent different social institutions, support each other in their general requirement of obedience on the part of the child.

Data shown in Table 3-16 indicate that across all grades a very high percentage of children in the Indian research group expect parents to support not only the discipline of each other but also the discipline of all other authorities, with no distinctions among them. The additional findings that the number of children believing in parents' support of the disciplinary acts of non-family authorities increased with age (see Figures 3-5 through 3-9 and Table 3-17), and that this belief was equally shared by both SES groups as well as boys and girls (see Table 3-17), lend support to the notion that in children's view parents, more than any other figure, are vested with the authority to see that their children comply with the rules of all systems of society.

Another important feature of the data is that parents are not as often expected to receive comparable support on the part of other authority figures in disciplining their children (see Table 3-16 and Figure 3-5). In addition, belief in non-family authorities' support of parents' disciplinary acts declined significantly with age (see Table 3-17). In the youngest children's view the non-family authorities who are most likely to support parents' discipline are the teacher and policeman; other adult relatives, "Anyone else" (a response alternative included in this set of items to designate unspecified adult members of the community), and religious leaders were cited less often by fourth graders as eventual supporters of parents' disciplinary acts. But while expectations regarding parents' support by non-family authorities declined with age (with the decline being more sharp for policeman, "Anyone else," and religious leader than teacher), belief that other adult members of the family support parents' discipline remained stable from grade four to six and increased slightly from grade six to eight (see Figure 3-5 and Table 3-17).

In children's view the teacher's discipline is most likely to be supported by parents and the principal (the percentages of children citing these response alternatives

showing no difference and no substantial variations with grade) and least likely to be supported by the policeman, religious leader, and "Anyone else," with other adult relatives occupying an intermediate rank position (see Figure 3-6). In addition, while belief in the religious leader's, policeman's, and "Anyone else's" support of the teacher declined significantly with age, belief that family members other than parents will support the teacher's discipline, after a decline from grade four to six increased again at grade eight to the level of frequency with which it was expressed by fourth graders (see Figure 3-6).

In children's view, punishment from the policeman for disobedience of his orders is most likely to be reinforced by parents and the judge, followed by the teacher, other members of the family, "Anyone else," and the religious leader (see Figure 3-7). Children also appeared to believe that punishment by city officials for noncompliance with the city's rules is more likely to be reinforced by the family (parents and other adult relatives) and the teacher and least likely to evoke additional disciplinary measures by "Anyone else" and the religious leader (see Figure 3-8). Finally, in children's view, the measures taken by government officials against noncompliance with government laws are most likely to be reinforced by parents, the judge, the teacher, and the policeman, and least likely to receive support by "Anyone else" and the religious leader (see Figure 3-9).

A substantial percentage of Indian children appeared to expect their friends also to support the disciplinary acts of authority figures. In their view, friends also would support all authority figures with no substantial distinctions among them.

One of the most striking features of these data is that in general Indian children appeared to realize that mutual support is more likely among figures within the same system than across systems. However, parents were expected to support all figures to the same extent as figures within a particular system. For example, policeman and government officials did not seem to be expected to receive more support by the judge than by parents; also, the principal's support of the teacher's discipline did not appear to substantially exceed the parents' support.

Variations in the frequencies of children holding these beliefs depending on their age, sex, and SES were tested for significance only for the indices combining responses to individual figures. The results of these statistical tests are cited in Table 3-17.

According to these data, belief in parents' support of the discipline of non-family authorities was expressed more often by older than by younger children. Also, belief in the total family's support (i.e., parents' and other adult relatives') of the teacher's discipline was expressed with increasing frequency as children grew older. By contrast, the numbers of children expecting that non-family authorities will reinforce the disciplinary acts of parents, the teacher, and those of each other decreased significantly with age. Similarly, as children grew older they expressed less often the expectation that "Anyone else" will reinforce the sanctions of all authority sources assessed.

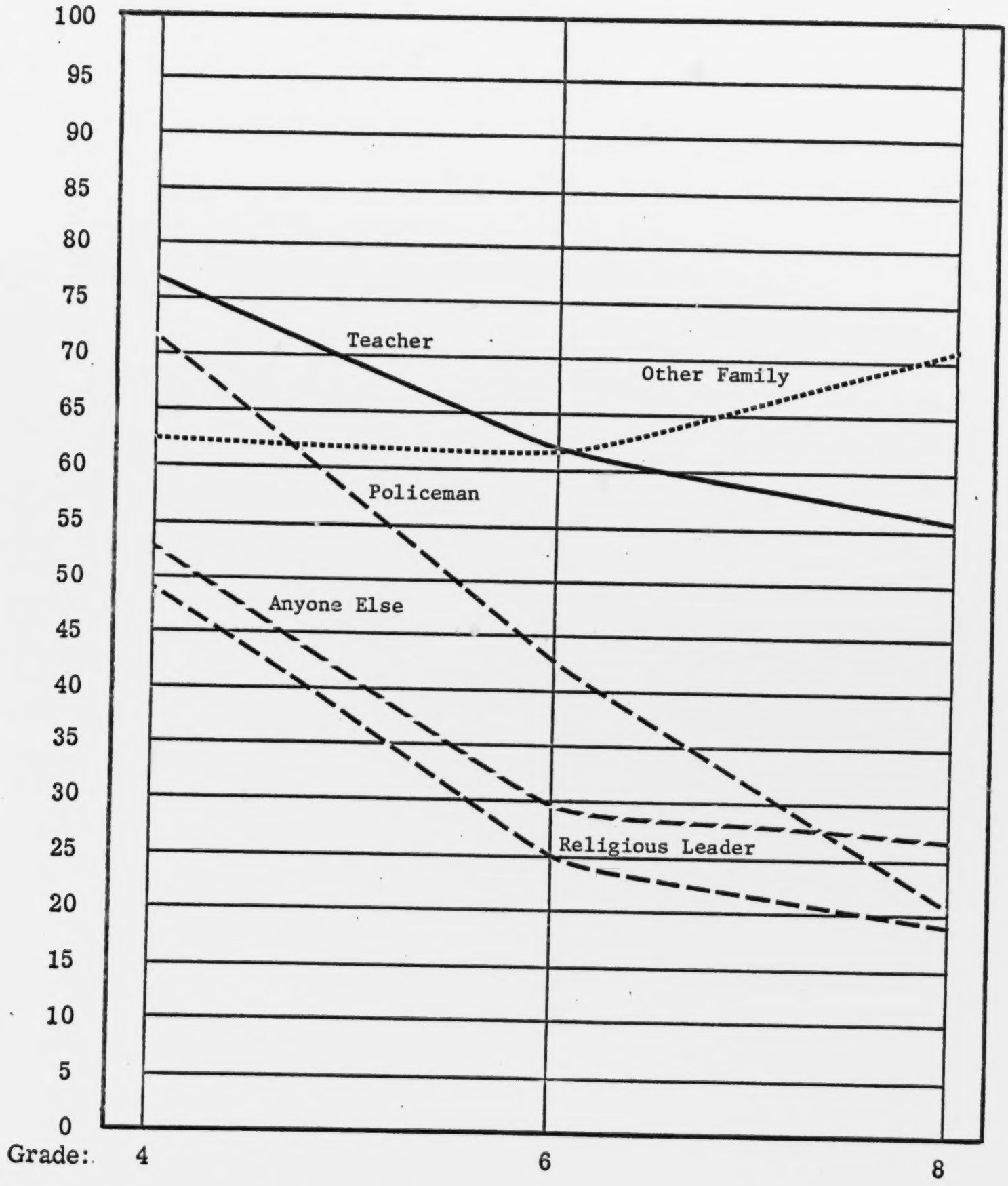
The variable of social status significantly affected the frequency with which children expressed beliefs regarding non-family authority figures' support of the discipline of parents, teacher, and of each other; significant SES differences are also noted on the indices concerning "Anyone else's" support of all authority figures, and friends' support of the discipline of the teacher as well as of all other authority figures. The frequency with which the above beliefs were expressed across all grades was significantly higher for the low status than for the high status group. The finding lends support to the notion that the socializing values and practices of low status families, compared to those of high status families are more conducive to conformity with the established social order.

The sex of children had no significant influence on the frequency with which they expressed beliefs about mutual support among authority figures. However, the index summarizing children's beliefs that their friends are likely to reinforce the disciplinary acts of all authority figures (except the teacher) was affected by a significant interaction of sex with grade. At grade four, more girls than boys expressed these expectations; however, at grades six and eight the number of boys holding these beliefs exceeded the number of girls.

Relationships between beliefs about inter-system support and peer ratings of classroom behavior. Correlation coefficients between these two sets of variables are shown in Table 3-18. The number of significant correlations in this table is again small (33 significant coefficients out of a total of 264). However, the correlations which are significant form clear and meaningful patterns. First, beliefs about inter-system support are more often in significant (and positive) relationship with PNI scores of compliant behavior. Second, these beliefs seem to enhance cooperative behavior at school more often among

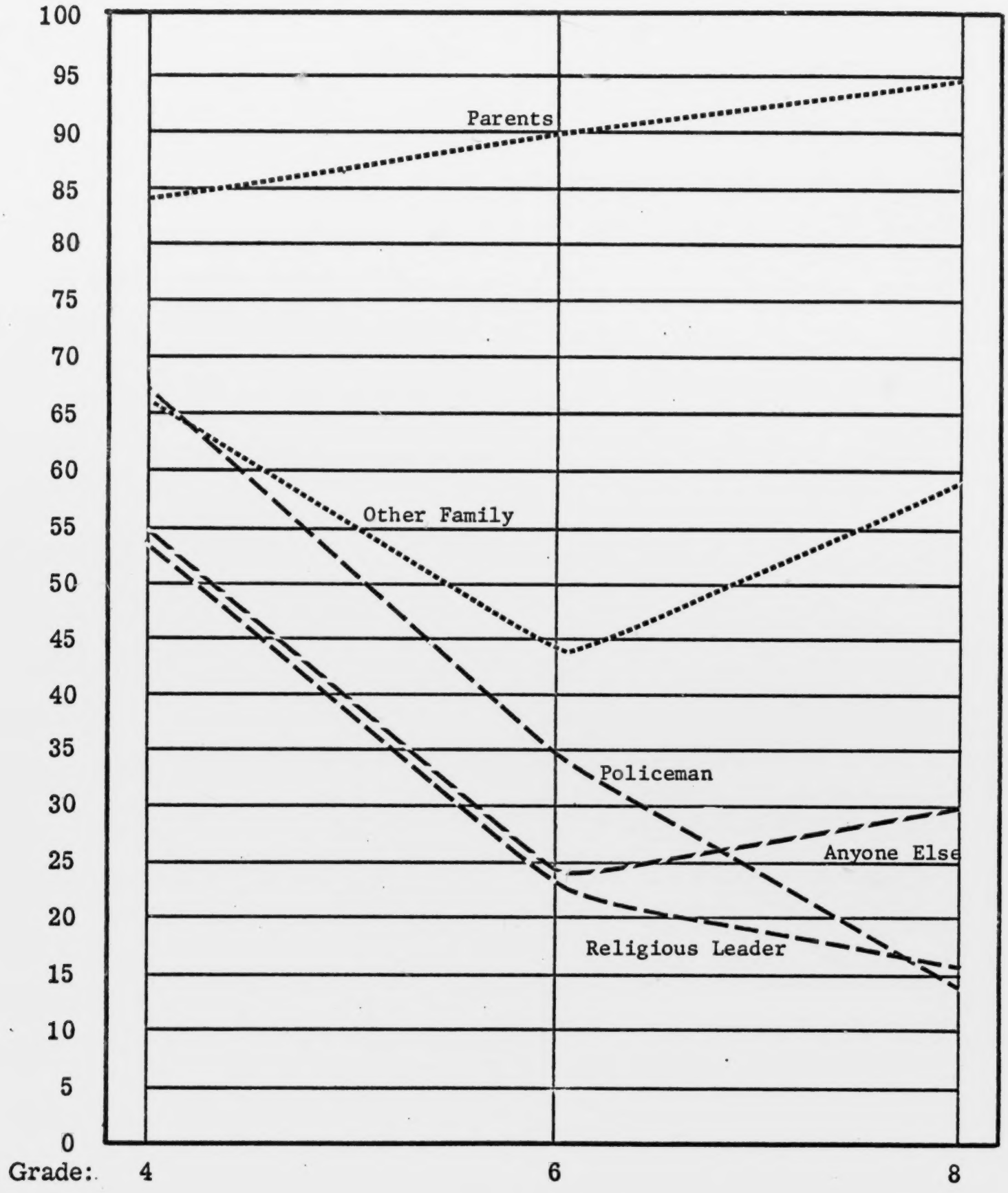
younger than older children and more often among boys than among girls. Third, for eighth grade boys, scores for compliant classroom behavior correlated positively with beliefs in parents' support of non-family authorities. For eighth grade girls, scores for compliant behavior at school correlated positively with beliefs that friends would support the school's discipline. In other words, grade eight boys enjoying a reputation of being cooperative with both peers and the teacher, tended to be those who believed that their parents would support all non-family authorities' sanctions against noncompliance. At the same grade level, the girls' ccoperative behavior in the classroom seemed to be enhanced by the conviction that noncompliance with the school's standards would be negatively sanctioned by their peers.

FIGURE 3-5
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF PARENTS, BY GRADE
(INDIA)



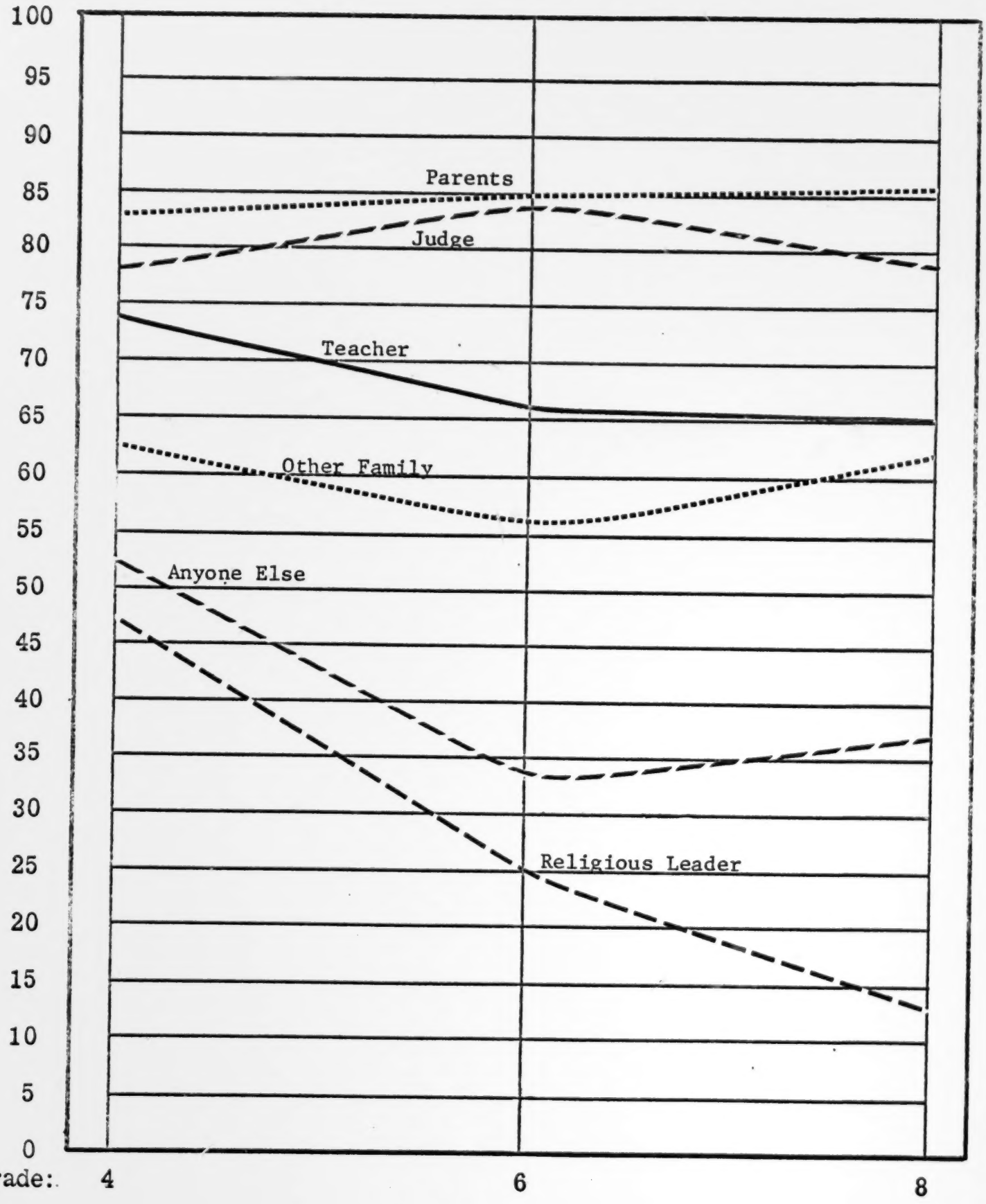
Item: Index based on combination of 2 items: "Besides your father (mother), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your father's (mother's) rules?"

FIGURE 3-6
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE TEACHER, BY GRADE
(INDIA)



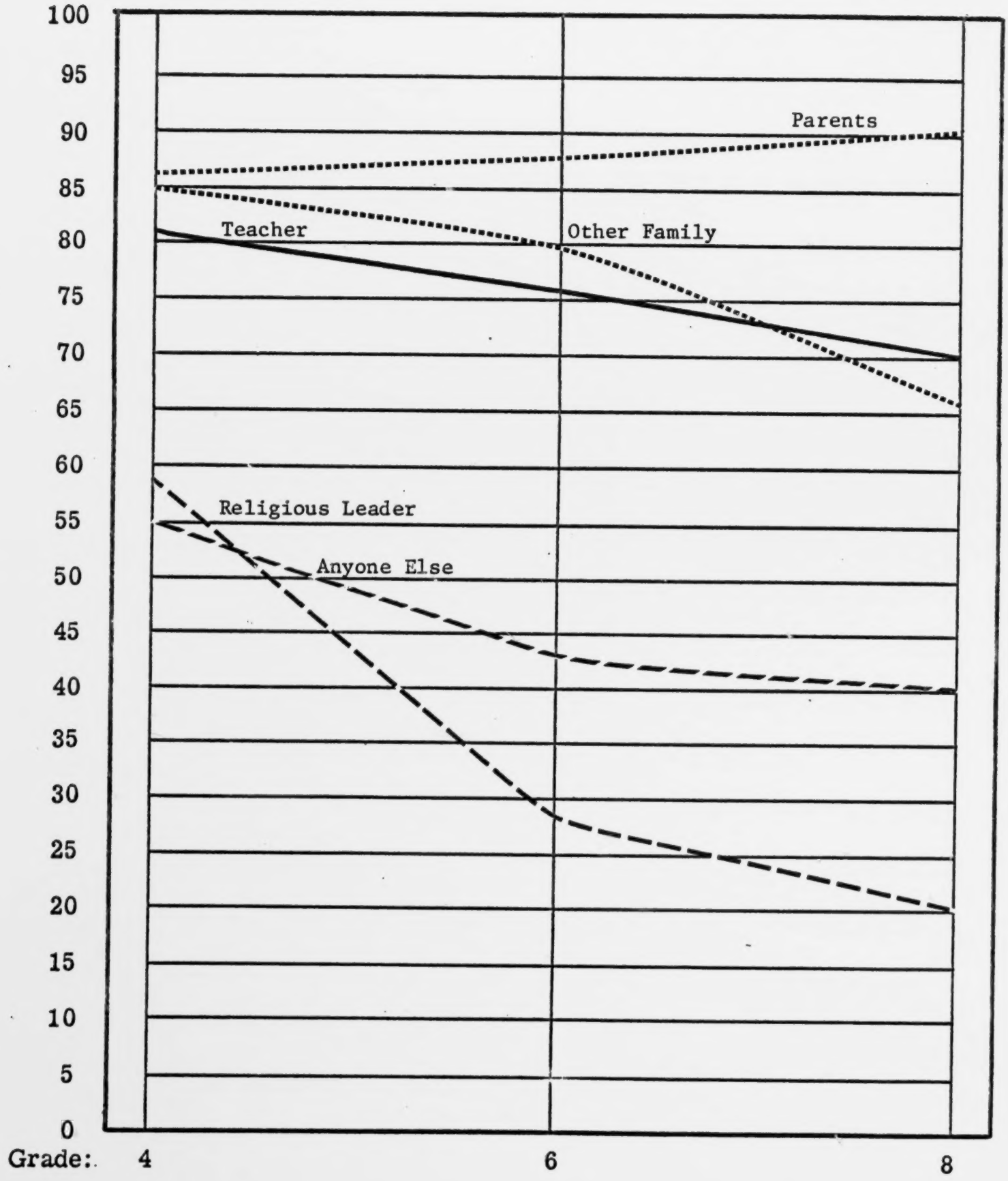
Item: "Besides your teacher, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your teacher's rules?"

FIGURE 3-7
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE POLICEMAN, BY GRADE
(INDIA)



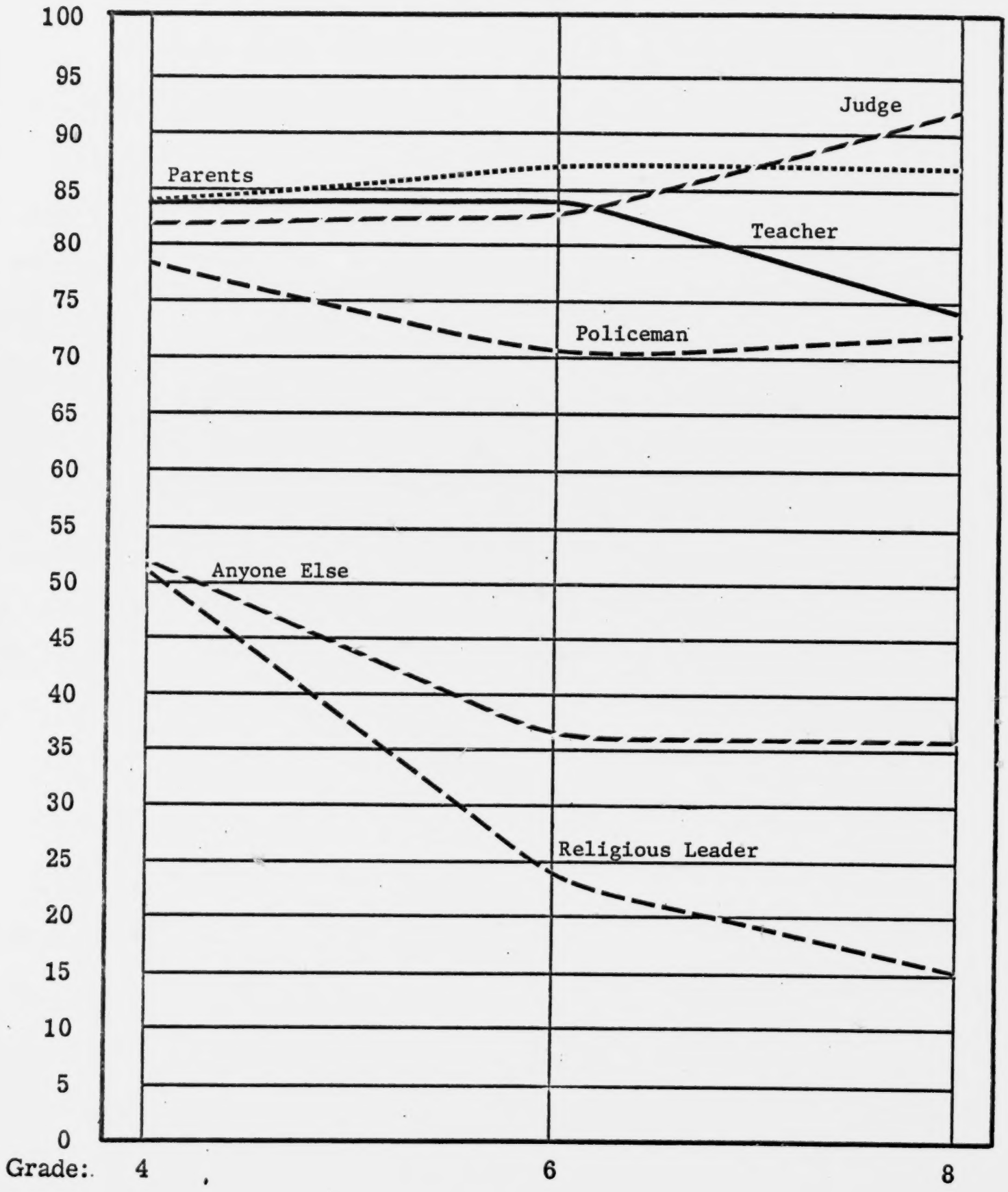
Item: "Besides policemen, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey policemen's orders?"

FIGURE 3-8
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CITY, BY GRADE
(INDIA)



Item: "Besides city officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the city's laws or rules?"

FIGURE 3-9
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT OTHER
AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE THE DISCIPLINE OF
THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, BY GRADE
(INDIA)



Item: "Besides government officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the laws or rules of India?"

TABLE 3-16

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON EXPECTATION THAT PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WILL BE REINFORCED BY OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES
(PERCENTAGE OF YES RESPONSES)
(INDIA)

FIGURE ALSO PUNISHING	SYSTEM OR FIGURE WHO IS DISOBEYED																	
	MOTHER			FATHER			TEACHER			POLICEMAN			CITY			GOVERNMENT		
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8
Mother				91	95	98	84	89	94	82	85	84	86	86	91	83	87	87
Father	91	96	98				84	90	95	84	85	87	86	90	90	85	88	88
Other Family	61	63	74	64	60	68	66	44	59	62	56	62	85	80	66			
Teacher	77	62	54	76	61	58				74	66	65	81	76	70	84	84	74
Principal							87	94	94									
Policeman	68	39	13	74	46	28	67	35	14							78	70	72
Judge										78	84	79				82	83	92
Religious Leader	48	24	13	50	26	25	53	23	16	47	25	13	59	28	20	51	24	15
Friends	51	30	41	52	27	34	48	33	39	51	29	39	50	34	36	47	30	44
Anyone Else	52	30	26	54	29	27	55	24	30	52	33	37	55	43	40	52	36	36

Note. Item: "Besides your mother (father, teacher, policeman, city officials, government officials) who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your (mother's, teacher's, etc.) rules (laws, orders)?" Alternatives: Mother, Father, Other adult relatives, Teacher, Principal, Policeman, Judge, Religious Leader, Friends, Anyone else.

TABLE 3-17

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE, BY TOTAL GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS		
Parents for Non-family Authority Figures	4	6.37	6.66	6.00	6.80	6.02	0-8	Grade
	6	6.79	6.84	6.72	6.70	6.86		
	8	6.99	6.91	7.07	7,09	6.89		
	Total		6.80	6.59	6.85	6.57		
Other Family Members for Parents	4	1.16	1.29	1.02	1.31	1.00	0-2	None
	6	1.09	1.05	1.13	1.02	1.17		
	8	1.33	1.37	1.30	1.26	1.41		
	Total		1.24	1.15	1.20	1.19		
Other Family Members for Non-family Authority Figures	4	1.75	1.99	1.50	1.93	1.57	0-3	None
	6	1.41	1.35	1.48	1.19	1.64		
	8	1.71	1.73	1.70	1.69	1.74		
	Total		1.69	1.56	1.60	1.65		
Total Family for School	4	2.15	2.25	2.03	2.35	1.98	0-3	Grade
	6	2.12	2.11	2.13	2.07	2.16		
	8	2.41	2.41	2.41	2.40	2.41		
	Total		2.23	2.19	2.27	2.16		

TABLE 3-17 (CONTINUED)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Non-family Authority Figures For Parents	4	3.66	4.45	2.66	3.90	3.46	0-6	Grade, SES
	6	2.54	3.32	1.42	2.23	2.78		
	8	1.73	2.54	.98	1.60	1.88		
	Total		3.52	1.70	2.59	2.79		
Non-family Authority Figures for School	4	1.55	1.93	1.07	1.72	1.41	0-3	Grade, SES
	6	.80	1.15	.30	.65	.93		
	8	.52	.82	.24	.55	.49		
	Total		1.30	.53	.98	.85		
Non-family Authority for Non-family Authority	4	7.62	8.44	6.59	8.03	7.29	0-12	Grade, SES
	6	6.48	7.17	5.47	6.05	6.80		
	8	5.89	6.30	5.50	5.75	6.03		
	Total		7.40	5.86	6.62	6.77		
Anyone Else for all Authority Figures	4	2.72	3.37	2.07	3.31	2.13	0-6	Grade, SES
	6	1.67	2.20	1.13	1.41	1.93		
	8	1.67	2.18	1.15	1.62	1.71		
	Total		2.59	1.45	2.12	1.92		

TABLE 3-17 (CONTINUED)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Friends for School	4	.43	.61	.25	.52	.34	0-1	SES
	6	.29	.42	.16	.24	.34		
	8	.38	.54	.21	.39	.37		
	Total		.52	.21	.38	.35		
Friends for All Authority Figures (Except School)	4	3.26	3.13	1.39	2.76	1.76	0-5	SES
	6	1.35	2.12	.58	1.14	1.56		Sex by Grade
	8	1.86	2.55	1.16	1.77	1.94		
	Total		2.60	1.04	1.89	1.75		

Note. Item: "Besides your mother (father, teacher, policeman, city official, government officials) who else might scold or punish you, when you do not obey your (mother's, father's, etc.) rules (laws, orders)?" Alternatives: Mother, Father, Other Adult Relatives, Teacher, Principal, Policeman, Judge, Religious Leader, Friends. Index: Number of "Yes" responses for appropriate alternatives of reinforcing figures by number of supported figures or systems, grouped as mentioned in each index label.

TABLE 3-18

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

WHO ELSE WOULD PUNISH	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Parents for Parents	4	.18	.09	.17	.12	-.25*	-.04	-.22*	-.14
	6	.03	-.01	.09	.01	-.01	.03	.00	-.06
	8	.00	.06	.04	.01	.03	.04	.01	-.01
Parents for Non-family Authority	4	.23*	.18	.19*	.18	-.14	.15	-.09	.01
	6	.09	.01	.07	.02	.08	-.07	.08	-.09
	8	-.09	.19*	-.07	.19*	-.01	-.12	.10	-.06
Other Family for Parents	4	.23*	.27*	.17	.25*	-.10	.09	-.03	-.04
	6	.03	-.12	.03	-.10	.03	-.12	.04	-.04
	8	-.13	.05	-.09	.05	-.04	.01	.03	.00
Other Family for Non-family Authority	4	.17	.11	.18	.11	-.06	.18	.01	.01
	6	.02	-.18	.11	-.14	-.05	-.10	-.07	-.06
	8	-.06	-.04	-.11	-.00	-.02	.04	-.09	.07
Total Family for School	4	.23*	.14	.21*	.15	-.21*	.10	-.12	-.06
	6	.03	-.16	.07	-.13	.15	-.12	.15	-.10
	8	-.02	.11	-.07	.09	.04	-.11	.12	-.06
Non-family Authority for Parents	4	.17	.23*	.04	.27*	-.08	.13	.03	.04
	6	.03	.01	-.02	-.03	.12	.06	.11	.15
	8	-.17	.19	-.05	.05	.17	.02	.29*	-.03

TABLE 3-18 (CONTINUED)

WHO ELSE WOULD PUNISH	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Non-family Authority for School	4	.17	.21*	.05	.25*	-.07	.16	.01	.03
	6	.03	-.01	-.08	-.05	.06	.09	.08	.15
	8	-.12	.09	-.08	-.06	.09	.02	.22*	.02
Non-family Authority for Non-family Authority	4	.23*	.23*	.13	.25*	-.08	.15	.01	.01
	6	.04	.06	.04	.03	-.01	.13	.01	.16
	8	-.11	.16	-.09	.09	.02	-.05	.12	-.00
Anyone Else for All	4	.17	.08	.13	.13	-.05	.20*	.00	.10
	6	.01	.07	-.05	.03	-.17	.06	-.14	.14
	8	-.10	.09	-.06	.02	.03	.20*	.08	.19*
Friends for School	4	.19*	.18	.11	.20*	-.04	.10	.02	.06
	6	.05	.10	-.03	.09	.09	.11	.13	.15
	8	.23*	.14	.28*	.03	.01	.16	.06	.15
Friends for All Except School	4	.16	.19*	.06	.20*	-.00	.16	.07	.06
	6	.04	.06	-.10	.05	.09	.05	.10	.10
	8	-.01	.19	.10	.11	.02	.27*	.53*	.21*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

B2. The Child's Conception of Rules and Laws

a. The Nature of Rules and Laws

Information about children's understanding of the nature of rules and laws and of their functions was collected through interview questions administered to 10 percent of the total research group.

Definition of rules and laws. The questions "What is a rule?" and "What is a law?" were used to obtain children's definitions of rule and law. Nearly half of the interviewed Indian children were not able to give any relevant answer to the first question. One-third of the sample defined rules by general statements whose main element was that a rule involves a demand for obedience or compliance. Only six children, all boys, defined a rule as a duty or a regulation for the benefit of people, and four, mostly girls, stressed that a rule is a prohibition indicating forbidden behavior.

The variable of SES defferentiated the extent to which relevant responses were given to the question "What is a rule?" Of the 26 children who were not able to give a codable answer, 16 were of the low status group and 10 of the high status group. There were no grade or sex differences with respect to this point.

The question "What is a law?" yielded a greater number of relevant responses. Only one-third of the interview sample was unable to give relevant answers. However, of the 40 children who gave codable responses, 31 defined laws by general statements stressing only the obligation of compliance or obedience. The latter responses were equally distributed by SES but were more frequent among girls than boys. Only eight children, more boys than girls, gave specific definitions. Six of those (five boys vs. one girl) defined law as a provision or a regulation for the benefit of people, and two stressed the prohibitory aspect. Only one child's definition included an additional specification--that breaking a law may evoke punishment.

Children's understanding of the concepts of rule and law was further probed through the interview question, "What is the difference between a rule and a law?" The majority of responses obtained through this item were relevant to the question; only five children were unable to give any relevant response. However, 14 children answered that there is no difference between rules and laws, and 12 thought that there is a difference but did not specify its nature. The former type of response was

more frequent among low status children and boys than among high status children and girls. The latter response was equally distributed by sex but was more frequent among low status than high status children.

One-third of the total sample (19 Ss) saw the difference between rule and law as stemming from the fact that the latter is created and/or enforced by government authorities. This type of response was more frequent among high status than among low status children but showed no difference in frequency by sex.

Finally, another one-third of the total sample defined the differences in a more general way by stressing either that a rule, unlike a law, is specific and restricted in its application (eight Ss), or that a law is more general or comprehensive in its application than a rule (ten Ss).

The function of rules. Children's understanding of the function of rules was probed through the question, "What would happen if there were no rules at all?" Two-thirds of the interviewed children (39 out of 60) responded that anarchy, disorder, and chaos would prevail if there were no rules and one-sixth of the total sample (nine Ss) thought that personal desires rather than principles would determine human conduct. Neither sex nor SES differentiated the frequency of these responses.

Children's views about this matter were further probed through the questions, "What would happen if there were no rules at school?" and "What would happen if there were no rules at home?" In answering the first of these questions, more than half of the interview sample (32 out of 60 Ss) stressed that a state of domestic anarchy would result; one-fourth (15 Ss) stated that necessary work would not get done; and one-sixth (11 Ss) suggested that children would not develop into good people. Though no SES differences were apparent with respect to those responses, sex appeared to have a definite influence; more girls than boys evoked domestic anarchy as a result of lack of rules at home, and more boys than girls stressed the adverse effects of the lack of family rules upon children's character formation and work performance.

The majority of responses to the question dealing with the effects of lack of rules at school fell into two categories; 24 (out of 60) children felt that with no rules the school's discipline would deteriorate, and another group of 24 children felt that lack of school rules would adversely affect the learning process. The

frequency of these responses was not differentiated by sex. However, more low status than high status children (15 vs. 9) appeared to be concerned with the adverse effects of lack of rules upon learning, and more high status than low status children (16 vs. 8) showed concern about the deterioration of school discipline.

Hierarchy of rules and laws. The questionnaire items used to assess children's perception of the relative seriousness of the three types of antisocial behavior--offenses against property, persons, and the order (rules) of social systems--are cited in Tables 3-19 through 3-21. Children's choices of each of the three types of offenses across the five social systems within which they were presented as committed--the school, community, family, peer group, and church--were combined into three scores indicating children's views about the relative seriousness of offenses against property, persons, and the social order over all social systems. A comparison of the three scores indicates that across all grades Indian children judged offenses against property as the most serious of all three alternatives (see Figure 3-10). Offenses against persons were perceived as the worst least often and offenses against the rules (order) of social systems occupied an intermediate position.

The statistical significance of response variations by sampling divisions was tested only on the index scores. The results indicate that offenses against property were chosen as the worst more often by sixth graders than by fourth and eighth graders. They were also more often condemned by high status than by low status children. However, the SES differences were consistent across all grades only for responses indicating condemnation of anti-property acts in the school, community, the peer group, and the religious system, but not in the family (see Table 3-19). Also, more children condemned stealing in the peer group than in the other social settings; the frequencies of children condemning stealing in the school, the religious system, the family, and the community are grouped fairly closely together across all grades, with community occupying the lowest rank position (see Table 3-19).

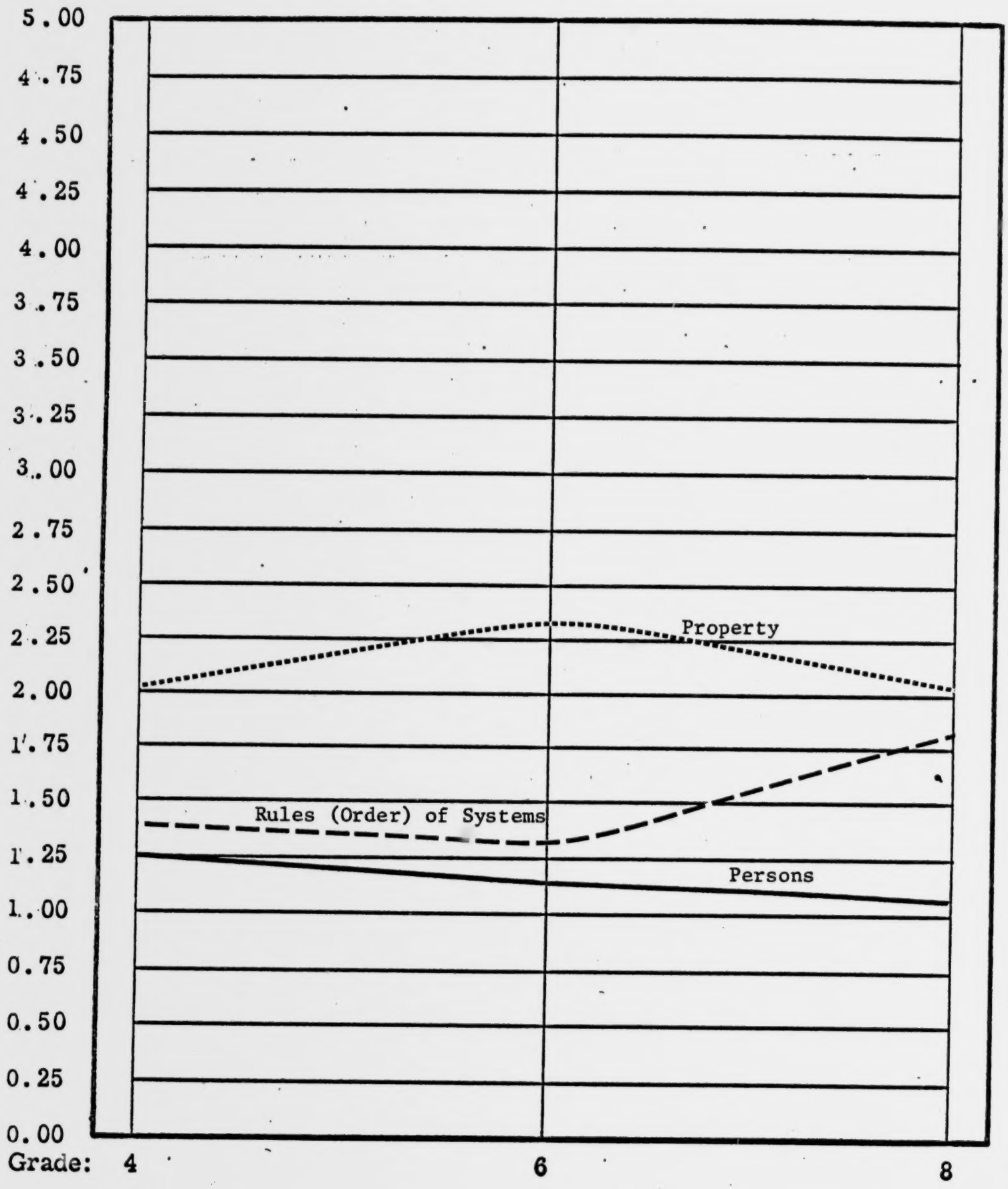
The index of personal offenses was affected by a significant SES difference; more low status than high status children condemned anti-person acts in general (see Table 3-20). However, the SES difference was consistent across all grades only for personal offenses in the school, family, and religion. In addition, this type of offense was pointed out as the worst of the three alternatives more often within the community and least

often within the family, religious group, and school, with condemnation of anti-person acts within the peer group occupying an intermediate rank position, especially at grades six and eight (see Table 3-20).

The index of offenses against the systems' rules (order) followed a curvilinear progression with age, the number of children condemning this type of offense across all systems remaining stable between grades four and six and then increasing from grade six to eight (see Table 3-21). This curvilinear increase was true for offenses against the rules of the family, religion, and school but not for offenses against rules applying to the community setting and the peer group. Offenses against the rules (order) of social systems were most often condemned when referring to rules of the family, religion, and school (with almost no difference among the three systems); offenses against rules of the community and the peer group rank substantially lower, especially at grades six and eight (see Table 3-21).

Relationships between judgments on the relative seriousness of types of anti-social acts and classroom behavior. Only four (out of a total of 72) correlations between the two sets of variables were significant (see Table 3-22). The data do not provide sufficient evidence to argue that children's opinions about the relative seriousness of anti-social acts have a decisive impact upon the types of classroom behavior rated by their peers.

FIGURE 3-10
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEWS OF WHICH IS WORST:
OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS, AGAINST PROPERTY,
OR AGAINST THE RULES (ORDER) OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE
(INDIA)



Item: Which is worst?

TABLE 3-19

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PERSONS OR THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	37	30	45	45	30
	6	50	41	59	45	55
	8	44	34	53	46	41
	Total		35	52	45	42
Community	4	37	29	46	34	41
	6	37	32	43	31	44
	8	35	32	39	37	34
	Total		31	43	34	40
Family	4	43	36	50	43	43
	6	45	50	41	47	44
	8	29	33	26	29	30
	Total		40	39	40	39
Peers	4	50	46	53	50	49
	6	60	56	64	62	58
	8	55	51	59	53	58
	Total		51	59	55	55
Religion	4	43	36	50	42	44
	6	48	45	52	40	56
	8	41	38	44	33	49
	Total		40	49	38	50

Note. Significant Effects: (Property) SES Curv. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To take or steal something in the school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: Number of choices of offenses against property as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 3-20

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PROPERTY AND THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	27	41	13	23	31
	6	16	23	10	14	18
	8	11	16	6	7	15
	Total		27	10	15	21
Community	4	35	39	30	36	33
	6	43	43	43	51	35
	8	41	36	46	41	40
	Total		39	40	43	36
Family	4	17	21	13	23	11
	6	16	18	15	16	17
	8	17	16	17	18	15
	Total		18	15	19	14
Peers	4	25	21	28	22	28
	6	24	23	25	22	26
	8	30	32	27	32	27
	Total		25	27	25	27
Religion	4	22	28	17	18	27
	6	18	28	7	22	13
	8	13	16	10	10	16
	Total		24	11	17	19

Note. Significant Effects: (Persons) SES.
Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To fight with, insult, or say something against a person in the school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: Number of choices of offenses against person as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 3-21

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PROPERTY OR PERSONS, ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	33	28	37	31	35
	6	31	33	30	36	27
	8	45	50	40	46	44
	Total		37	36	38	35
Community	4	24	30	18	28	20
	6	18	24	13	16	21
	8	24	32	16	22	27
	Total		29	16	22	23
Family	4	35	42	28	32	38
	6	36	29	43	33	39
	8	53	52	55	53	54
	Total		41	42	39	43
Peers	4	20	31	9	26	14
	6	14	19	10	13	15
	8	15	17	14	15	16
	Total		22	11	18	15
Religion	4	29	34	24	36	22
	6	32	25	40	35	29
	8	46	46	46	57	35
	Total		35	37	43	29

Note. Significant Effects: None. Item: "Whish is worst?" Alternative: "To disturb, break, disobey, refuse to follow or say something against the rules (order) of school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: Number of choices of offenses against the systems' rules (order), as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 3-22

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDICES OF PERCEPTION OF THE RELATIVE SERIOUSNESS OF THREE TYPES OF OFFENSES AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

WHICH IS WORST INDICES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Anti-Person Acts	4	.09	.00	.08	-.07	-.08	-.10	-.09	-.07
	6	-.15	-.05	-.09	-.07	.14	.14	.17	.14
	8	.01	-.08	-.01	-.14	.02	.12	.00	.15
Anti-Property Acts	4	.13	.21*	.11	.24*	.00	.04	-.05	-.06
	6	.08	-.10	.06	-.06	-.03	-.08	-.02	-.02
	8	-.10	-.05	-.09	.00	.05	-.02	.14	.01
Anti-System Acts	4	-.08	-.11	-.10	-.12	-.19*	.03	-.12	.04
	6	.15	.16	.18	.10	-.04	.01	-.10	-.06
	8	.16	.15	.17	.13	-.08	-.05	-.24*	-.11

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Origin of Laws and Rules

Rule-making in the family. The questionnaire item cited in Table 3-23 was used to assess children's perception of the roles of family members in making family rules. Data show that the alternatives "whole family" and "father and mother together" received the highest percentages of nominations across all grades. At grades four and six, the former alternative was pointed out more often than the latter. At grade eight, the percentage of children who felt that the rules of their families are set by the father and mother acting as a unit exceeded those believing that the rules of the family are set by all its members.

Fewer children nominated the father as the sole rule-maker in the family; the mother received even fewer nominations as unilateral rule-maker at home.

The frequency with which father and mother were seen as ruling the family together differed by SES and sex, with high status children and girls citing this alternative more often than did low status children and boys. On the other hand, more low status than high status children nominated one of the parents as the sole rule-maker in the family. Also, more boys than girls pointed out the father as the sole rule-maker in the family, while the opposite sex trend was apparent in the nominations received by the mother alone. No sex or SES differences were apparent in the frequency with which the entire family was perceived as participating in the making of home rules.

Rule-making in the neighborhood. The item cited in Table 3-24 and Figure 3-11 was used to assess children's perception of community rule-makers. Data show that fourth grade children make no distinction among mayor, governor, policeman, and Prime Minister. The frequencies with which they cite these figures as community rule-makers are approximately equal; these figures rank above all others. Fourth graders make little discrimination among father, mother, and teacher who rank slightly below the previously mentioned group of authority figures. The religious leader occupies the lowest rank position in the scale of frequencies of nominations.

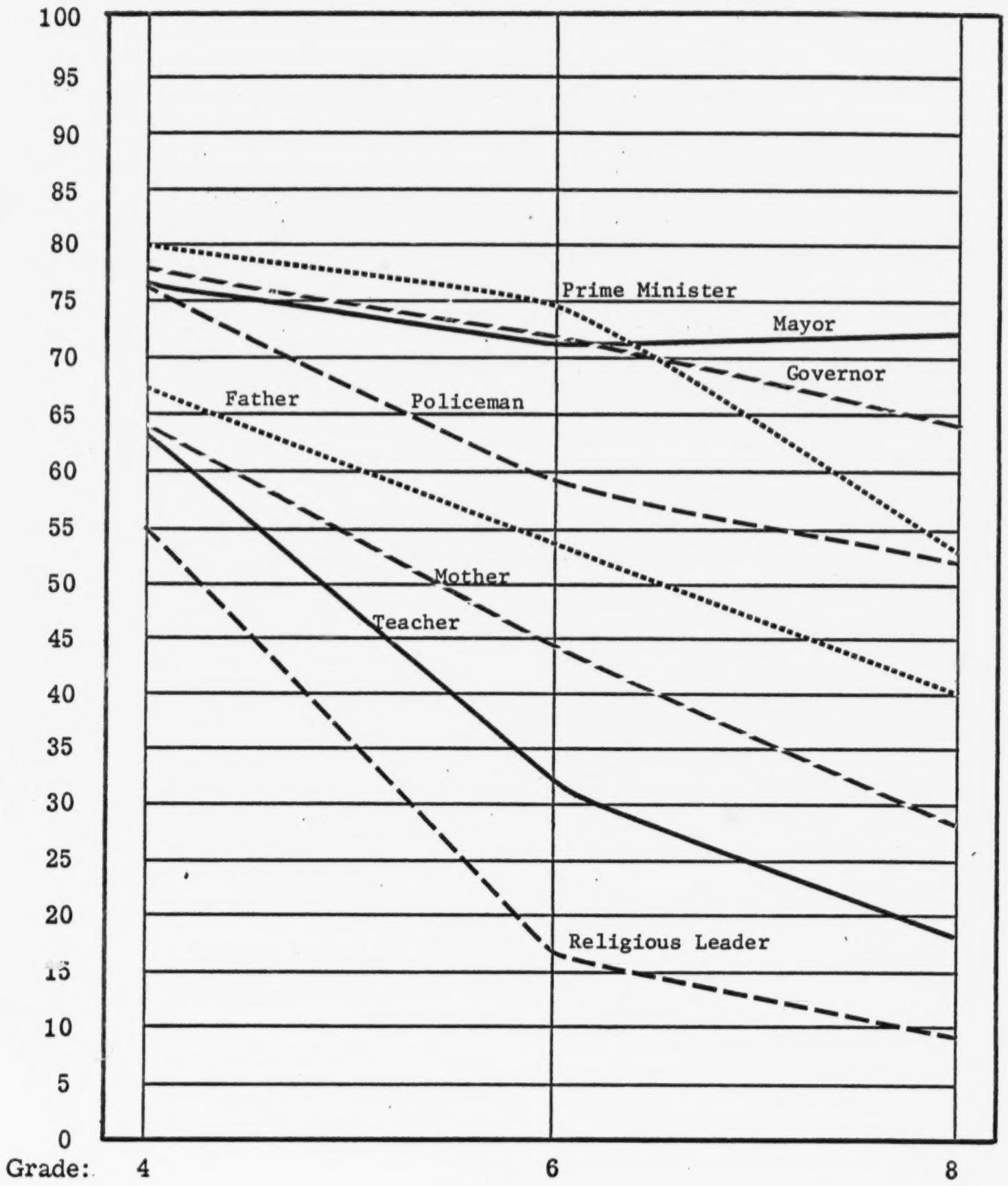
With age, the percentages of nominations given to all figures except the major decline. However, the degree of decline across grades differs by each figure; for governor and Prime Minister the decline of nominations is minimal between grades four and six and somewhat more

pronounced between grades six and eight. For policeman, the frequency of nominations declines faster; at grade six, his rank position is already substantially below that of mayor, governor, and Prime Minister. Parents, teacher, and religious leader become increasingly more differentiated as children grow older; with age, the percentages of children who seem to attribute to them rule-making functions in the community decrease.

The data show quite consistent SES differences; all authority figures considered except the major, for whom no SES differences were apparent, received higher percentages of nominations by low status than by high status children across all grades.

The frequency of nominations given to parents and teacher was differentiated also by sex; at grade four, more girls than boys saw these figures as possessing rule-making powers in the neighborhood; at grade six the sex difference was minimal and at grade eight more boys than girls perceived these authority figures as participating in community rule-making.

FIGURE 3-11
PERCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
IN RULE AND LAW-MAKING, BY GRADE
(INDIA)



Item: "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live--like your neighborhood?"

TABLE 3-23

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN MAKING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	20	23	16	13	26
	6	13	14	12	5	20
	8	17	24	9	17	16
	Total		20	12	12	21
Mother	4	9	16	3	14	5
	6	2	3	2	4	2
	8	0	0	0	0	0
	Total		6	2	6	2
Father and Mother Together	4	29	22	35	30	27
	6	36	30	42	42	30
	8	47	43	51	54	41
	Total		32	43	42	33
Whole Family	4	43	40	46	44	42
	6	49	54	45	50	49
	8	36	32	40	29	43
	Total		42	44	41	45

Item: "Who usually makes the rules in your family?"
Item scale: Percentage choice of one alternative.

TABLE 3-24

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES IN RULE-AND LAW-MAKING IN THE COMMUNITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Mother	4	64	80	49	73	56
	6	44	58	31	40	49
	8	28	31	25	26	30
	Total		56	35	46	45
Father	4	67	84	49	75	59
	6	54	66	41	54	53
	8	40	43	38	38	43
	Total		64	43	56	52
Teacher	4	63	84	42	73	53
	6	32	48	15	23	40
	8	18	25	10	9	26
	Total		52	22	35	40
Policeman	4	76	86	67	76	77
	6	59	66	52	53	65
	8	52	66	38	54	51
	Total		73	52	61	64
Mayor	4	76	77	76	77	75
	6	71	70	72	71	71
	8	72	71	72	69	74
	Total		73	73	72	73
Governor	4	78	80	76	84	72
	6	72	77	68	88	77
	8	64	78	50	62	65
	Total		78	65	78	71
Prime Minister	4	80	82	78	87	74
	6	75	82	69	73	78
	8	53	66	40	55	51
	Total		77	62	72	68
Religious Leader	4	55	75	35	65	45
	6	17	25	8	12	22
	8	9	12	6	9	9
	Total		37	16	29	25

Note. "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live, like your neighborhood?" Alternatives: "Yes", "No", "Don't know". Item scale: Percentage responding "yes" to each of the figures listed.

c. Justice of Rules and Laws

Data on this topic were collected through questionnaire and interview items. Responses to the questionnaire items cited in Figure 3-12 come from the entire research group. To obtain indications about children's understanding of the basic concept involved in the questionnaire items--i.e., the concept of fairness--10 percent of the total research group were asked during the interview sessions to define "What is a fair rule?"

Half the interviewed Indian children (30 Ss) asserted that all rules are fair, and approximately 28 percent (17 Ss) were not able to give relevant answers. Of the remaining 13 Ss, seven identified fairness of rules with equality and generality of application (i.e., a rule is fair if it affects everyone equally); three asserted that a rule is fair if it is created by a trusted authority figure; two derived fairness of a rule from group consensus (i.e., a rule is fair if the persons who must comply with it agree with it); and one S asserted that a rule is fair if there are justifiable reasons for its creation.

There is evidence that SES affected the frequency of these responses. Of the 30 Ss who maintained that all rules are fair, 20 were from the lower SES group. Of the 30 interviewed children from the low SES group, only two gave some definition of the concept of fairness as against 11 from the high SES group. No sex differences were noticeable.

Responses to the questionnaire items dealing with the fairness of rules of different authority figures confirm the indications provided by the interview data; across all grades, Indian children made very little discrimination among the various figures in rating the fairness of their rules. The finding is congruent with their prevailing tendency to see all rules as fair. Only the city rules and the policeman's orders were rated by the older children somewhat below the rules of parents, teacher, and government. The means indicating ratings of the fairness of friends' rules occupy a clearly lower rank position at all grade levels (see Figure 3-12).

The index summarizing judgments about the fairness of parents' rules changed curvilinearly with grade, increasing from grade four to six and decreasing again slightly by grade eight. Across all grades girls and high SES children demonstrated a higher appreciation of the fairness of their parents' rules than did boys and low SES children (see Table 3-25).

The variable of social status also affected ratings of the fairness of rules of all non-family authorities except the teacher. However, the direction of SES differences depended on children's age; at grade four, high SES children held a more positive view than their low SES agemates of the fairness of rules of the government, city, and policeman; at grades six and eight the relationship was reversed and low SES children demonstrated more confidence than their high status peers in the justice of rules of all these authority figures (see Table 3-26). Viewed in terms of age trends this interaction of SES with grade indicates that the low SES children's means followed a curvilinear increase with grade, while the high SES children's means declined substantially from grade four to eight.

Low SES children were also more favorable than high SES children across all grades in their estimates of the fairness of friends' rules. (The low SES children's means for friends were at grades four, six, and eight, 4.28, 4.44, and 4.32, respectively; the corresponding means for the high SES group were 4.14, 3.96, and 3.80.) The data suggest that in general Indian children maintain throughout the age range covered by the study a high degree of confidence in the justice of rules of authority figures, regardless of the figures' social roles. By contrast, they were much less appreciative with respect to friends' rules.

Age contributed to some lowering of regard for the fairness of rules of non-family authorities (but not the teacher's) only among high status children. No such age effect was apparent, however, even among high status children, with respect to parents' rules, for the fairness of which the high SES group held more positive views across all grades than the low SES group. Moreover, the direction of SES differences in ratings of friends' rules suggests that high status children, compared to those of low status, were more favorably oriented toward authority figures in general and more reluctant to appreciate the fairness of rules of the peer group. Therefore, the lowering with age of the high SES children's regard for the justice of rules of the Prime Minister, city, and policeman appears to be due to chance rather than to real changes in their attitudes toward authority figures in general as compared to their attitudes toward friends.

Relationships between estimates of the fairness of rules and other dimensions of authority figures. Correlations shown in Table 3-27 indicate that regard for the justice of rules of authority figures was generally in positive association with liking for the figures and

perception of them as helpful, as well as with regard for their punitive characteristics. Across all measures, correlations were more often significant for fourth graders than for older children.

Liking for teacher and policeman was in significant positive association with perception of these figures' rules as fair across all grades and for both boys and girls. However, liking for parents and the Prime Minister correlated significantly with regard for the fairness of their rules only for fourth graders.

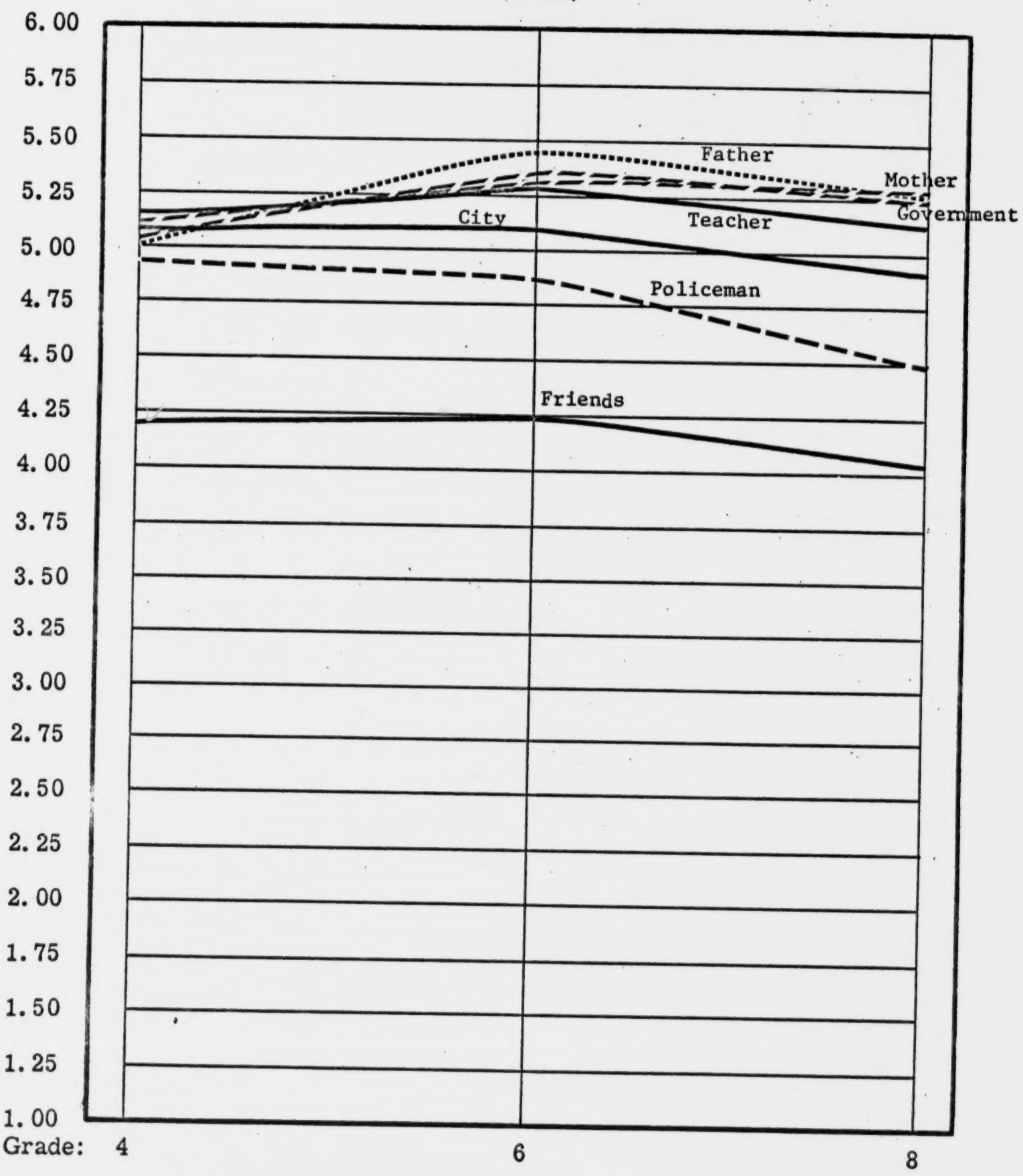
Perception of the father and policeman as willing to help when needed was also in significant positive association with perception of their rules as fair. The corresponding coefficients for mother, teacher, and Prime Minister were less consistently significant across grade and sex groups.

For older children, regard for the figures' power to punish, and belief in the inevitability of their punishing disobedience, was rarely in significant direct correspondence with perception of their rules as fair. Among fourth graders the association of "rules fair" and "inevitability of punishment" measures was significant only for the boys.

In general, children's confidence in the justice of rules of authority figures appears to be more consistently associated with their perception of figures as nurturant and their affective attachment to them than with their awareness of the figures' punitive power and their beliefs about inevitability of punishment.

Relationship between perception of rules of authority figures as fair and classroom behavior. The notion that children's positive evaluation of the rules of authority figures would indicate acceptance of the norms of the system which would influence their overt behavior in the classroom received very little support from the correlational data presented in Table 3-28. Only two coefficients indicate a significant association between peer ratings of compliant classroom behavior and perception of the teachers' and friends' rules as fair. Furthermore, five out of the eight significant correlations between scores of negative classroom behavior and regard for the justice of authority figures' rules are positive. That is, for Indian children, regardless of their age or sex, a high regard for the justice of rules of authority figures does not seem to enhance compliance or prevent noncompliance in the classroom setting.

FIGURE 3-12
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE
OF FIGURES' RULES, BY GRADE
(INDIA)



Item: "How many of (figure's) rules are fair?"

Scale: 1 - None; 6 - All.

TABLE 3 - 25

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE OF PARENTS' RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.00	5.12	4.51	4.74	5.40	5.23	5.32	5.27	4.78
SIX	5.33	5.36	5.27	5.30	5.41	5.34	5.38	5.39	5.29
EIGHT	5.25	5.26	5.11	5.19	5.33	5.30	5.31	5.30	5.21
TOTALS				5.08			5.34	5.32	5.09

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES, SEX, CURV. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "HOW MANY OF YOUR FATHER'S (MOTHER'S) RULES ARE FAIR?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NONE; 6 - ALL.

TABLE 3 - 26

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE OF POLICEMAN'S, CITY'S, AND GOVERNMENT'S RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.94	5.02	4.57	4.74	5.25	5.12	5.19	5.14	4.78
SIX	5.03	5.18	5.06	5.10	4.88	4.98	4.92	5.03	5.03
EIGHT	4.75	5.00	4.94	4.97	4.51	4.58	4.54	4.75	4.76
TOTALS				4.94			4.89	4.98	4.87

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES BY GRADE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 3 ITEMS: "HOW MANY OF THE POLICEMAN'S (CITY'S, GOVERNMENT'S) RULES ARE FAIR?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NONE; 6 - ALL.

TABLE 3-27

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF POSITIVE AND PUNITIVE DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND BELIEF IN THE JUSTICE OF THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

JUSTICE OF RULES WITH:	AUTHORITY FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
		GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Willingness to Help	Father	.12	.23*	.43*	.29*	-.06	.32*
	Mother	.20*	.20*	.25*	.18	.06	.14
	Teacher	.29*	.35*	.33*	-.02	.18	.09
	Policeman	.25*	.39*	.36*	.24*	.12	.27*
	Government Prime Min.	.09	.29*	.25*	.08	.29*	.09
Affective Attachment	Father	.26*	.21*	-.12	.01	.09	.12
	Mother	.21*	.27*	.08	.03	.14	.13
	Teacher	.15	.40*	.22*	.26*	.38*	.23*
	Policeman	.42*	.41*	.39*	.42*	.21*	.21*
	Government Prime Min.	.20*	.44*	.10	.07	.14	.03
Power to Punish Noncompliance	Father	.27*	.34*	.07	.12	-.06	.05
	Mother	.34*	.21*	.11	.04	.06	-.07
	Teacher	.11	.34*	-.00	-.01	.18	.15
	Policeman	.20*	.23*	.15	.15	.27*	.07
	Government Prime Min.	.16	.04	.02	.01	.23*	.16
Inevitability of Punishment	Father	.08	.33*	-.12	.06	.02	.05
	Mother	.10	.32*	.04	.02	.11	.04
	Teacher	.02	.22*	.10	-.04	-.05	.04
	Policeman	.16	.26*	.30*	.15	.15	.11
	Government Prime Min.	.05	.37*	.01	-.06	.19*	.30*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 3-28

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF IN THE JUSTICE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.17	-.09	.15	-.03	-.02	-.20*	.02	-.09
	6	.01	.08	-.01	.06	.24*	.06	.09	.10
	8	.08	-.14	-.04	.04	-.19*	-.06	-.11	-.11
Mother	4	.11	-.00	.09	.01	.01	-.07	.03	-.03
	6	.04	.10	-.01	.10	.12	.11	.04	.17
	8	.17	-.13	.10	-.03	-.01	.05	.03	-.03
Teacher	4	.21*	.08	.17	.16	-.02	-.11	.02	-.10
	6	.09	-.01	.10	.05	.13	.05	.16	.15
	8	.12	.01	.11	.06	.09	-.08	.01	-.04
Government	4	.12	.02	.14	.05	-.16	-.21*	-.10	-.15
	6	.18	.04	.10	.06	.05	-.05	.02	-.02
	8	-.01	.03	.01	.05	.06	.05	.10	-.03
Policeman	4	.17	-.01	.18	.06	.03	-.12	.08	-.05
	6	.10	-.07	.08	-.10	.13	.07	.16	.12
	8	-.03	-.01	.02	-.04	.06	.15	.11	.01
City	4	.04	.05	.01	.06	-.06	-.23*	.02	-.17
	6	.14	.11	.07	.13	.24*	.18	.12	.20*
	8	.03	.03	.05	-.03	.14	.04	.08	-.10
Friends	4	.09	.10	.04	.13	.01	-.09	.08	-.04
	6	.10	.00	.01	.04	.21*	.09	.17	.14
	8	.19*	.09	.14	-.02	-.08	.04	-.15	.05

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

d. The Enforcement of Rules and Laws

Rule-enforcers in the family. Children's perception of rule-enforcers in the family was assessed through the questionnaire item cited in Table 3-29. Data show that the alternatives "whole family" and "father and mother together" were cited by almost equal percentages of children across all grades. Fewer children appeared to think that the father acts alone in enforcing family rules and an even smaller percentage nominated the mother as the unilateral enforcer of rules in the home.

Age differences were apparent only in the number of children who attributed to one of their parents unilateral rule-enforcing functions; the nominations received by the father alone increased with age, while nominations of the mother decreased with age.

The variable of SES differentiated nominations given to the family as a whole and to the father alone; the former alternative was cited more often by high status than low status children across all grades, while the father alone was nominated more often by low status than by high status children.

Sex differences were apparent only with respect to nominations given to the entire family; more boys than girls appeared to believe that the rules of their families are enforced by all its members.

Children's views on the conditions allowing a person to enforce rules and require a child to obey were further probed through the interview questions "Who can make you follow a rule or a law?" and "Who cannot make you follow rules and laws?" Most children gave multiple responses to the first of these questions. Only 16 children gave single responses; six of them mentioned government officials, three the father, and the rest other figures.

Of the total number of responses given by the 60 interviewed children (170 responses), 45 referred to the father and 40 to the mother; in other words, 40 children nominated both parents. The teacher was nominated by 33 children, government officials by 23, and the policeman by 17. No sex or SES differences were apparent on these responses. Three children (two girls and one boy) mentioned the self as the agent who may make them follow rules.

In responding to the second question, 42 children stated that younger children cannot make them follow

rules, five mentioned strangers, and another five asserted that those who have no authority cannot make them follow rules or laws. No sex or SES differences were apparent on any of these responses.

In conclusion, in children's view a person's power to enforce rules and require obedience depends on his age and institutional authority status.

TABLE 3-29

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN ENFORCING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	13	15	11	10	16
	6	19	20	19	14	25
	8	19	29	9	22	16
	Total		21	13	15	19
Mother	4	14	17	12	15	14
	6	5	7	4	5	6
	8	6	7	5	9	3
	Total		10	7	10	11
Father and Mother Together	4	34	33	36	42	26
	6	37	36	38	46	28
	8	39	44	34	41	37
	Total		38	36	43	30
Whole Family	4	38	36	41	33	45
	6	38	38	39	36	41
	8	36	20	52	28	44
	Total		31	44	32	43

Item: "Who sees that the rules of your family are obeyed or enforced?"
Item scale: Percentage choice of one alternative.

B3. The Child's Internalization of Norms

a. Subjective Response to Noncompliance

One of the notions most often used to differentiate between internally and externally directed behavior is guilt. A person whose behavior is regulated by internalized principles feels guilty when his acts constitute transgressions of the principles he values. Ideally, a person's feelings of discomfort or self-blame over rule violations may be considered as guilt only if these feelings are experienced in the absence of any expectation of external punishment or blame. In this sense, guilt is distinguished from shame and from self-blame reactions for transgressions known to others and expected to elicit some form of disapproval on their part. It is in this sense that guilt may be considered as an indicator of internalization of norms and of attainment of an advanced stage of moral development.

Guilt is a psychological dimension very difficult to capture through direct questioning. Confession of guilt may be determined by the person's awareness of the fact that the society expects those who misbehave to repent for their misconduct. Therefore, data concerning the extent to which children feel discomfort over undetected violation of rules of authority figures should be considered as indicators of internalization of societal norms only to the extent that such feelings have an impact on their overt behavior.

The format of questionnaire items used to obtain children's reports concerning the extent to which they feel bad when they break rules is cited in Figure 3-13. Data in this figure indicate that, across all grades, the Indian research group reported quite intense feelings of discomfort over violation of the rules of all figures considered. Not only was discrimination among authority figures nonexistent at grade four and remained very low throughout the age range covered, but also friends appeared almost as strongly guilt-inducing as adult authorities. At grade four, means for all figures ranged between 3.80 and 4.18. At grade eight, means ranged from 4.03 (policeman) to 4.79 (mother).

Age affected responses pertaining to all figures except friends. Guilt over violation of parents' rules appeared to increase with age. The increase was apparent for both SES groups, although the means of the higher SES group were higher than the means of the low SES group across all grades (see Table 3-30). However, changes with

grade on the means pertaining to the teacher and other non-family authorities followed different trends depending on the children's social class background. As shown in Tables 3-31 and 3-32, index scores for the teacher and other non-family authorities declined across the grades for the high SES group and increased for the low SES group. Thus, while high SES fourth graders reported stronger feelings of guilt than their low SES agemates for transgressions of rules of the teacher and other non-family authorities, at grades six and eight the direction of SES differences was reversed.

Relation of guilt to other variables of the study. One way of approaching the problem of whether or not children's reports of feelings of guilt over undetected violation of rules of authority figures provide reliable indications about their internalization of norms is to examine the correlates of guilt. What are the relationships between children's reports of guilt over violation of rules of authority figures on the one side and on the other their reports concerning liking for authority figures and their estimates of the figures' helpfulness, justice of rules, power to punish, and consistency in punishing disobedience? *Does guilt correlate with the* child's regard for the authority figures' nurturance, fairness of rules, and personal prestige or with his regard for the figures' power to punish and consistency in punishing disobedience?

Data presented in Tables 3-33 and 3-34 indicate that for Indian children guilt is in rather weak relationships with all measures of their images of authority figures. It is noticeable, however, that the measure of guilt is in a more consistent positive association with the measures of children's regard for the punitive features of authority figures than with the measures of their appreciation of the figures' nurturance, justice, and personal prestige. The distribution of these correlations suggests that the items designed to assess guilt may have failed their purpose when used with Indian children.

Self-punishment for detected disobedience. The extent to which children would be inclined to punish themselves for detected disobedience of authority figures was assessed through the questionnaire item cited in Table 3-35. When responses are considered by total grade they show that children generally do not discriminate among the various figures in reporting that they would punish themselves for detected disobedience of authority figures.

Though the frequency of reported self-punishment did not differ by figure, it did differ significantly by SES

in interaction with grade. At grade four more low status than high status children reported that they would punish themselves for detected disobedience of all figures considered; at grade six the SES difference decreased considerably and at grade eight the SES trend was reversed; at this age level more high status than low status children reported that they would punish themselves for their detected (and presumably punished) disobedience of authority figures.

The levels of responses to the two measures of internalization of norms are not directly comparable since the guilt items were ordinal, yielding means, while the punish-self items were nominal, yielding percentages. Therefore, the fact that the age trends for each SES group were clearly incongruous on the guilt and punish-self sets is difficult to explain. For the high SES group, the decline of intensity of their reported guilt for undetected transgressions (especially for violations of rules of non-family authorities) was paralleled by an increase of the frequency of punish-self reactions following detected disobedience of all authority figures. On the other hand, for the low SES group the decline with age of the frequency of punish-self reactions was paralleled by an increase of the intensity of their reported guilt feelings over undetected transgression of rules of non-family authorities.

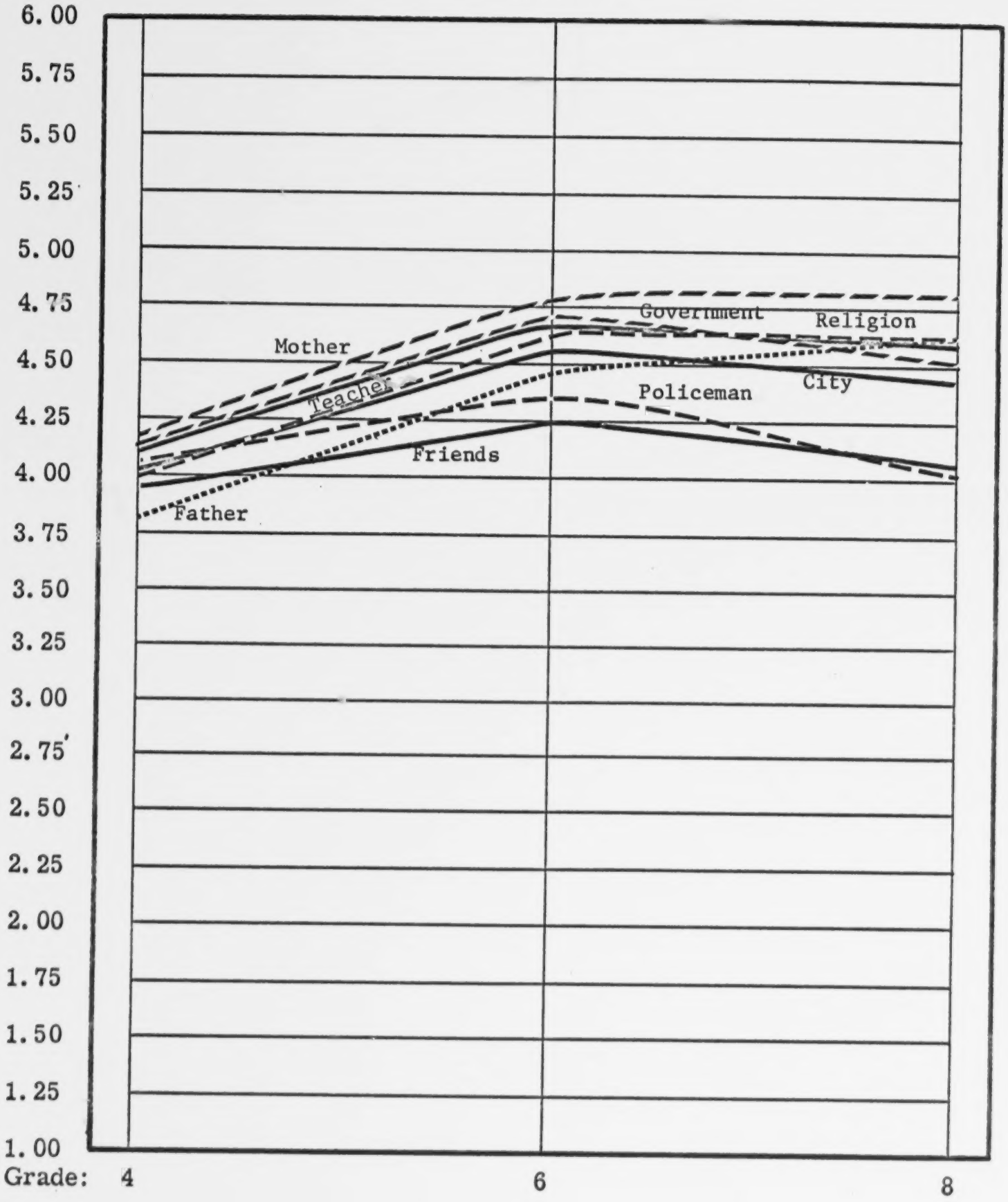
Relationship between reports of guilt for undetected rule-violation and reports of self-blame for detected disobedience. Correlations between the two sets of measures would contribute to some clarification of the above-mentioned problem if they were computed by SES by grade. The available correlational matrices (by sex by grade) provide only indications that the relationship between punish-self and guilt measures was ambiguous (see Table 3-36). Thirteen (out of 48 possible) coefficients were significant across all grade-sex groups, between the punish-self index and guilt reactions pertaining to the eight figures considered. Of those, five were negative; that is, the higher the intensity of reported guilt feelings for violation of authority figures' rules, the less the likelihood that detected (and punished) disobedience would elicit additional self-punishment or self-blame reactions. Responses to the guilt items were also in ambiguous relationships with the other scores indicating children's beliefs about the cooperation among authority figures from different systems in punishing disobedience. Only the index concerning beliefs in family's support of the school's discipline was in clearly positive correlation with the measure of guilt. However, the number of

these significant positive coefficients is small (7 out of 48 possible).

Another interesting feature of the data presented in Table 3-36 is that the authority system for which correlations between guilt reactions and the punish-self index were most often negative was religion (of 11 significant correlations out of a total of 54 possible, eight were negative and three positive); that is, the more intense the guilt feelings that children experienced for undetected transgressions of rules of religion, the less the likelihood that they would face detected (and punished) disobedience of authority figures through additional self-punishment.

Relationship between guilt and classroom behavior. As noted in the introduction to this section, data concerning the extent to which children feel discomfort over undetected violation of rules of authority figures should be considered as indicators of internalization of societal norms only if such feelings appear to enhance behavior in accordance to these norms. The correlational data presented in Table 3-37 do not provide clear evidence to argue that the measures of guilt used in this study are or are not reliable indicators of internalization of norms. Of the 24 correlation coefficients between the punish-self index and peer ratings of classroom behavior, only one was significant; moreover, this coefficient indicates a positive relationship between noncompliance in the classroom and reports of self-blame for detected disobedience of authority figures. On the other hand, of a total of 192 correlations between reports of guilt for undetected transgressions and peer ratings of classroom behavior, only four were significant. Three of them relate peer ratings of fourth and eighth grade girls' compliance in the classroom setting with girls' reports of guilt for undetected transgressions of the teacher's rules.

FIGURE 3-13
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH FIGURE'S RULES, BY GRADE
(INDIA)



Item: When you break (figure's) rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

TABLE 3-30

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH PARENTS' RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.97	3.55	3.57	3.56	4.33	4.64	4.48	3.96	3.98
SIX	4.61	4.57	4.52	4.54	4.76	4.67	4.72	4.67	4.57
EIGHT	4.69	4.21	5.07	4.63	4.80	4.68	4.74	4.51	4.87
TOTALS				4.22			4.64	4.38	4.44

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SES. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "WHEN YOU BREAK YOUR FATHER'S (MOTHER'S) RULES AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 3 - 31

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS, FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH TEACHER'S RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.12	3.76	3.72	3.73	4.60	4.59	4.60	4.20	4.06
SIX	4.68	4.87	4.70	4.76	4.55	4.56	4.56	4.71	4.65
EIGHT	4.60	4.54	5.00	4.77	4.35	4.52	4.44	4.44	4.75
TOTALS				4.41			4.53	4.46	4.47

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES BY GRADE. ITEM: "WHEN YOU BREAK TEACHERS' RULES AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 3 - 32

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH THE RULES OF SEVERAL AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.03	3.71	3.60	3.64	4.51	4.52	4.52	4.13	3.95
SIX	4.52	4.71	4.44	4.54	4.39	4.64	4.51	4.55	4.51
EIGHT	4.35	4.29	4.78	4.53	4.07	4.31	4.19	4.18	4.54
TOTALS				4.22			4.41	4.29	4.32

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES BY GRADE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 3 ITEMS: " WHEN YOU BREAK POLICEMEN'S ORDERS (CITY'S RULES OR LAWS, GOVERNMENT'S RULES OR LAWS) AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL: 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 3-33

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, LIKABLE, AND JUST, AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Guilt with: Affiliation (liking for Authority Figures)						
Father	-.02	.07	.06	.13	.05	.19*
Mother	.03	.15	.21*	.11	.10	.14
Teacher	.18	.14	.34*	.22*	.38*	.16
Policeman	-.02	.12	.34*	.18	.26*	.25*
Prime Minister	.11	.21*	.10	.22*	.07	.29*
Guilt with: Perception of Authority Figures as helpful						
Father	.02	.15	.14	.12	.12	.07
Mother	.11	.19*	.21*	-.01	.09	-.14
Teacher	.08	.00	.28*	-.01	.40*	.14
Policeman	.16	.09	.15	.02	.07	.38*
Religious Leader	.03	-.12	.02	.03	.12	.12
Prime Minister	.20*	-.03	.24*	.08	-.05	-.01
Friends	.04	-.00	.13	-.06	.05	.12
Guilt with: Perception of Rules of Author. Figures as fair						
Father	-.06	.16	.28*	.11	.20*	.07
Mother	-.16	.18	.24*	.15	.07	-.02
Teacher	.05	.09	.29*	.12	.14	-.00
Policeman	-.08	.09	.36*	.11	.24*	.28*
City	-.03	.01	.37*	.11	.15	.19
Government	-.01	.15	.07	-.03	.02	-.01
Friends	.00	.11	.36*	.14	.20*	.19*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 3-34

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF PUNITIVE DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Guilt with: Power of Figure to Punish						
Father	.11	.19*	.20*	.12	-.03	.11
Mother	.13	.23*	.14	-.07	.01	.02
Teacher	.09	.15	.30*	.07	-.13	.22*
Policeman	.01	.11	.22*	.06	.07	.28*
Religious Leader	-.10	.12	.27*	-.05	-.08	.13
Prime Minister	.20*	.02	.33*	.02	.10	-.16
Friends	.20*	.16	.30*	.13	.35*	.30*
Guilt with: Likelihood that Figure will Punish Disobedience						
Father	.13	.09	-.03	.04	-.09	.27*
Mother	.19*	.09	.18	-.01	-.02	.22*
Teacher	.17	.08	.19*	.13	-.10	.14
Policeman	.29*	-.03	.22*	.08	.06	.20*
Government	.25*	.12	.23*	.00	-.11	.04
City	.24*	.13	.19*	-.07	-.13	.45*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 3-35

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF Ss REPORTING PUNISHMENT OF SELF FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WITH RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

FIGURES	GRADE FOUR					GRADE SIX					GRADE EIGHT				
		SOCIAL STATUS		SEX			SOCIAL STATUS		SEX			SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
	TOTALS	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	43	61	26	53	34	34	33	35	32	36	53	37	69	57	49
Mother	43	62	24	52	34	34	30	38	32	36	52	36	69	54	51
Teacher	44	59	28	56	31	33	29	38	31	35	51	36	66	54	48
Policeman	43	62	25	56	31	35	35	35	33	37	53	41	64	55	50
City	46	62	30	56	36	40	38	43	36	44	51	35	66	53	48
Government	45	60	30	56	34	35	34	35	31	38	49	39	59	48	50

Note. Significant Effects: (Punish-Self Index) SES by Grade. Item: "Besides . . . (figure), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey (figure's) rules?" Alternative: "I (me)" Index: Number of "Yes" responses across 6 figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, city, government). Index scale: 0-6.

TABLE 3-36

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF INTERNALIZATION OF RULES AND NORMS OF COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS: BELIEF THAT DISCIPLINE BY ONE AUTHORITY FIGURE WILL BE REINFORCED BY OTHERS AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT MEASURES (ACROSS DIFFERENT FIGURES)	GUILT OVER DISOBEDIENCE TO FIGURE (NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS)								TOTAL SIGNIF. CORREL.	TOTAL POSSIBLE CORREL.
	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	RELIG. LEADER	GOVT.	CITY	POLICE	FRIENDS		
Would punish self	1	1*/2	1*/2	2*	1	1*/1	0	1	5*/8	48
Parents for parent		1	1			1			3	48
Parents for non-family authority figures				1	1				2	48
Other family for parents	1		1	1*	1*/2	2	2	1	2*/9	48
Other family for non-family figures		1*	1*	1*	1*/1	1*/1	1*/1	1	6*/4	48
Total family for school	1	1	1	1	1	1	1		7	48
Non-family figures for parents		1*		2*	1*	1	1		4*/2	48

TABLE 3-36 (CONTINUED)

INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT MEASURES (ACROSS DIFFERENT FIGURES)	GUILT OVER DISOBEDIENCE TO FIGURE NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS)								TOTAL SIGNIF. CORREL	TOTAL POSSIBLE CORREL.
	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	RELIG. LEADER	GOVT.	CITY	POLICE	FRIENDS		
Non-family figures for school		1*	1*	1*	1*	1	2	1	4*/4	48
Non-family for non-family		1*	1*	1*/1	1*	1	1	1	4*/4	48
TOTALS	3	5*/4	4*/4	8*/3	5*/6	2*/9	1*/8	5	25*/43	432

Note. *Indicates negative correlations.

TABLE 3-37

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GUILT AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	-.02	-.07	.05	-.01	.20*	-.01	.16	-.04
	6	-.03	.07	-.06	.02	.01	-.07	-.07	-.06
	8	-.03	.01	.01	-.11	.05	.04	.11	-.08
Mother	4	.08	-.09	.12	-.02	.12	-.09	.12	-.09
	6	.00	-.07	-.08	-.05	.04	-.06	-.07	-.05
	8	-.01	.09	.04	-.06	-.02	.04	.08	-.01
Teacher	4	.25*	-.12	.29*	-.01	.11	-.10	.11	-.01
	6	.07	-.03	-.00	-.02	-.01	-.12	-.06	-.11
	8	.16	.07	.21*	-.07	-.02	.03	.04	-.02
Policeman	4	.12	-.04	.14	.02	.08	-.05	.08	.02
	6	.10	-.07	-.05	-.10	.08	-.04	-.01	-.00
	8	-.01	.11	.05	-.08	.02	.12	.15	.09
Religious Leader	4	.03	-.02	.08	.03	.17	-.10	.13	-.07
	6	.04	-.02	-.05	-.00	.04	-.08	-.12	-.10
	8	.12	.07	.10	-.07	.09	.01	.18	-.07
Government	4	.12	-.16	.17	-.07	.14	-.05	.11	-.01
	6	.07	-.08	-.03	-.07	.04	-.09	-.06	-.08
	8	.05	.01	.12	-.09	-.00	.10	.15	.08
City	4	.11	-.04	.15	.10	.13	-.10	.12	-.05
	6	.07	-.13	-.05	-.15	.04	.03	-.03	.07
	8	-.06	-.02	.02	-.16	-.02	.05	.08	.01
Friends	4	.14	-.01	.15	.08	.11	.05	.12	.07
	6	.18	-.00	.09	-.05	.07	.06	-.02	.10
	8	.06	.00	.04	-.16	-.03	.01	.15	-.05
Punish-self Index (1)	4	.09	.07	.02	.08	-.00	.25*	.05	.12
	6	-.06	-.06	.03	-.06	-.01	-.05	-.05	-.01
	8	.05	-.11	.02	-.07	-.10	-.08	-.01	-.04

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

(1) For content of Punish-self Index see Table 3-35, footnote.

b. Identification with the Norms of the System

The child's internalization of behavioral norms enforced by authority figures has been described as the outcome of his identification with authority figures. During the early phases of socialization the child often behaves in ways that authority figures disapprove of and thus try to extinguish through negative reinforcement and/or direct and indirect teaching of desirable patterns of behavior. The learning of patterns of behavior desired by authority figures is mediated through the child's identification with them.

Identification with authority figures motivates the child to try to act toward himself and other children in the ways he believes these figures would like him to act or would act themselves under analogous circumstances. In this sense, children's reactions toward peers breaking the rules of authority figures may provide valuable indications of the process of internalization of norms.

The questionnaire items used to assess the extent to which children tend to react to their peers' disobedience of rules of authority figures and the methods they use to obtain from their peers obedience of authority figures' rules are cited in Tables 3-38 and 3-39. Comparison of the frequencies with which children at each grade level cited each method of rule enforcement depending on the identity of the disobeyed figure shows that children generally did not discriminate among authority figures in responding to these questions (see Table 3-38). The frequencies pertaining to the alternative of reporting the offender to the disobeyed figure present the only notable exception; across all grades, children cited this alternative substantially less often in response to peers' disobedience of rules of religion than in response to disobedience of any other figure. The finding apparently reflects children's awareness of the particular position of the religious leader in Indian society (see Introduction).

The influence of sampling factors (grade, sex, and SES) upon the frequency with which each type of reaction appears to be used was tested for statistical significance only on the index scores combining the frequencies of citing each alternative across all figures considered (see Table 3-39). Data show that the alternatives "Tell them they are wrong" and "Ask them why" received the highest percentages of "Yes" responses across all grades and for all figures considered. The next most frequently chosen alternatives were those denoting reports to authority figures (i.e., the child's own parents, the

offender's parents, and/or the figure himself whose rules were broken). The alternative "Try to punish the offenders" was even less frequently chosen across all grades. Finally, the frequency with which children asserted that they would "Do nothing" in the face of peers' disobedience of rules of authority figures was almost zero.*

Age significantly affected the frequencies with which children cited the responses "Ask them why," "Tell them they are wrong," "Tell my parents," and "Try to punish them myself" (see Table 3-39). As children grow older they appear to face peers' noncompliance with the rules of all authority figures more often through questioning and directly criticizing the offender and less often through reports to their own parents or direct punitive action.

Responses were also differentiated by SES. Across all grades, low status children exceeded their high status agemates in the frequencies with which they asserted that they would report disobeying peers to parental figures (their own or the offenders' parents) and they would try to punish them by themselves. By contrast, direct questioning of the offenders (i.e., the response "Ask why") was more frequently cited by high status than by low status children across all grades.

Sex differences were significant only with respect to the "Tell the figure" reaction, with boys exceeding girls at all grades in the frequency with which they responded that they would use this method of coping with peers' noncompliance.

Relationships between choices of methods of enforcing rules upon disobeying peers and other measures of internalization of norms. The over-all-grades rank order of frequencies of the various methods of facing peers' disobedience and the direction of changes of these frequencies with age suggest that with increasing maturity and social experience children realize that certain of these methods are more effective than others. To what extent does preference of certain methods of enforcing rules upon peers reflect internalization of norms? One should look at the relationships between the frequency of each of the various methods of rule-enforcement upon peers on the one side, and children's reports of guilt over their own transgressions on

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*The reasons for the discrepancy that may be observed between the index for "Do nothing" in Table 3-39 and the frequencies of "Yes" responses to the "Do nothing" alternative by individual figures in Table 3-38 are explained in the chapter on Method in Part A of this report.

the other. The correlational matrices summarized in Table 3-40 indicate that guilt is in positive association with all methods of handling peers' disobedience except "Try to punish them" and "Do nothing," with which it correlates negatively. Table 3-40 also shows that the number of significant correlations between guilt and each of the methods of rule-enforcement varies. "Ask why" and "Tell them they are wrong" yielded a greater number of significant correlations with guilt across grades and sex groups than did the other methods of facing peers' transgressions. If guilt over one's own transgressions indicates internalization of norms, then a child whose behavior is internally directed is more likely to face his peers' noncompliance through direct questioning and verbal rebuke than through reports to authority figures, active punishment, or inaction.

Relationships between choices of methods of facing peers' rule violations and peer ratings of classroom behavior. Correlations shown in Table 3-41 indicate that the two sets of variables are substantially related and the direction of significant correlations is meaningful. First, there are clear indications that children who face peers' rule violation through reports to authority figures tend to have a reputation among peers for uncooperative behavior with both peers and the teacher; this relationship is significant for both sexes at grade eight; some coefficients are also significant and in the expected direction for fourth graders. A second important indication in this table is that for fourth and sixth grade boys the tendency to face disobeying peers by telling them they are wrong correlates negatively with peer nomination indices for noncompliant behavior toward both peers and the teacher. Third, for sixth grade girls the tendency to "Do nothing" to oppose peers' noncompliance with the rules of authority figures correlates positively with peer nomination indices of noncompliant behavior with peers and the teacher. The other significant correlations in this table appear to be cell specific. Finally, of the 24 significant coefficients in this table (out of a total of 168) only one was not in the expected direction.

TABLE 3-38

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES ON REACTIONS FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY TOTAL GRADE (INDIA)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	FIGURE OR SYSTEM WHOSE RULES ARE DISOBEYED BY PEERS														
	MOTHER			FATHER			TEACHER			CITY			RELIGION		
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8
Do nothing	58	52	38	57	53	43	59	52	39	56	55	41	64	55	36
Ask why	80	89	93	67	81	86	74	88	86	78	91	90	78	91	87
Tell them they are wrong	72	83	88	76	87	95	76	85	96	75	86	94	74	88	93
Tell my parents	69	74	60	74	68	60	74	65	50	71	71	62	70	70	60
Tell their parents	67	70	60	70	70	71	63	67	59	68	64	70	69	71	68
Tell the figure	74	70	60	73	70	66	71	72	61	66	67	58	62	50	54
Try to punish them	50	41	27	50	39	28	50	33	24	50	42	31	49	39	28

Note. Item: "When other children break (figure's rules what do you do?" Percentages of "Yes" responses to each of 7 alternatives for 5 figures (mother, father, teacher, church, city), by total grade.

TABLE 3-39

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON RESPONSES FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Ask Them Why	4	3.59	3.34	3.90	3.71	3.49	0-5	Grade,SES
	6	4.29	4.19	4.43	4.35	4.24		
	8	4.36	4.38	4.34	4.32	4.39		
	Total		3.94	4.22	4.13	4.01		
Tell Them They Are Wrong	4	3.53	3.37	3.73	3.39	3.64	0-5	Grade
	6	4.18	4.08	4.33	4.25	4.14		
	8	4.64	4.61	4.66	4.60	4.68		
	Total		3.97	4.23	4.07	4.10		
Tell My Parents	4	3.43	3.50	3.34	3.38	3.47	0-5	Grade,SES
	6	3.47	3.77	3.04	3.45	3.49		
	8	2.88	3.39	2.41	2.65	3.12		
	Total		3.58	2.93	3.17	3.39		
Tell Their Parents	4	3.22	3.34	3.08	3.14	3.29	0-5	SES
	6	3.40	3.45	3.31	3.25	3.51		
	8	3.20	3.61	2.81	2.91	3.49		
	Total		3.44	3.07	3.11	3.40		

TABLE 3-39 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Tell the Figure	4	3.34	3.53	3.15	3.22	3.46	0-5	Sex
	6	3.24	3.36	3.11	3.23	3.24		
	8	2.96	3.08	2.85	2.64	3.28		
	Total		3.32	3.04	3.03	3.33		
Try to Punish Them Myself	4	2.41	2.90	1.79	2.27	2.52	0-5	Grade, SES
	6	1.93	2.11	1.66	1.79	2.03		
	8	1.35	1.54	1.17	1.39	1.30		
	Total		2.24	1.54	1.82	2.02		
Do Nothing	4	.06	.07	.04	.07	.05	0-5	None
	6	.05	.03	.07	.04	.05		
	8	.01	0.	.01	0.	.01		
	Total		.04	.04	.04	.04		

Note. Item: "When other children break (figure's) rules, what do you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to each of seven alternatives for five figures (father, mother, teacher, city, church). Index scale 0-5

TABLE 3-40

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF INTERNALIZATION OF RULES AND NORMS OF COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS: RESPONSES IN REACTION TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND GUILT OVER ONE'S OWN NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(INDIA)

TYPE OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE	(NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS) GUILT TOWARD:							TOTAL SIGNIF. CORREL.	TOTAL POSSIBLE CORREL.
	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	POLICE	RELIG.	GOVT.	CITY		
Tell my parents				1		1		2	42
Tell their parents	1	1						2	42
Tell figure	1*	1					1	1* 2	42
Ask them why	2		2	1		1	1	7	42
Tell them they are wrong	2	1	1	1	2	2	1	10	42
Try to punish them	1*				2*			3*	42
Do nothing	1*	1*	1*			1*		4*	42
TOTALS	3*/5	1*/3	1*/3	3	2*/2	1*/3	4	8*/23	294

Note. *Indicates negative relationship.

TABLE 3-41

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPES OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

TYPES OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS
Tell my parents	4	.17	-.07	.16	-.10	.03	-.20*	.04	-.17
	6	-.05	.08	-.10	.05	.05	-.02	.04	.01
	8	-.22*	.04	-.19*	-.03	.19*	.05	.26*	.13
Tell their parents	4	.11	-.00	.05	-.04	.06	-.09	.10	-.21*
	6	.01	.13	.04	.11	-.05	-.01	-.09	-.02
	8	-.20*	.00	-.18	.01	.06	.01	.13	.07
Tell (figure)	4	.05	-.05	-.00	-.06	.09	-.23*	.13	-.23*
	6	-.09	.05	-.08	.05	-.03	.12	-.09	.12
	8	-.33*	-.21*	-.26*	-.24*	.13	-.06	.22*	.05
Ask why	4	.15	-.02	.14	-.04	.01	-.15	.03	-.16
	6	-.06	.07	.01	.07	-.04	-.04	-.03	.02
	8	-.23*	.16	-.16	.13	.04	-.08	.10	.06
Tell them they are wrong	4	.07	.06	.04	.06	.03	-.20*	.03	-.26*
	6	.16	.07	.17	.10	-.04	-.22*	-.10	-.25*
	8	-.02	-.03	.04	-.00	.14	.02	.10	.01
Try to punish them	4	.00	-.10	-.07	-.12	.09	-.11	.19*	-.09
	6	.09	.05	.10	.03	.03	.05	-.01	.04
	8	-.13	-.03	-.09	-.04	.08	.06	.02	.09
Do nothing	4	.15	.02	.14	-.02	-.08	.17	-.04	.33*
	6	-.03	.07	.04	.04	.20*	.03	.31*	-.06
	8	0.	-.04	-.03	-.03	0.	.18	0.	.02

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

B4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority

The items used to assess children's methods of handling unjust pronouncements of authority figures affecting them directly or indirectly are cited in Table 3-42. Responses collected through these items were analyzed by total authority and by figures grouped as parents (including father and mother), teacher, and "other authority" (including policeman and government officials).

a. Reactions to Injustice from Total Authority

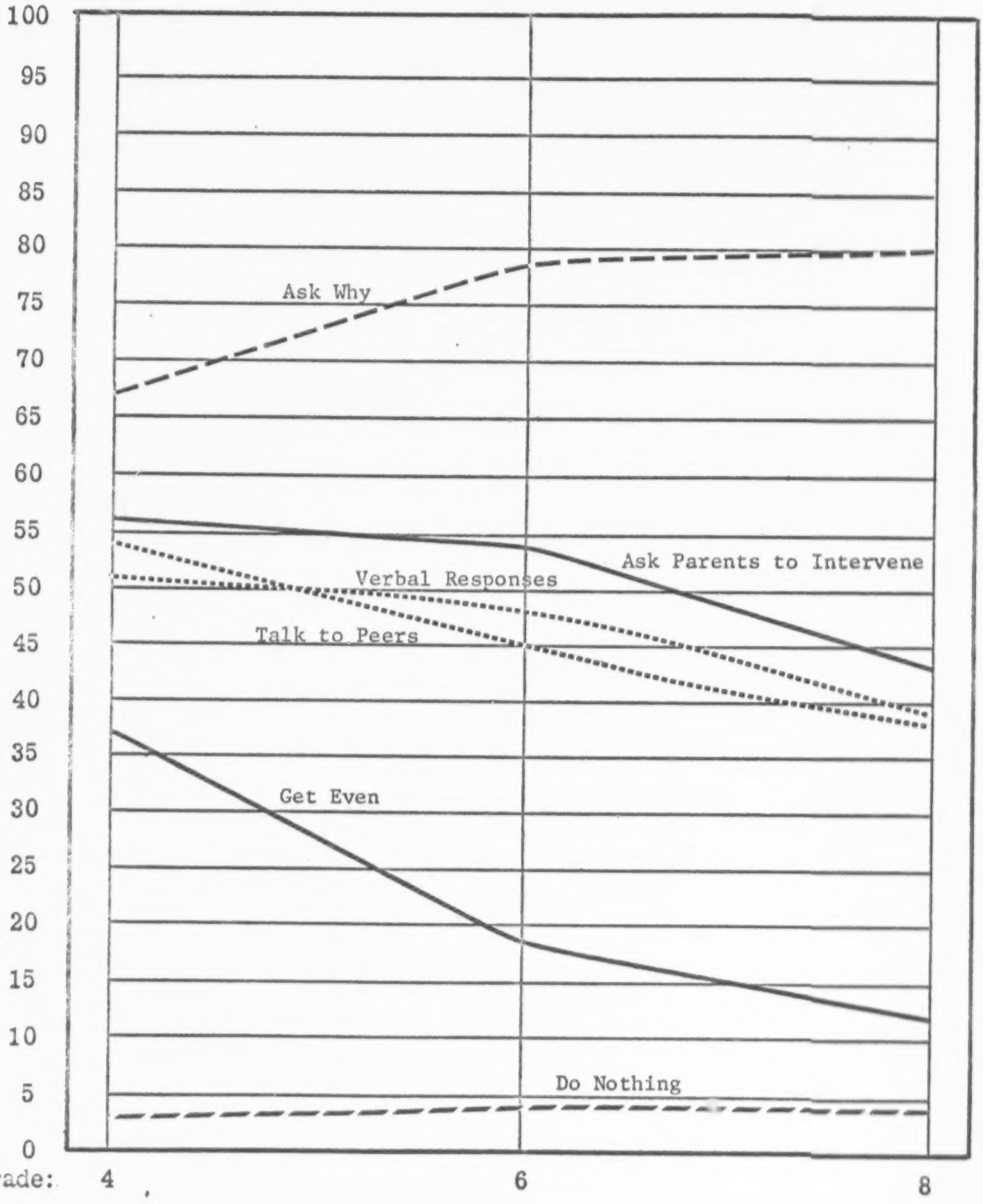
Table 3-42 and Figure 3-14 show the summary frequencies of "Yes" responses to the various types of actions children would take if authority figures behaved in ways seen by children as unfair. It is clear from the data that very few children thought they would passively submit to injustice, whatever its source. The rank order of frequencies of the various actions suggests that questioning (i.e., "Ask why") is the action that children would most likely take when faced with injustice from authority figures. Requests to parents to take steps to stop the injustice, verbal protests directed to the unjust figure, and discussion of the event with peers appeared to be the next most probable ways through which children would respond to situations in which authority figures are thought to act unjustly. Fewer children responded across all grades that they would try to "Get even" with unjust authorities.

Age significantly differentiated the frequency with which each of these types of responses to injustice was cited. As children grew older they appeared to rely more often on the effectiveness of "Ask why" and less often on all the other methods of facing unjust authorities. No grade differences were apparent in the frequency with which children chose to "Do nothing" (see Table 3-43).

Sex affected the frequency with which children appeared to consider "Verbal responses" and "Get even" reactions as effective means of facing injustice; both these types of responses were chosen significantly more often by boys than by girls at all grade levels (see Table 3-43).

The frequencies of "Talk to peers," "Ask parents to intervene," and "Get even" responses differed by SES; across all grades, more low status than high status children cited all three of these categories of actions against injustice from authority figures. Neither sex nor SES differentiated the frequency of "Do nothing" responses (see Table 3-43).

FIGURE 3-14
COMPARISON OF ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE
IN RESPONSE TO UNJUST USE OF AUTHORITY, BY GRADE
(INDIA)



Item: If (figure) did something to you that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?

TABLE 3-42

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY FOR 5 AUTHORITY FIGURES), BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (PERCENTAGES OF YES RESPONSES) (INDIA)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS
Do Nothing (Resp. Alt. 1)	4	.03	.02	.03	.04	.02
	6	.04	.02	.05	.04	.03
	8	.04	.04	.04	.04	.04
	Total		.03	.04	.04	.03
Ask Why (Resp. Alt. 2)	4	.67	.63	.72	.66	.69
	6	.79	.79	.79	.80	.78
	8	.80	.78	.82	.82	.78
	Total		.73	.78	.76	.75
Verbal Responses (Resp. Alt. 3-6)	4	.51	.55	.47	.49	.52
	6	.49	.50	.48	.46	.51
	8	.39	.40	.38	.37	.41
	Total		.48	.44	.44	.48
Talk to Peers (Resp. Alt·7-8)	4	.54	.60	.47	.53	.55
	6	.45	.54	.37	.42	.49
	8	.38	.43	.34	.38	.39
	Total		.52	.40	.44	.48
Ask Parents to Intervene (Resp. Alt. 9-10)	4	.56	.62	.50	.56	.56
	6	.54	.60	.48	.51	.56
	8	.43	.49	.36	.38	.47
	Total		.57	.45	.48	.53
Get Even (Resp. Alt.11)	4	.37	.44	.29	.35	.38
	6	.18	.25	.10	.16	.20
	8	.12	.15	.08	.08	.15
	Total		.28	.16	.20	.24

Note. Item: "If your father (mother, teacher, a policeman, the government) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?" Response Alternatives: (1) "I would do nothing and tell no one (I'd keep it to myself)." (2) "I would ask him (her, them) why?" (3) I would tell him (her, them) he was unfair." (4) "I wald tell him (her, them) not to do it again." (5) "I would show him (her, them) my anger." (6) "I would tell other teachers (policeman) that this teacher (policeman) was unfair." (7) "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it." (8) "I would talk to my friends about it." (9) "I wald ask my mother (father) or other adult relatives to stop him (her, them) from doing it again." (10) "I would ask my parents or other adult relatives to talk to him (her, them)." (11) "I would get even with or get back at him (her, them)."

TABLE 3-43

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY FOR FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES), BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES (Index Labels)	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Do Nothing	4	.13	.10	.16	.18	.09	0-5	None
	6	.19	.13	.24	.21	.16		
	8	.21	.22	.21	.22	.20		
	Total		.15	.20	.20	.15		
Ask Why	4	2.70	2.52	2.88	2.64	2.75	0-4	Grade
	6	3.16	3.15	3.17	3.19	3.14		
	8	3.22	3.13	3.30	3.30	3.14		
	Total		2.93	3.12	3.04	3.01		
Verbal Responses	4	8.65	9.33	7.97	8.34	8.97	0-17	Sex,Grade
	6	8.29	8.48	8.10	7.83	8.75		
	8	6.68	6.82	6.54	6.37	7.00		
	Total		8.21	7.54	7.51	8.24		
Talk to Peers	4	5.39	6.05	4.72	5.30	5.47	0-10	SES,Grade
	6	4.54	5.35	3.73	4.17	4.91		
	8	3.84	4.30	3.39	3.77	3.92		
	Total		5.23	3.95	4.41	4.77		

TABLE 3-43 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES (Index Labels)	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Ask Parents to Intervene	4	2.79	3.08	2.50	2.80	2.78	0-5	SES, Grade
	6	2.70	2.98	2.41	2.56	2.83		
	8	2.14	2.47	1.81	1.93	2.35		
	Total		2.84	2.24	2.43	2.65		
Get Even	4	1.83	2.19	1.47	1.75	1.91	0-5	Sex, SES, Grade
	6	.90	1.26	.53	.79	1.00		
	8	.59	.76	.41	.42	.76		
	Total		1.41	.80	.99	1.22		

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives comprising each response category across five figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, government).

b. Variations in Reactions to Injustice as a Function of the Identity of Authority Figures

Table 3-44 shows the frequencies with which each of the six types of reactions was cited in response to injustice from parents, the teacher, and other non-family authorities (i.e., the policeman and government officials). In general, there is practically no discrimination among the three groups of figures in terms of frequencies with which they elicited the most and least active alternatives, i.e., "Do nothing" and "Get even." For all other response categories there is a shift from nondiscrimination among the three groups of figures by the younger children to a clear distinction by eighth graders between non-family and non-school authorities on the one side and parents and teacher on the other. In all these instances injustice from other authorities (i.e., the policeman and government officials) appeared to elicit from eighth graders higher percentages of "Ask why," "Verbal responses," "Talk to peers," and "Ask parents to intervene" reactions than did injustice from parents and the teacher (see Table 3-44).

Sampling variations in the frequencies with which each of these types of reactions was elicited by injustice from parents, teacher, and other authorities are shown in Tables 3-45 through 3-50. This additional analysis of variance by figure groupings further clarifies the previously reported analysis of variability of responses by sampling divisions for total authority.

Grade had significant effects on the frequencies of all categories of responses to total authority except "Do nothing." The analysis by figure groupings reveals that the frequency of "Do nothing" responses increased with age when such responses referred to the teacher (see Table 3-45). A significant increase with age was noted in the frequency of "Ask why" responses to total authority; the analysis by figure groupings reveals that such an increase was significant only when "Ask why" was cited as a response to parents' and the policeman's injustices* (see Table 3-46). Further, the total authority analysis had indicated that the frequencies of "Verbal responses," "Talk to peers," "Ask parents to intervene," and "Get even" reactions declined significantly with age; the analysis by figure groupings shows that only with respect to parents and the teacher did the frequencies of "Verbal responses," "Talk to peers," and "Ask parents to intervene" decline significantly

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*The response alternative "Ask why" was not included among the options following injustice from the government.

with age (see Tables 3-47 through 3-49); however, the frequency of "Get even" reactions declined with age for all three figure groupings (see Table 3-50).

The total authority analysis indicated significant sex differences only on the frequencies of "Verbal responses" and "Get even" reactions. The analysis by groups of figures shows that boys exceeded girls in citing "Verbal responses," only when facing injustices from non-family and non-school authorities (see Table 3-47); further, boys exceeded girls in citing "Get even" responses only in reaction to parents' injustices (see Table 3-50); finally, boys significantly exceeded girls in the frequency with which they would "Ask parents to intervene" when facing injustice from non-family and non-school authorities--a difference which did not show up in the analysis of variance for total authority (see Table 3-49).

The total authority analysis indicated SES differences in the frequencies of children citing the "Talk to peers," "Ask parents to intervene," and "Get even" response categories. The analysis by figure groupings revealed that the SES effect on the "Get even" alternative held for all three figure groupings, while on "Talk to peers" and "Ask parents to intervene" SES differences were significant only when these alternatives were cited in response to parents' and teacher's injustices (see Tables 3-48 through 3-50); in all instances, more low status than high status children cited these types of responses. Additional SES effects were also found in the frequencies with which "Verbal responses" appeared to be used in reaction to parents' and teacher's injustices but not to other non-family authorities'; as with the previous responses, more low status than high status children appeared to be using verbal protests when confronted with injustice from parents and the teacher (see Table 3-47).

The differences observed in the frequencies with which each of the various methods of coping with injustice is likely to be used with different authority figures, and the effects of sampling factors on these frequencies suggest that each of these methods has some specific meaning to the children. For example, asking explanations about the reasons for a decision or command of authority figures which is thought to be unfair is probably seen by most children as a bold but not disrespectful way of dealing with authorities. Thus, not only was this response alternative cited more often than any other option but its frequency increased with age. However, the increase was not significant in response to teachers' injustices. By contrast, the frequency of "Do

nothing" increased with age only with respect to teachers' injustices. In addition, the frequencies of all other response categories decreased with respect to the teacher (as well as parents). Should these differences suggest that the teachers (and perhaps parents) are less tolerant than other authorities toward children's challenging of the justice and wisdom of their pronouncements? Or should such differences be seen as stemming from the fact that children have less often face-to-face contacts with non-family and non-school authorities? In the latter case, the higher frequencies with which children maintained that they would ask other authorities why and would verbally criticize their pronouncements in front of them and/or in discussions with their peers may constitute manifestations of a rather gratuitous bravado. This supposition seems to be supported by the fact that requests for parental intervention--an option clearly denoting that the child does not feel his own reactions would be as effective as parents'--was cited more often in response to other authorities' than parents' and teachers' injustices. Whatever the reasons for these differential choices, they suggest that children evaluate the effectiveness of each option on the basis of various criteria. Choices are differentiated not only on the basis of eventual considerations about the effectiveness of each option with different authority figures but also on the basis of dispositions developed through variations in the styles of socialization to which children of different sex and SES are exposed.

Relationships between reactions to injustice and other variables of the study. Examination of the correlational matrices may help clarify the problems related to children's choices of methods of dealing with injustice from authority figures. The first question to be asked from the data concerns the extent to which each type of response tends to be generalized across figures or tends to be figure-specific. Data in Table 3-51 indicate that most of the response categories considered tend to be general rather than figure-specific. In other words, children who use one particular method of facing injustice from parents are very likely to use this type of response also toward the teacher and/or other non-family authorities. A tendency for most coefficients to decrease with age probably reflects the already discussed finding that with grade, children tend to be more discriminating in using each option depending on the authority figures they are addressing.

Since choices of methods of coping with injustice are general rather than figure-specific, correlational matrices were inspected with the aim to identify

antecedents of children's choices from among them. The main purpose of this query was to determine the extent to which preference of certain methods of coping with authorities' injustices and avoidance of others is enhanced by children's liking for authority figures, their regard for the figures' helpfulness and fairness of rules, and their tendency to experience guilt over violation of the figures' rules or by children's awareness of the figures' power to punish and consistency or strictness in punishing noncompliance. The summary of significant correlations among these variables across all grades and sex groups indicates that none of the dimensions of children's images of and attitudes toward authority figures had clear-cut effects upon their choices of methods of coping with injustice (see Table 3-52). Almost every dimension of children's images of and attitudes toward authority figures correlated both positively and negatively with each category of action children would take to face authority figures perceived as acting unjustly. The only measures of children's images of authority figures which had somewhat clearer effects upon their preferences of methods of dealing with injustice were those pertaining to the figures' power to punish and their consistency in punishing disobedience (i.e., children's beliefs in inevitability of punishment). The former measure (power to punish) was more often in negative than positive association with all methods of active opposition to injustice, while the latter (inevitability of punishment) correlated more often positively than negatively with methods of actively opposing injustice. In other words, while high regard for the power of authority figures to punish noncompliance appeared more likely to coexist with reduced rather than increased frequencies of the options denoting active opposition to injustice (especially "Verbal responses," "Talk to peers," and "Get even" reactions), belief in the inevitability of punishment from authority figures for disobedience of their rules appeared more likely to coexist with high frequencies of citing active reactions to injustice. Belief, however, that punishment inevitably follows noncompliance was somewhat more often in significant positive relationship with the alternatives "Talk to peers," "Ask why," and "Ask parents to intervene." Perhaps children who often experience (or expect) punishment for their misbehavior, compared to children with less experiences of this sort, learn to cope with authority figures whose behavior they feel to be unfair through indirect methods (i.e., "Talk to peers" and "Ask parents to intervene") or through methods that challenge the authorities but which cannot be considered as defiant (e.g., by "Ask why" reactions).

Of the other dimensions of children's attitudes toward authority, liking for figures and guilt over

violation of their rules were more likely to coexist with the tendency to face injustice from authority figures through discussion with peers and less likely to elicit "Ask why" reactions.

In conclusion, despite the above-mentioned trends, the overall pattern of data summarized in Table 3-52 does not allow the assertion that Indian children's choices of methods of coping with injustice stem from clear-cut orientations toward authority figures.

Relationships between reactions to injustice and peer ratings of classroom behavior. Correlations between the various types of responses elicited by hypothetical situations in which children were asked to state the kinds of actions they would take in the face of authority figures' injustices and peer ratings of behavior in the classroom are presented in Table 3-53. The number of significant coefficients in this table and their direction suggest that children's choices of methods of coping with authority figures who appear to act unjustly are quite meaningful. The data indicate clear-cut sex differences. For girls, almost all methods of actively opposing authority figures' injustices appear to denote defiance; "Do nothing," however, appears to denote compliance. By contrast, for boys, none of the methods of facing injustice from authority figures correlated significantly with peer ratings of noncompliant behavior at school. For boys, "Talk to peers" and "Ask parents to intervene" coexisted with a reputation for cooperative behavior at school; for girls, selection of these two types of responses to injustice appeared to denote defiance. For boys, "Verbal protests" and "Get even" wishes against unjust authorities were not significantly related with peer ratings of compliant or noncompliant behavior; for girls, selection of both these ways of facing injustice were positively related with a bad reputation among peers and/or negatively related with peer ratings of cooperative behavior at school.

The only type of response to unjust authorities which showed no significant relationships with peer ratings of behavior either for boys or for girls was "Ask why." The finding that in most instances the sex differences mentioned were most obvious at grade eight suggests that, with age, the norms which appear to orient the behavior of each sex become more rigid and, therefore, their incongruity more obvious.

TABLE 3-44

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, GROUPED AS PARENTS, TEACHER AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(PERCENTAGE OF "YES" RESPONSES)
(INDIA)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
	4	6	8	4		6		8				4		6		8			
				L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
DO NOTHING																			
Parents	.02	.04	.05	.03	.02	.02	.06	.04	.06	.03	.05	.04	.02	.04	.04	.04	.06	.04	.04
Teacher	.01	.03	.06	.01	.01	.02	.04	.09	.02	.04	.02	.02	.00	.03	.04	.07	.04	.04	.03
Other Authority	.04	.04	.02	.02	.06	.04	.04	.02	.04	.02	.04	.05	.02	.05	.02	.04	.02	.04	.02
ASK WHY																			
Parents	.66	.78	.80	.61	.72	.79	.78	.80	.79	.74	.76	.66	.66	.80	.78	.84	.74	.76	.73
Teacher	.67	.77	.75	.65	.70	.78	.75	.73	.78	.72	.74	.65	.70	.75	.78	.73	.77	.71	.75
Other Authority	.70	.82	.88	.65	.74	.78	.86	.80	.95	.75	.85	.68	.72	.83	.81	.88	.87	.80	.80
VERBAL RESPONSE																			
Parents	.52	.45	.32	.57	.48	.50	.41	.36	.28	.48	.39	.51	.53	.44	.47	.31	.33	.42	.44
Teacher	.47	.44	.34	.53	.41	.48	.42	.37	.32	.46	.38	.45	.50	.43	.46	.32	.36	.40	.44
Other Authority	.52	.54	.49	.54	.49	.51	.57	.46	.51	.50	.53	.49	.54	.50	.58	.46	.51	.48	.55
TALK TO PEERS																			
Parents	.55	.44	.31	.62	.47	.58	.30	.40	.22	.53	.33	.57	.52	.41	.47	.30	.32	.42	.44
Teacher	.52	.44	.34	.58	.46	.52	.34	.35	.32	.48	.38	.50	.54	.41	.41	.36	.31	.42	.44
Other Authority	.54	.48	.48	.60	.48	.50	.46	.40	.47	.53	.47	.51	.57	.43	.53	.46	.50	.46	.54

TABLE 3-44 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
	4	6	8	4		6		8				4		6		8			
				L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE																			
Parents	.58	.50	.36	.64	.51	.64	.38	.50	.21	.60	.36	.60	.55	.50	.52	.30	.40	.47	.49
Teacher	.54	.49	.34	.61	.47	.53	.44	.37	.31	.51	.41	.55	.53	.50	.47	.30	.37	.45	.46
Other Authority	.54	.60	.55	.58	.50	.58	.61	.56	.54	.58	.56	.52	.57	.54	.66	.51	.59	.52	.60
GET EVEN																			
Parents	.40	.18	.14	.48	.31	.28	.08	.19	.10	.32	.16	.40	.40	.16	.20	.09	.19	.22	.26
Teacher	.32	.18	.08	.39	.25	.26	.10	.13	.04	.26	.06	.30	.34	.17	.18	.04	.13	.17	.22
Other Authority	.36	.18	.11	.42	.30	.22	.14	.13	.09	.26	.18	.33	.39	.16	.20	.10	.12	.20	.24

Note. *Item: If your ...(figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"
Response Alternatives: See list in Table 3-42, footnote.

TABLE 3-45

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "DO NOTHING" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS
Parents	4	.05	.10	.02	.06	.04	.06	.05	.07	.04	0-2	None
	6	.08	.04	.04	.04	.14	.12	.13	.09	.08		
	8	.10	.12	.06	.09	.04	.18	.11	.08	.12		
	Total				.06			.10	.08	.08		
Teacher	4	.01	.02	.00	.01	.02	.00	.01	.02	.00	0-1	Grade(lin.)
	6	.03	.02	.03	.02	.04	.04	.04	.03	.04		
	8	.06	.12	.06	.09	.02	.02	.02	.07	.04		
	Total				.04			.02	.04	.03		
Other Authority	4	.07	.02	.05	.03	.18	.04	.11	.10	.04	0-2	None
	6	.07	.09	.05	.07	.11	.04	.07	.10	.05		
	8	.05	.06	.00	.03	.08	.08	.08	.07	.04		
	Total				.04			.09	.09	.04		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative "I would do nothing and tell no one "I'd keep it to myself)" for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 3-46

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "ASK WHY" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	1.33	1.24	1.20	1.22	1.40	1.46	1.43	1.32	1.33	0-2	Grade(lin.)
	6	1.57	1.63	1.54	1.58	1.57	1.56	1.57	1.60	1.55		
	8	1.59	1.61	1.57	1.59	1.75	1.40	1.58	1.68	1.49		
	Total				1.47			1.52	1.53	1.46		
Teacher	4	.67	.63	.66	.65	.67	.74	.70	.65	.70	0-1	None
	6	.77	.81	.76	.78	.70	.80	.75	.75	.78		
	8	.75	.67	.79	.73	.79	.76	.78	.73	.77		
	Total				.72			.74	.71	.75		
Other Authority	4	.70	.67	.64	.65	.68	.80	.74	.68	.72		
	6	.82	.81	.76	.78	.86	.86	.86	.83	.81		
	8	.88	.80	.81	.80	.96	.94	.95	.88	.87		
	Total				.75			.85	.80	.80		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative "I would ask why," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman).

TABLE 3-47

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "VERBAL RESPONSES" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	3.15	3.37	3.47	3.42	2.81	2.94	2.87	3.09	3.20	0-6	SES
	6	2.71	2.84	3.14	2.99	2.39	2.48	2.44	2.62	2.81		Grade(lin.)
	8	1.91	2.00	2.26	2.13	1.70	1.68	1.69	1.85	1.97		
	Total				2.85			2.33	2.52	2.66		
Teacher	4	1.89	2.02	2.23	2.12	1.56	1.74	1.65	1.79	1.98	0-4	SES
	6	1.78	1.91	1.91	1.91	1.54	1.78	1.66	1.72	1.84		
	8	1.37	1.37	1.57	1.47	1.21	1.32	1.26	1.29	1.45		
	Total				1.83			1.52	1.60	1.76		
Other Authority	4	3.62	3.49	4.07	3.78	3.42	3.48	3.45	3.46	3.78	0-7	Sex
	6	3.79	3.35	3.80	3.58	3.63	4.38	4.00	3.49	4.09		
	8	3.41	3.08	3.36	3.22	3.38	3.80	3.59	3.23	3.58		
	Total				3.53			3.68	3.39	3.82		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives: 1. "I would tell (figure) he (she, they) was (were) unfair," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government). 2. "I would tell (figure) not to do it again," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government). 3. "I would show (figure) my anger," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government). 4. "I would tell other teachers or the principal (or other policeman) that this teacher (or this policeman) was unfair," for teacher and other authority (policeman).

TABLE 3-48

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "TALK TO PEERS" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	SEX TOTAL	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	2.19	2.47	2.51	2.49	2.09	1.70	1.89	2.28	2.10	0-4	SES
	6	1.75	2.14	2.45	2.30	1.13	1.30	1.21	1.63	1.88		Grade (lin.)
	8	1.23	1.41	1.81	1.61	.98	.74	.86	1.19	1.27		
	Total				2.13			1.32	1.70	1.75		
Teacher	4	1.04	1.06	1.27	1.16	.93	.90	.91	.99	1.08	0-2	SES
	6	.87	.98	1.12	1.05	.66	.70	.68	.82	.91		Grade (lin.)
	8	.68	.65	.77	.71	.81	.48	.65	.73	.62		
	Total				.97			.75	.85	.87		
Other Authority	4	2.16	2.25	2.55	2.40	1.81	2.02	1.91	2.03	2.29	0-4	Sex
	6	1.92	1.79	2.21	2.00	1.64	2.04	1.84	1.72	2.12		
	8	1.93	1.57	2.38	1.98	2.11	1.66	1.89	1.84	2.02		
	Total				2.13			1.88	1.86	2.14		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it," and "I would talk to my friends about it," for parents (mother, father), teacher, and other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 3-49

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	SEX TOTAL	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	1.16	1.29	1.29	1.29	1.12	.92	1.02	1.21	1.10	0-2	SES
	6	1.01	1.28	1.27	1.27	.70	.80	.75	.99	1.03		Grade,(lin.)
	8	.71	.80	1.19	.99	.43	.40	.42	.61	.80		
	Total				1.19			.73	.94	.98		
Teacher	4	.54	.63	.60	.61	.47	.46	.47	.55	.53	0-1	SES
	6	.49	.54	.53	.53	.46	.42	.44	.50	.47		Grade,(lin.)
	8	.34	.24	.49	.37	.36	.26	.31	.30	.37		
	Total				.51			.41	.45	.46		
Other Authority	4	1.09	1.08	1.27	1.17	1.00	1.02	1.01	1.04	1.14	0-2	Sex
	6	1.20	1.04	1.31	1.17	1.11	1.34	1.22	1.07	1.32		
	8	1.10	.96	1.26	1.11	1.08	1.10	1.09	1.02	1.18		
	Total				1.15			1.11	1.04	1.21		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative: "I would ask my mother (father) or other adult relatives to stop him (her) from doing it again," for parents (father, mother), and "I would ask my parents or other adult relatives to talk to (figure)," for teacher and other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 3-50

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "GET EVEN" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.79	.94	.96	.95	.63	.62	.63	.79	.79	0-2	Sex, SES
	6	.36	.49	.61	.55	.14	.20	.17	.32	.40		Grade(lin.)
	8	.28	.31	.45	.38	.06	.32	.19	.18	.38		
	Total				.63			.33	.43	.53		
Teacher	4	.32	.33	.45	.39	.26	.24	.25	.30	.34	0-1	SES
	6	.18	.26	.25	.26	.07	.12	.10	.17	.18		Grade(lin.)
	8	.08	.08	.17	.13	.00	.08	.04	.04	.13		
	Total				.26			.13	.17	.22		
Other Authority	4	.72	.73	.98	.85	.60	.58	.59	.66	.78	0-2	SES,
	6	.36	.40	.51	.45	.21	.32	.27	.31	.41		Grade(lin.)
	8	.22	.22	.30	.26	.17	.20	.18	.20	.25		
	Total				.52			.35	.39	.48		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative, "I would get even with or get back at (figure)," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 3-51

INTERCORRELATIONS OF FREQUENCIES OF ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE BY PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

CATEGORIES OF RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS											
	PARENTS						TEACHER					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT		GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
DO NOTHING												
Teacher	.70*	0.	.12	.21*	.83*	.07						
Other Authority	.37*	.12	.37*	.14	.39*	-.07	.32*	0.	.27*	.43*	.47*	-.04
ASK WHY												
Teacher	.63*	.39*	.36*	.36*	.52*	.39*						
Other Authority	.59*	.27*	.47*	.31*	.33*	.29*	.48*	.34*	.45*	.54*	.33*	.32*
VERBAL RESPONSES												
Teacher	.75*	.65*	.64*	.52*	.63*	.54*						
Other Authority	.70*	.67*	.57*	.41*	.54*	.28*	.67*	.68*	.62*	.49*	.51*	.44*
TALK TO PEERS												
Teacher	.80*	.71*	.65*	.69*	.49*	.53*						
Other Authority	.75*	.69*	.59*	.49*	.49*	.61*	.76*	.64*	.67*	.64*	.64*	.61*
ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE												
Teacher	.67*	.38*	.31*	.42*	.17	.49*						
Other Authority	.49*	.44*	.28*	.35*	.23*	.41*	.57*	.38*	.54*	.36*	.42*	.47*
GET EVEN												
Teacher	.63*	.51*	.71*	.49*	.57*	.63*						
Other Authority	.71*	.65*	.63*	.49*	.61*	.43*	.63*	.60*	.57*	.60*	.47*	.27*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 3-52

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY FIGURES AND THEIR CHOICES OF METHODS OF FACING AUTHORITY FIGURES' INJUSTICES, ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(INDIA)

FEATURES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE						TOTAL NUMBER OF CORREL.	
	DO NOTHING	ASK WHY	VERBAL RESPONSES	TALK TO PEERS	ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE	GET EVEN	SIGNIF.	POSSIBLE
Willing to Help	5	3*/1	2*	2*/2	3*/1	2*/4	12*/13	324
Likable		5*	2*/3	3	1*/2	1*/1	9*/9	324
Rules Fair	1	2*		1*	1*	1*/3	5*/4	324
Guilt	1*	4*	1	4		2	5*/7	324
Power to Punish	3*/3	1	3	1*/4	2*/2	1*/4	7*/17	324
Inevit. of Punishment	1*/2	3*/1	1*/3	5*	3*/1	1*	14*/7	324
Total Signif. Correl.	5*/11	17*/3	5*/10	9*/13	10*/6	6*/14		
Total Possible Correl.	324	324	324	324	324	324		

Note. Number of possible correlations for each cell comprises 54 coefficients computed for three groupings of authority figures (parents, teacher, other authority) across six sampling divisions (two sex groups by three grade levels) (3X3X6).
*Indicates positive relationship.

TABLE 3-53

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CATEGORIES OF RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
DO NOTHING									
Parents	4	.18	-.01	.18	-.02	-.10	.18	-.12	.09
	6	-.11	-.09	-.01	-.04	.01	-.02	-.00	-.05
	8	.18	-.08	.14	-.04	-.09	.06	-.15	.00
Teacher	4	-.03	0.	-.03	0.	-.07	0.	-.09	0.
	6	-.03	.16	.02	.09	-.06	.00	-.10	-.05
	8	.25*	-.05	.20*	-.08	-.07	.02	-.09	-.06
Other Authority	4	.18	.01	.18	.01	-.10	.15	-.13	.18
	6	-.06	-.03	-.03	-.02	-.02	-.01	.02	-.04
	8	.27*	-.01	.11	.08	-.11	-.06	-.16	.04
ASK WHY									
Parents	4	.03	.06	.03	.05	.17	.00	.22*	.00
	6	.13	.01	.04	-.02	-.04	.03	-.10	.04
	8	-.13	.03	-.06	.05	-.01	.01	.03	.01
Teacher	4	-.00	-.01	-.00	-.00	.08	-.09	.18	-.07
	6	.07	-.07	-.02	-.02	.05	-.14	.06	-.08
	8	-.02	.15	.06	.14	-.03	.00	-.03	.13
Other Authority	4	.07	.06	.02	.11	.04	-.13	.09	-.11
	6	-.05	-.12	-.02	-.05	-.04	-.08	-.03	.02
	8	-.15	.01	-.09	-.04	-.06	.00	.03	.05
VERBAL RESPONSES									
Parents	4	.04	.03	-.03	-.00	.15	-.04	.24*	-.13
	6	-.13	-.04	-.16	.03	.06	.05	.13	.11
	8	-.27*	.10	-.22*	-.06	.20*	.12	.20*	.07
Teacher	4	-.02	-.03	-.08	-.09	.13	-.02	.25*	-.10
	6	-.03	-.12	-.12	-.05	.07	.10	.05	.16
	8	-.31*	.05	-.23*	-.13	.30*	.02	.27*	-.01
Other Authority	4	.07	.02	.04	-.04	.24*	.00	.26*	-.12
	6	-.08	.00	-.10	.04	-.03	-.02	-.04	-.01
	8	-.15	-.02	-.12	-.01	.15	.05	.12	.00

TABLE 3-53 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS
TALK TO PEERS									
Parents	4	-.06	.03	-.14	.08	.13	-.02	.20*	.03
	6	-.10	.08	-.16	.09	.09	.06	.13	.10
	8	-.19*	.36*	-.10	.26*	.26*	-.06	.23*	.06
Teacher	4	-.03	.03	-.13	.03	.14	-.02	.20*	-.05
	6	-.23*	-.05	-.30*	-.01	.10	.01	.10	.03
	8	-.15	.24*	-.01	.24*	.06	-.13	-.06	-.02
Other Authority	4	.02	.00	-.06	-.03	.17	-.07	.23*	-.07
	6	-.15	.00	-.14	.02	.11	.10	.06	.07
	8	-.07	.37*	-.10	.38*	.09	-.06	.01	.07
ASK PARENTS TO STOP OR TALK									
Parents	4	-.13	-.02	-.20*	-.01	-.02	-.11	.09	-.06
	6	.07	-.02	-.01	.01	.14	.06	.11	.11
	8	-.05	.25*	-.05	.09	.36*	-.09	.34*	-.00
Teacher	4	.14	.02	-.22*	.02	.00	-.06	.08	-.07
	6	-.18	-.12	-.16	-.09	.12	.15	.05	.17
	8	-.17	.12	-.19*	-.04	.11	-.12	.12	-.11
Other Authority	4	.11	-.02	.05	.00	.16	-.14	.20*	-.10
	6	-.23*	.10	-.21*	.09	.05	.12	.05	.10
	8	-.10	.26*	-.06	.22*	.21*	-.09	.16	.01
GET EVEN									
Parents	4	-.05	-.06	-.13	-.04	.13	-.04	.16	-.00
	6	-.13	.09	-.20*	.10	.18	.01	.18	.09
	8	-.16	.04	-.12	-.03	.19*	-.07	.20*	-.08
Teacher	4	-.02	-.04	-.05	-.02	.04	-.09	.06	-.08
	6	-.06	-.03	-.15	-.05	.03	.06	.02	.07
	8	-.17	-.00	-.10	-.02	.04	.01	.21*	-.02
Other Authority	4	.02	-.04	-.02	-.04	.19*	.00	.24*	-.06
	6	-.10	.01	-.15	.03	.12	-.06	.16	-.07
	8	-.08	-.03	-.09	-.03	.14	-.02	.08	-.08

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

B5. Involvement and Participation in Authority Systems

The ultimate objective of socialization is to prepare the child to actively participate in the adult society as an effective and responsible member of the system. In traditional societies children usually do not participate actively in authority systems. In the Indian society, with its traditional joint family system, participation of the child in decision-making activities is very limited, even within the family and school. Deference to elders in the family and to teachers in the school is still enforced quite rigidly. During the colonial period even adults could not participate in political activities.

However, the Indian society has changed a good deal since the days of struggle for national independence. During this period college students and younger pupils took active part in acts of defiance against the colonial government, and it was during this period that the young generation's involvement started in activities beyond the traditional ones at home and at school.

The extent to which children participate in the political system and in decision-making activities in the family and the classroom has been assessed through questionnaire items.

a. Participation in the Political System

Three aspects of children's involvement in the political system have been studied: their interest in political affairs, their sense of political efficacy, and their actual participation in political activities.

Political interest. The item cited in Table 3-54 was used to assess the extent to which children are interested in reading and discussing about the country's political problems and the people who run the country. Data show that, across all grades, ratings correspond to the scale level "much." There is no significant variation of these ratings by grade, sex, or SES.

Political efficacy. Children's feelings about the political efficacy of their families were assessed through two questionnaire items, responses to which were combined in one index score (see Table 3-55). Data show that while children rated their personal interest in political affairs as being quite high, they appeared to feel that their families' political efficacy was somewhat lower; across the

three grades, the index scores for political efficacy range from 4.07 to 3.32, i.e., they correspond to the scale levels "much" to "some."

Children's sense of their families' political efficacy declined significantly as they grew older. This decline may reflect the political apathy observed among adult citizens of India during the last 10 years. The analysis of variance showed no significant sex or SES differences. However, Table 3-55 shows that in the low SES group, girls across all grades are more optimistic than boys about the effectiveness of their families in influencing the management of affairs of the society; in the high SES group, girls, especially the older ones, are less optimistic than boys about their families' political efficacy. This sex by SES interaction is significant at P = .02.

Political activity. The four questions asked to determine the extent to which children participate in political activities are cited in Tables 3-56 and 3-57. The index of political activity was constructed by averaging children's positive responses to these four questions. No change by grade is apparent on the index for political activity (see Table 3-56). However, the analysis by item indicates that the frequency of reading about and discussing political issues with parents increased with grade, while the frequency of reported participation in other political activities, such as passing out leaflets, wearing badges, and marching in parades and demonstrations decreased sharply with age. Apparently, the two opposite age trends were confounded by averaging the frequency of positive responses in one index.

Responses to these items were influenced by children's social class background. The analysis of variance reveals a significant SES difference, with low status children appearing as more often involved in political activities than are high status children (see Table 3-56). However, no SES difference is apparent in the frequencies with which children reported reading and talking with parents about political matters (see Table 3-57). Sex did not appear to significantly affect participation in political activities.

Relationships between measures of political socialization and other variables of the study. Intercorrelations among the three measures of political socialization indicate no significant association between political activity and political interest; however, political activity did correlate positively and significantly with sense of political efficacy of the family for sixth and

eighth grade girls (but not boys). On the other hand, political interest was in significant positive association with sense of political efficacy of the family for all grade and sex groups (see Table 3-58).

The correlational matrices revealed that children's political socialization, as reflected in their political interest and their belief that adult citizens can influence the management of the affairs of society, is mainly a matter of acceptance of the norms of the system (see Table 3-59). The summary of significant correlations between political interest and sense of political efficacy, on the one side, and guilt over one's own transgressions of rules of authority figures, on the other, indicates that these variables were positively related for most sex and grade groups. Political interest was in less consistent (but still appreciable) positive association with perception of authority figures as helpful, likeable, and providing fair rules; the association between political interest, on the one side, and regard for the power of authority figures to punish and their consistency in punishing disobedience, on the other, was more often significant (and positive) for girls than for boys (see Table 3-59).

Sense of political efficacy, apart from its positive and strong association with guilt, was also in positive (but less often significant) association with perception of authority figures as helpful; on the other hand, regard for the punitive characteristics of authority figures was positively related to sense of political efficacy more often for girls than for boys (see Table 3-59).

The frequency with which Indian children participate in political activities did not appear to be in significant association with their images of authority figures.

Relationships between measures of political socialization and peer ratings of classroom behavior. These data are shown in Table 3-60. The number of significant correlations in this table is relatively small. However, there are some patterns worth commenting on. First, sense of political efficacy tends to be in positive association with peer ratings of noncompliant behavior in the classroom; the association is significant for sixth and eighth grade girls nominated for noncompliance with peers and the teacher and for eighth grade boys having a reputation of noncompliance with peers. Moreover, political activity tended to be in negative correspondence with peer nomination indices of compliant behavior; however, the negative association between political activity and a good reputation among peers was significant only for girls,

especially those at grade eight; at the same grade level, political activity correlated positively with boys' reputation of displaying cooperative behavior toward peers.

Although the total number of significant correlations between the two sets of variables is small, the above-mentioned sex differences may denote that in Indian society, political socialization of girls is impeded by traditional values and practices of child rearing which encourage them more than boys to be compliant and even submissive toward authority.

TABLE 3 - 54

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON POLITICAL INTEREST, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.63	4.72	4.32	4.47	4.56	5.34	4.84	4.69	4.59
SIX	4.84	4.79	4.76	4.77	4.96	4.9	4.94	4.88	4.81
EIGHT	4.95	4.83	5.06	4.93	4.96	4.96	4.96	4.91	5.01
TOTALS				4.71			4.91	4.82	4.79

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: NONE. ITEM: "HOW MUCH ARE YOU INTERESTED IN READING OR TALKING ABOUT OUR COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE WHO RUN IT?" FOR EXAMPLE, HOW MUCH DO YOU CARE ABOUT WHAT THEY DO AND HOW OUR COUNTRY IS RUN?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NOT AT ALL; 6 - VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 3 - 55

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON FEELINGS OF POLITICAL EFFICACY,
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.07	4.35	3.90	4.07	4.10	4.02	4.06	4.22	3.95
SIX	3.94	4.14	3.90	3.99	3.59	4.16	3.86	3.87	3.99
EIGHT	3.32	3.58	3.56	3.57	2.98	3.21	3.09	3.27	3.38
TOTALS				3.91			3.68	3.79	3.82

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "COULD YOUR FAMILY HAVE ANY PART IN WHAT HAPPENS IN OUR COUNTRY AND HOW IT IS RUN?"AND "DO THE PEOPLE WHO RUN OUR COUNTRY CARE WHAT YOUR FAMILY THINKS?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 3 - 56

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY,
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	2.46	2.55	2.66	2.62	2.40	2.10	2.26	2.47	2.45
SIX	2.50	2.88	2.62	2.71	2.20	2.18	2.19	2.54	2.47
EIGHT	2.30	2.57	2.38	2.48	2.13	2.14	2.14	2.34	2.26
TOTALS				2.62			2.20	2.46	2.41

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES. INDEX: NO. OF "YES" RESPONSES FOR 4 ITEMS: "I HAVE READ, TALKED, WORN A BUTTON, DONE OTHER THINGS." INDEX SCALE: 0 - 4.

TABLE 3-57

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES CITING VARIOUS TYPES OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (INDIA)

TYPES OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	BOYS	GIRLS
Read Newspapers	4	74	73	75	75	74
	6	86	86	86	84	88
	8	91	88	93	89	92
	Total		82	85	83	85
Talk with Parents	4	71	76	65	73	68
	6	72	70	74	72	73
	8	82	76	87	80	83
	Total		74	75	75	75
Political Activity	4	56	63	49	53	59
	6	45	65	26	41	49
	8	26	40	12	22	30
	Total		56	29	39	46
Advanced Political Activity	4	50	61	38	47	52
	6	46	58	35	47	45
	8	33	45	21	34	32
	Total		55	31	43	43

TABLE 3-58

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THREE MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
			Political Activity			
Political Interest	.04	.09	.15	.06	.16	.12
Political Efficacy	.14	.13	.32*	.01	.31*	.18
			Political Efficacy			
Political Interest	.60*	.38*	.41*	.24*	.44*	.30*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 3-59

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN THREE MEASURES OF POLICITAL SOCIALIZATION AND CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES BY SEX ACROSS ALL GRADES (INDIA)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Wants to Help									
Father		1	1						
Mother	1	1	2	1		1			
Teacher	2	1	3		1	1			
Prime Minister	3	0	3	2	1	3			
Policeman	1	1	2	1		1		1	1
Relig. Leader	1		1	1	3	4	1	2	3
Total Signif. Correl.	8	4	12	5	5	10	1	3	4
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36
Likable									
Father	2	1	3						
Mother	3	1	4						
Teacher	3	2	5	1		1			
Policeman	1	2	3	1		1	1	1	2
Prime Minister	1	1	2						
Total Signif. Correl.	10	7	17	2		2	1	1	2
Total Possible Correl.	15	15	30	15	15	30	15	15	30

TABLE 3-59 (CONTINUED)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Rules Fair									
Father									
Mother									
Teacher	2		2						
Government	1	1	2						
Policeman	1		1	1	1	2	2	1*	1*/2
City	2	1	3		1	1	1		1
Total Signif. Correl.	6	2	8	1	2	3	3	1*	1*/3
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36
Guilt									
Father	2	1	3	2	1	3			
Mother	2	2	4	2	2	4			
Teacher	2	2	4	2	3	5	1		1
Religion		1	1	1	2	3		1*	1*
Government	2	2	4	2	2	4			
City	2	1	3	2	2	4			
Policeman	2	2	4	3	3	6	1		1
Total Signif. Correl.	12	11	23	14	15	29	2	1*	1*/2
Total Possible Correl.	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42

TABLE 3-59 (CONTINUED)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Power to Punish									
Father	2		2	1		1			
Mother	1		1	1		1			
Teacher		1	1	1		1			
Policeman	1	1	2	1		1			
Prime Minister	1		1	3	2	5	1		1
Judge	1		1	1	1	2		1*	1*
Relig. Leader	1	1	2	2	2	4	1	1	2
Total Signif. Correl.	7	3	10	10	5	15	2	1*/1	1*/3
Total Possible Correl.	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42
Inevitability of Punishment									
Father	2	1	3	1		1		1	1
Mother	1		1	1		1			
Teacher	2	1	3	1		1		1	1
City	2		2	1	1	2			
Government	1		1	2		2			
Policeman	2		2	1		1			
Total Signif. Correl.	10	2	12	7	1	8		2	2
Total Possible Correl.	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42

Note. * Indicates negative relationship.

TABLE 3-60

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

MEASURES OF SOCIALIZATION	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Political Efficacy	4	.12	.03	.16	.10	.08	.02	.09	.02
	6	-.04	-.04	-.13	-.04	.33*	-.03	.33*	.01
	8	-.05	.08	.11	.03	.19*	.36*	.23*	.15
Political Interest	4	.18	-.09	.16	-.04	.03	-.24*	.04	-.22*
	6	.18	.03	.13	.02	.13	.03	.09	.02
	8	.08	-.05	.12	-.12	-.09	-.00	-.10	-.08
Political Activity	4	-.10	.10	-.11	.12	.15	.02	.19*	-.02
	6	.13	-.01	.08	-.01	.08	.07	.16	.15
	8	-.20*	.20*	-.23*	.13	.18	.01	.18	.10

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Participation in Family and Classroom Decision-Making

The questionnaire items used to investigate children's feelings about the extent to which they participate in decision-making activities of their family and classroom groups are cited in Tables 3-61 and 3-62. Data from these two parallel questions suggest that across all grades children felt their personal efficacy in the two social systems is approximately the same; their responses correspond to the scale level "usually," a quite optimistic response.

None of the sampling variables affected responses referring to participation in classroom decision-making (see Table 3-62). However, responses to the question regarding personal efficacy at home were affected by a significant interaction of SES with grade; at grade four, high status children were more optimistic than their low status agemates in estimating the extent to which they are able to influence family decisions; however, with age, the SES trend reverses itself and at grade eight low status children appeared to feel more efficacious within their families than their high status counterparts. The sex of children did not significantly affect their responses (see Table 3-61).

Correlates of the child's sense of participation in decision-making processes in the family and the classroom. As could be expected, the two measures of children's feelings about their personal efficacy in the family and the classroom were positively and significantly interrelated for all grade and sex groups (see Table 3-63). Correlational data were also inspected with the aim to determine the extent to which participation of the child in family and school decision-making activities influences his interest in and actual involvement with the functioning of the political system of the country. Data show that both these measures of political socialization (political interest and activity) are positively related with the child's sense of personal efficacy in decision-making processes within his family and school. Not all of the correlation coefficients among thsse variables were significant, however; nor are there clear indications that participation in family decision-making activities is in more or less consistent positive correspondence with any of the measures of political socialization than is participation in classroom decision-making.

Relationships between sense of personal efficacy in decision-making in the family and the classroom and peer ratings of classroom behavior. Data shown in Table 3-64 do not provide any basis to argue that the child's sense of personal effectiveness in the family and the classroom influences his behavior toward peers and teacher.

TABLE 3-61

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING IN THE HOME BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTAL BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	5.02	5.13	4.48	4.81	5.25	5.24	5.24	5.19	4.86
Six	4.74	5.00	5.16	5.08	4.25	4.56	4.40	4.63	4.86
Eight	4.45	4.19	4.90	4.55	4.42	4.26	4.34	4.31	4.58
Totals				4.81			4.66	4.71	4.77

Note. Significant Effects: SES by grade. Item: "How often do you help make the decisions in your family?" Item scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 3-62

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING IN THE CLASSROOM, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTAL BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	4.95	5.08	4.64	4.81	5.16	5.08	5.13	5.13	4.81
Six	4.92	5.17	4.95	5.03	4.60	4.96	4.77	4.88	4.95
Eight	4.69	4.72	4.58	4.65	4.80	4.64	4.72	4.77	4.61
Totals				4.86			4.87	4.93	4.81

Note. Significant Effects: None. Item: "How often do you help make the decisions in your classroom?" Item Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 3-63

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG VARIOUS MEASURES OF INVOLVEMENT IN AUTHORITY SYSTEMS, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (INDIA)

MEASURES OF PARTICIPATION IN AUTHORITY SYSTEMS	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
			Family Decision-Making			
Classroom Decision-Making	.46*	.49*	.47*	.38*	.45*	.38*
Political Efficacy	.12	.15	.23*	.14	.06	.04
Political Interest	.20*	.22*	.24*	.09	.15	.16
Political Activity	.15	.15	.37*	.07	.05	.21*
			Classroom Decision-Making			
Political Efficacy	.21*	.15	.17	.11	.12	.25*
Political Interest	.10	.20	.23*	.14	.08	.40*
Political Activity	.09	.05	.25*	.08	.25*	.13

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 3-64

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SENSE OF PARTICIPATION IN FAMILY AND CLASSROOM DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE, AND SEX GROUPS
(INDIA)

SENSE OF PERSONAL PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
In the Family	4	.09	.00	.07	.03	.09	.07	.08	.03
	6	.17	.11	.00	.10	.00	.06	-.05	.09
	8	-.00	.25*	-.05	.13	.13	.09	.10	.04
In the Classroom	4	.12	.18	.10	.16	.12	.01	.13	-.01
	6	.16	.05	.02	.02	-.04	.05	-.06	.08
	8	-.00	.07	.03	-.03	.14	.13	.11	.17

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

C. Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classeoom

The impact of the child's conception of the authority system upon his overt behavior was one of the major questions that this study attempted to clarify. Measures of children's behavior were obtained through a sociometric technique, the Peer Nomination Inventory (PNI), which was developed to provide scores of compliant and noncompliant behavior in the classroom toward peers and teacher. Indications about the association between children's images of and attitudes toward authority figures and scores of their compliant and noncompliant behavior in the classroom were obtained by computing correlation coefficients between the two series of variables.

In this section, the Indian children's scores of compliant and noncompliant behavior in the classroom are compared by grade, social status, and sex. The items comprising the four PNI set scores, i.e., peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher positive (i.e., compliant) behavior, and peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher negative (i.e., noncompliant) behavior are listed in Appendix 11. The summaries of peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher positive and negative scores yielded the total positive and total negative scores. The procedures followed in collecting, processing, and analyzing the PNI data are described in Part A of this report (see chapter on Method).

C1. Compliance and Noncompliance in the Classroom

Indian children received across all grades substantially higher scores for positive (compliant) behavior than for negative (noncompliant) behavior (see Tables 3-65 and 3-66). Across all grades, compliant behavior appeared to be displayed in equal amounts toward peers and the teacher; noncompliant behavior was somewhat more often directed toward the teacher than toward peers (see Tables 3-65 and 3-66).

Sampling factors had significant effects on scores for compliant behavior but not on scores for noncompliant behavior. The total score for compliant behavior was affected by a significant interaction of sex with grade; at grades four and six, girls received more nominations than boys for compliant behavior; at grade eight the sex difference reversed direction and girls received substantially fewer nominations than boys for compliant behavior. Viewed in another way, the data show that although

nominations for compliant behavior increased with age for both sex groups, the rate of increase differed by sex; boys not only started at grade four with a score lower than that of girls, but also followed a pattern of curvilinear progression showing almost no change between grades four and six but a dramatic increase of positive nominations at grade eight; by contrast, girls started at grade four with a score quite higher than that of boys but the increase with grade of the positive nominations they received was linear and moderate in magnitude.

Inspection of the two set scores for compliant behavior toward peers vs. toward the teacher indicates that the above-described sex by grade interaction was apparent on both. However, with respect to the peer-to-peer positive scores, the main grade effect was higher in magnitude than the sex by grade interaction effect.*

Relationships among PNI set scores. Correlations among the three positive scores as well as among the three negative scores (i.e., total, peer-to-peer, and peer-to-teacher) were all positive and highly significant for all sampling groups (see Tables 3-67 and 3-68). The finding indicates that both compliant and noncompliant behavior tended to be generalized across figures; that is, children who were seen as fair, friendly, helpful, and getting along well with their classmates were highly likely to be also seen as obedient and obliging toward the teacher, working hard and seldom being scolded by the teacher, and vice versa; similarly, children having a reputation for noncompliance with the teacher were highly likely to be seen as noncompliant with their peers as well.

However, contrary to expectation, a substantial number of correlation coefficients between scores for compliant and noncompliant behavior were positive (35 out of a total of 108; see Table 3-69). The finding indicates that the likelihood that children being pointed out by their peers for compliant behavior would not also be nominated for noncompliant behavior was limited. Moreover, 17 of the 35 positive correlations in Table 3-69 were significant at $P = .05$, while 15 of the 73 negative correlations were significant at the same P level. The former concerned only high status boys at grades six and eight; the latter were equally distributed among girls from both SES groups and were more frequent at grade eight than at grades four

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*The rationale and the criteria followed in selecting variations in the data by sampling divisions are explained in Part A of this volume (see chapter on Method).

and six. The finding suggests that with age girls of both SES groups were very likely to display consistent behavior in the classroom (i.e., compliant or noncompliant) and/or be perceived and rated by their peers in a consistent, reliable way. By contrast, boys of both SES groups (but especially those of high SES) were highly likely to elicit from their peers conflicting nominations indicating inconsistent or unpredictable behavior in terms of its quality (compliant vs. noncompliant). The reasons for these differences are not immediately apparent.

TABLE 3-65

COMPARISON OF GRADES, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX ON SCORES FOR COMPLIANT BEHAVIOR (INDIA)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTALS BY SEX TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Total	4	14.35	13.37	14.27	13.82	19.88	9.88	14.88	16.62	12.07	Sex by Grade
	6	16.21	19.35	15.93	17.64	17.96	11.60	14.78	18.66	13.76	
	8	23.92	20.71	33.28	27.00	18.34	23.36	20.85	19.53	28.32	
	Total				19.48			16.84	18.27	18.05	
Peer-to-Peer	4	14.81	14.92	14.34	14.63	20.05	9.94	15.00	17.49	12.14	Grade (lin.)
	6	15.88	20.05	17.59	18.82	13.73	12.16	12.95	16.89	14.87	
	8	23.70	20.27	33.49	26.88	19.79	21.26	20.53	20.03	27.37	
	Total				20.11			16.16	18.14	18.13	
Peer-to-Teacher	4	13.87	11.82	14.08	12.95	19.68	9.88	14.78	15.75	11.98	Sex by Grade
	6	16.44	18.60	14.16	16.38	22.23	10.76	16.50	20.41	12.46	
	8	24.11	20.96	33.19	27.08	16.74	25.56	21.15	18.85	29.38	
	Total				18.80			17.48	18.34	17.94	

TABLE 3-66

COMPARISON OF GRADES, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX ON SCORES FOR NONCOMPLIANT BEHAVIOR (INDIA)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTALS BY SEX TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Total	4	10.06	7.90	11.52	9.71	11.40	9.42	10.41	9.65	10.47	None
	6	8.92	9.95	10.51	10.23	7.80	7.44	7.62	8.88	8.97	
	8	10.80	11.78	11.43	11.60	8.62	11.36	9.99	10.20	11.39	
	Total				10.51			9.34	9.58	10.28	
Peer-to-Peer	4	9.07	6.45	10.78	8.62	10.98	8.08	9.53	8.72	9.43	None
	6	8.52	8.93	10.05	9.49	7.34	7.76	7.55	8.13	8.91	
	8	9.40	10.37	11.15	10.76	7.08	9.00	8.04	8.72	10.07	
	Total				9.62			8.37	8.52	9.47	
Peer-to-Teacher	4	10.97	9.10	12.22	10.66	11.89	10.66	11.28	10.50	11.44	None
	6	9.29	10.89	11.06	10.98	8.16	7.04	7.60	9.53	9.05	
	8	12.23	13.16	11.98	12.57	10.06	13.74	11.90	11.61	12.86	
	Total				11.40			10.26	10.54	11.12	

TABLE 3-67

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMONG RATINGS OF POSITIVE BEHAVIOR
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

PNI SCORES			TOTAL POSITIVE				PEER TO TEACHER POSITIVE			
SEX			GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES		GRADE	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer to peer positive		4	.99	.99	.96	.98	.94	.95	.87	.93
		6	.98	.92	.97	.95	.93	.76	.90	.83
		8	.98	.93	.92	.95	.91	.66	.77	.87
Peer to teacher positive		4	.98	.99	.97	.98				
		6	.98	.95	.98	.96				
		8	.97	.88	.95	.98				

TABLE 3-68

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMONG RATINGS OF NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

PNI SCORES			TOTAL POSITIVE				PEER TO TEACHER POSITIVE			
SEX			GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES		GRADE	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer-to-peer negative		4	.97	.98	.95	.86	.88	.91	.80	.59
		6	.94	.97	.95	.97	.81	.90	.84	.92
		8	.93	.94	.95	.95	.75	.80	.82	.82
Peer-to-peer negative		4	.97	.98	.95	.91				
		6	.96	.98	.96	.98				
		8	.94	.96	.96	.95				

TABLE 3-69

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN RATINGS OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(INDIA)

PNI SCORES / SEX / SES	GRADE	PEER TO PEER NEGATIVE				PEER TO TEACHER NEGATIVE				TOTAL NEGATIVE			
		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
		LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer to Peer Positive	4	-.18	-.22	.10	-.14	-.25	-.28	.13	-.19	-.23	-.25	.12	-.18
	6	-.08	-.16	.05	.32	-.24	-.19	.05	.24	-.17	-.17	.00	.28
	8	-.36	-.30	-.10	.30	-.47	-.29	-.15	.39	-.44	-.31	-.14	.36
Peer to Teacher Positive	4	-.15	-.15	.04	-.03	-.18	-.26	.05	-.05	-.17	-.21	.05	-.05
	6	-.01	.06	.07	.27	.19	.07	-.03	.30	-.12	.08	-.02	.29
	8	-.25	-.19	.03	-.39	-.35	-.24	.07	.51	-.31	-.23	-.05	.46
Total Positive	4	-.17	-.18	.07	-.08	-.21	-.27	.09	-.12	-.20	-.23	.09	-.12
	6	-.04	-.04	.06	.31	-.21	-.04	-.04	.28	-.14	-.03	.01	.30
	8	-.31	-.27	-.07	.36	-.42	-.30	-.11	.48	-.39	-.30	-.10	.43

FINAL REPORT

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AUTHORITY, RULES, AND AGGRESSION

A CROSS-NATIONAL STUDY

OF THE SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN INTO COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS

4. ITALIAN DATA

MARCELLO CESA-BIANCHI
University of Milan

ANNA MALLARDI CORBASCIO
University of Milan

PALMA BREGANI
University of Milan

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A. Introduction

The problem of authority is to be seen on the basis of presumably highly variable factors and conditions in Italian society. This variability can be considered as related to the considerable historical, economic, and cultural differences which characterize several regions of the country, and which have favored the development of widely differing macro- and micro-structures. Even a summary examination of the factors and conditions which exercise an influence on the situations in different regions would call for a treatment of political and economic history far beyond the scope of this volume. It must suffice here to emphasize that a study carried out in a particular geographical area in Italy cannot be generalized to cover the rest of the country.

The area around Milan, in which this research was carried out, is the most industrialized area in Italy, reaching high social and economic levels, and receiving considerable numbers of immigrants from the southern and eastern parts of the country. In this area, the arrival of people from underdeveloped agricultural areas is particularly common, and the process of assimilation of such groups into the existing population is continuous. Milan is usually considered to be the most "European" of Italian cities because its geographical position allows more contacts with central, northern, and eastern Europe than any other city in Italy. It is a city which, though facing the future, is still weighed down by the problems of the past. Its population is desirous of realizing more advanced solutions, but it is forced to accept difficulties connected with present-day survival. This is due to factors of two historically and socially contrasting kinds--the elementary needs of the underdeveloped regions of Italy, and the advanced social outlook of more advanced European countries. This kind of conflict, aggravated by the very limited autonomy which the rigid structures of the State allow to local authorities, is reflected at all levels of society; in the family, where equality between man and woman and recognition of the rights of children are still held up by the remains of a pyramidal authoritarian structure; in the school, where the introduction of the ideas and methods of modern psychology and teaching is obstructed by a still largely aristocratic and conservative organization; in society at large, in which the stimulus to overcome serious economic inequalities and to encourage responsibility and active participation of people at all levels is obstructed by the continued

existence of an inefficient administrative system and by the inadequate solution of the problem of giving basic education to everybody.

One of the main concerns of our inquiry was that it might be possible to reveal the discords and contradictions which are characteristic of Milanese society as expressed through the attitude toward authority of the children in our research group. It was felt, in other words, that in this way it might be possible to study both the hindrances caused by the persistence of anachronistic systems and the thrust toward new solutions observable in a modern industrial society.

Given the close mingling of the two kinds of influence, we wondered whether values and opinions regarding the past could be due to the influence of the family and, in part, of the school on the child, while those which reveal attitudes to the future could be the fruit of tendencies diffused by the children themselves. In other words, the conflict between two generations might be partly delineated in the children's attitude toward authority. One of the fundamental themes discussed by the student movement in the high schools and universities of Milan during the spring and summer of 1968 was the repudiation of authoritarianism, together with the affirmation of collective responsibility for the decisions of the society in which the young are asking to take part, and of the right to self-determination when making personal choices. It would be interesting to establish whether this rejection and these affirmations are germinally present in younger children, or if, on the contrary, the basic attitudes of the young are determined up to adolescence by the social structure under which they live and by the education they receive.

Within this framework, the problem of understanding the influence on the subjects' attitudes of factors such as sex, age, and social and economic levels, both separately and as they interact with one another, was considered.

Examination of the results obtained from our subjects and in particular the analysis of statistically significant differences between subdivisions of our research group on the various groups of data proposes a series of questions requiring answers, such as to constitute a logically structured series of observations. To clarify, this system will carry out two main operations: (1) check the agreement of certain results with the hypotheses formulated on the basis of psychological or social and political research; (2) formulate new hypotheses for the

results which do not show such agreement. These operations will naturally have to be carried out taking into account the comparison between the results obtained from the Milan research group and those from the other national research groups and the operations carried out by the cross-national research workers.

In this sense and within these limits, our research attempts to contribute to the knowledge of a problem which is particularly complex in Milanese society. We feel that this methodological attitude is the most suitable in the context of a cross-national project which is facing, with new methods, one of the less studied but most up-to-the-moment problems in the psychology of human development.

B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System

B1. Images of Authority Figures

a. Affective Attachment

The child's image of authority figures and his attitudes toward them develop gradually from the first object-relations established quite early in infancy. Early affectional ties to parents and identification with them are generally considered to be the core from which attachment to other authority figures develops and social responses are learned.

The degree of affective attachment of children to authority figures was inferred from children's responses to items in the questionnaire which dealt with the willingness to help of these figures and the children's personal liking for them. The willingness to help item included ratings of mother, father, teacher, religious leader, President, policeman, and friends. The personal liking item included ratings of mother, father, teacher, President, and policeman.

In the analysis of variance, mother and father ratings were combined into a single "parents" variable. Similarly, policeman, President, and religious leader were combined into a single "other authority" variable; teacher and friends, because of their particular roles, were analyzed separately. This criterion provided an overall test of significance on the principal independent variables (grade, social status, and sex) for family and non-family figure groupings. However, mean ratings of each figure were examined individually to estimate his place and weight within the grouping.

A comparison of grade means across figures between these two items (willingness to help and personal liking) shows that children's ratings on the personal liking scale range much wider (from very positive statements towards parents to almost negative ones towards policemen) than on the willingness to help scale, where ratings are quite high and grouped together (see Figures 4-1 and 4-2). There is, however, a general tendency for ratings to decrease with age on both items. The marked difference in range of ratings between the two items suggests that children's expectations with respect to the helpfulness of non-parental figures is considerably higher than

their degree of liking for them. The general decrease with age could be attributed to an increasing need for autonomy while the fact that the decrease for non-parental figures is much more marked on both items could be explained as a decrease in generalization of attitudes towards parents to other authority figures.

The number of significant correlations between the two items indicates a fairly good degree of association between the degree of attachment to and the perceived helpfulness of authority figures. This finding is particularly true for non-family figures, while children's love for mother is not necessarily associated with her willingness to help (see Table 4-1).

At grade four parental figures rank very high and close together on the personal liking item, while non-family figures are scattered along the scale with the teacher occupying an intermediate position between parents on one side and President and policeman on the other (see Figure 4-1). Attachment to the teacher more than to any other figure decreases rapidly with age until at grade eight it groups together with President and policeman.

The high degree of attachment to the teacher shown by children at grade four and the subsequent rapid drop with age can readily be explained by the teacher's position in the Italian school system. Grammar school children are taught by a single teacher, often the same from first to fifth grade. Government regulations also provide that girls be taught by female teachers and boys (from third grade on) by male teachers. Thus, the fourth grade child has had the opportunity to develop a great deal of attachment to and even sex role identification with the teacher. At the sixth grade level children enter into the scuola media system where they are taught by several teachers, most of them female who often rotate from year to year. Consequently, the relationship with the teacher changes radically and affectional ties weaken.

The decrease with age of personal liking is significant and clear-cut, for all non-family figures, while there is an interaction between age and sex on degree of liking for parents (see Tables 4-2 through 4-4). Inspection of the means shows that girls' ratings decrease with age, especially from sixth to eighth grade. On the other hand, boys' ratings remain fairly stable, actually slightly decreasing for father while increasing for mother. Moreover, mother and father ratings decrease primarily from sixth to eighth grade, whereas teacher,

President, and policeman ratings decrease primarily from the fourth to the sixth grade.

The degree of personal liking for parents is higher in children of high SES (see Table 4-2). The difference appears especially at the fourth and sixth grade levels. At the eighth grade, the ratings of high SES children drop to the level of those of low SES children. There is no evidence of significant SES or sex differences on the degree of personal liking for non-family figures (see Tables 4-3 and 4-4). There is, however, a tendency for high SES children to start with higher ratings and often end up with lower ones than children of low SES. However, the low SES children's ratings of the President were slightly but consistently higher;* moreover, the drop in the ratings of high SES children is greatest from sixth to eighth grade, whereas in the ratings of low SES children the drop is greatest from fourth to sixth grade (see Table 4-5). The same trends are observed in ratings of girls vs. boys and might indicate that high SES children and girls, being "nurtured" longer by parents, delay their process toward autonomy and critical attitudes toward figures outside the family.

As already noted, mean ratings across non-family figures on the willingness to help item are much higher than on the personal liking item, and at the fourth grade level there is little differentiation between family and non-family figures (see Figure 4-2). The religious leader receives a slightly higher rating than either the mother or father. The teacher, President, policeman, and friends are also quite high and close together. However, by the eighth grade level, ratings of the helpfulness of all non-family figures, with the exception of friends have decreased significantly, and the drop for each figure is propostionate to the drop that occurs for the same figures on the personal liking scale. Thus the President and the teacher drop more than the policeman. The combined mean ratings of father and mother remain stable with age, but the individual mean ratings show that from sixth to eighth grade the father's willingness to help decreases considerably.

SES differences are significant for all figures except teacher, with children of high SES giving higher ratings than children of low SES. (For father, the low

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*The Italian President happens to be a socialist and most high SES children come from families that disapprove of him.

status children's means at grades four, six, and eight were 5.29, 5.23, and 4.84, respectively; the corresponding means for high status children were 5.41, 5.59, and 5.26. For mother, the low SES children's means at grades four, six, and eight were 5.12, 4.84, and 5.01, respectively: the corresponding means for high SES children were 5.35, 5.39, and 5.45. The index scores combining responses to President, policeman, and religious leader were 4.76, 4.34, and 4.14 for low status children at grades four, six, and eight, respectively; the corresponding scores for high status children were 4.84, 4.79, and 4.48.) Inspection of the individual means shows that the difference is actually more evident for the religious leader and policeman than for the President, whose ratings are highly similar in both groups (see Tables 4-6 through 4-8). This finding is in line with the higher rating given to the President on the personal liking scale by low SES children.

There is a general tendency for girls to give higher ratings to non-family figures. This difference is significant for the President, policeman, and religious leader (see Tables 4-6 through 4-8). Toward the teacher, the means of girls start at a lower level than those of boys and drop less with age. (For the teacher, the girls' means were 4.89, 4.58, and 4.07 at grades four, six, and eight, respectively; the corresponding means of boys were 5.21, 3.92, and 4.00.)

The findings show that children's expectations regarding the mother's helpfulness do not change with age, while their regard for the father's and non-family figures' helpfulness declines with age. However, the ratings remain positive in the "usually" category for all figures except the President, who falls somewhat lower, indicating that the general decrease may essentially be due to a more discriminative, less generalized perception of the different social roles of the various figures.

The ratings of teacher's and President's helpfulness drop more than any other figure's from the fourth to the sixth grade, probably for different reasons. Children may realize with age that the President is a remote source of help. Their lowered regard for the teacher's helpfulness parallels the decrease in their liking for him; the finding may be attributed to the circumstances already mentioned.

The higher ratings given to all figures except the teacher by children of high SES could reflect the fact

that they grow up in a more favorable and protective environment than do low SES children. Parents of high SES children rate higher also on the personal liking scale, indicating that they have more nurturing attitudes which eventually influence positively the child's perception of other authority figures outside the home.

The teacher figure is probably less affected by generalization because children have daily personal rapport with him and have, therefore, the opportunity to base their perception on real experience. Furthermore, in our culture the teacher enjoys far more prestige among lower class than among upper class families. Consequently, low SES children might develop a more positive perception of the teacher. Girls' higher ratings of the religious leader, President, and policeman could also reflect the more protective attitudes towards girls in our society.

Relationship between attachment to figures and classroom behavior. The relationship between affective attachment to authority figures and classroom behavior presents somewhat different patterns for boys and girls (see Table 4-9). Boys' compliance with teachers is associated with their liking of the teacher at all three grade levels and with their liking of parents at the fourth grade level. Their positive attitudes toward peers are correlated only with their liking of parents. Girls' compliance with the teacher is associated with their liking of the teacher only, while their positive behavior towards peers is associated at the sixth grade level with their attachment to the father as well as to the teacher and President.

It can be inferred that as far as boys are concerned, their acceptance of classroom rules as well as their reputation among peers is associated with the degree of their acceptance of and love for parental figures. Girls, on the other hand, show their behavior toward the teacher to be rather independent from affection for parents, while their behavior toward peers is related to a generally favorable inclination toward authority figures both inside and outside the family circle.

At the eighth grade level classroom behavior is also positively correlated with the teacher's willingness to help (see Table 4-10). The finding is of interest in that it shows that with increase in age, compliance with the teacher is associated with a critical evaluation of his or her capacity of interacting positively with the child in the teaching process.

Summary. Children show a good deal of affective attachment towards the authority figures that varies remarkably with age and the role of the figures involved.

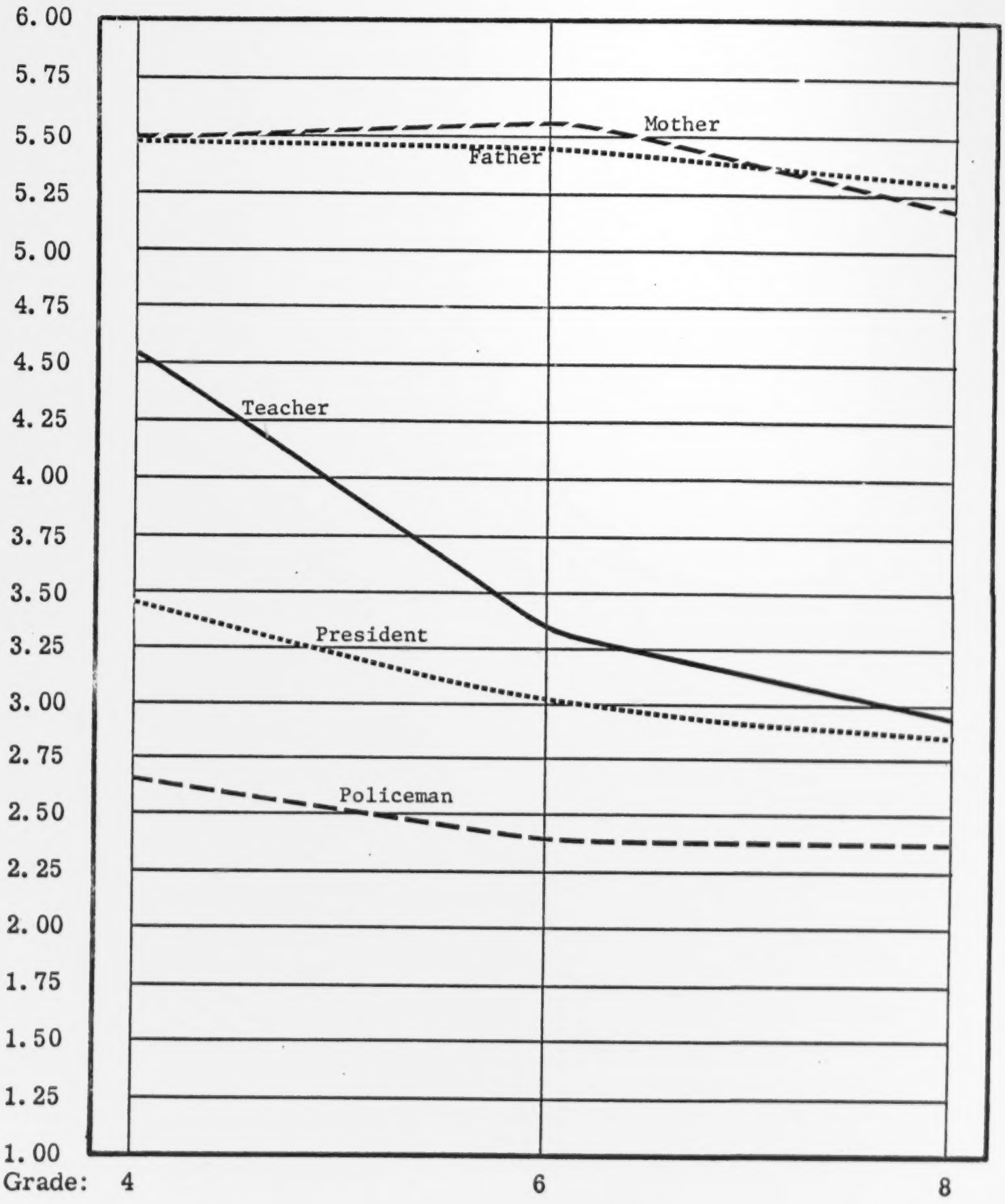
On the personal liking scale parents rank highest and far above the other figures and liking for them decreases less than for any non-family figures. The sharp drop in ratings of non-family authority figures is probably due both to the children's increasing need for autonomy and to the decrease in generalization.

Children generally hold positive expectations about the authority figures' helpfulness. Also, they discriminate less among individual figures when expressing belief in their nurturance than when reporting personal liking for them. In particular, children's beliefs in the helpfulness of non-parental figures is considerably higher than their degree of liking for them; the decrease of these beliefs with age parallels the decrease of liking for each figure. The sharp decrease in ratings of the teacher emphasizes the abrupt change in children's perception of the teacher from a privileged non-family figure, vested with parental attributes, to a formal distant authority. The finding can be attributed to the difficulty of adjusting in the new school system at the sixth grade level and to the general dissatisfaction with the school system, emerging more and more with age. (This is discussed in greater detail in following sections.)

Sex differences suggest that boys are more precocious as regards autonomy processes, developing earlier critical attitudes toward all non-family figures. The same difference and developmental trend is evident between higher and lower SES children, the latter developing earlier critical attitudes toward non-family figures. The more protective milieu in which they grow up may account for the high SES children's more optimistic perception of all authority figures and their consequent delay in emergence of autonomy needs. The hypothesis is also supported by the high SES children's ratings of the figures' willingness to help toward all of whom (except teacher) they hold more favorable expectations. Perhaps the lower class children's perception of the helpfulness of the teacher (which is more favorable than that of the other non-family figures) reflects the great prestige that this figure enjoys among lower class children, both because for them school is a rather recent conquest and because education is looked up to as a powerful instrument of social advancement. At the eighth grade level all SES differences tend to disappear, though in Italy class differences are still very remarkable, both for economical

conditions and for cultural standards. The pre-adolescent Italian students seem, therefore, to anticipate a phenomenon that has been so far attributed across the world to older students who have come to form sub-cultural groups with values and standards of behavior quite autonomous, irrespective of the original social backgrounds of the students themselves.

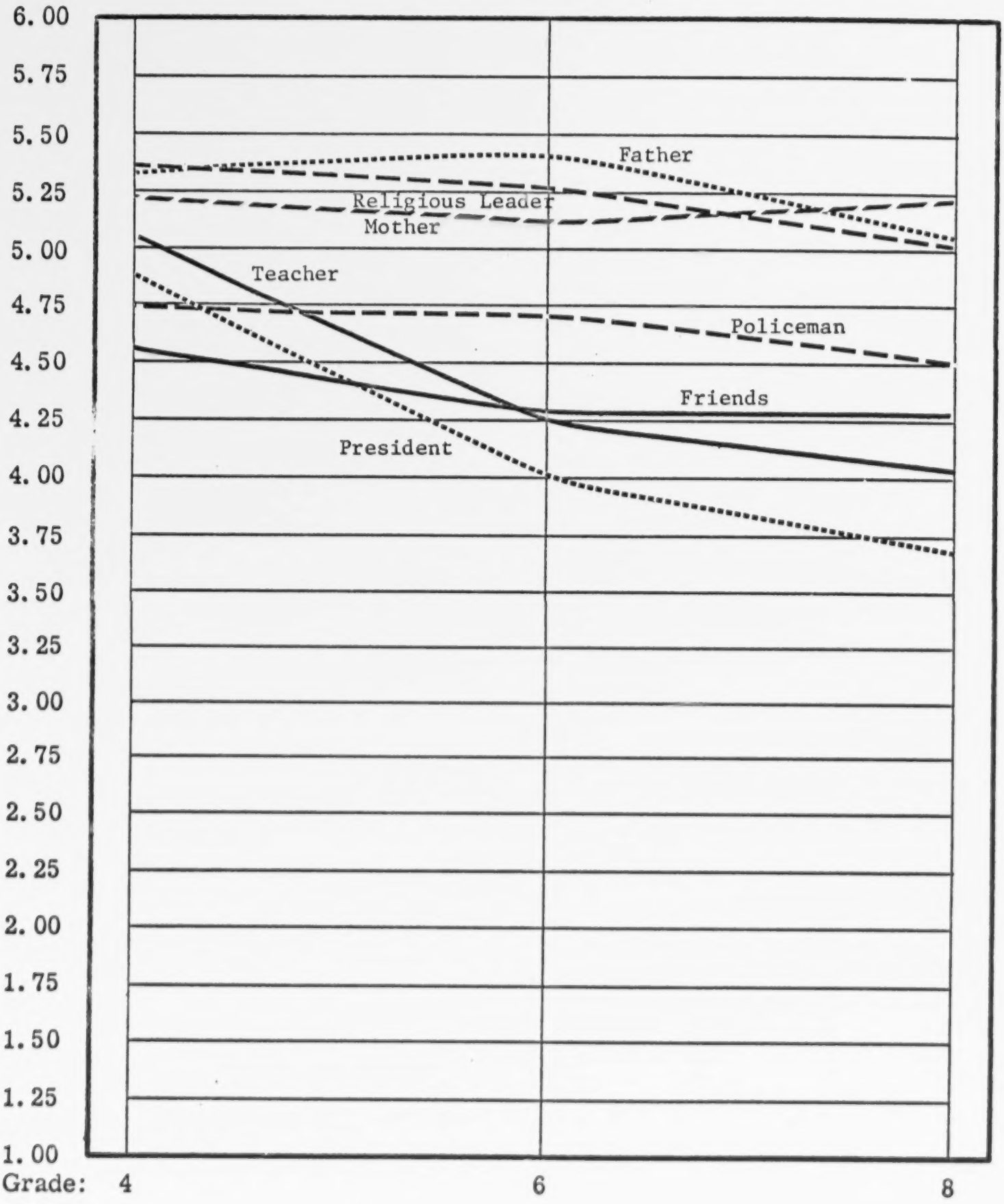
FIGURE 4-1
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT
TO AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE
(ITALY)



Item: Do you like (figure)?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

FIGURE 4-2
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE
(ITALY)



Item: Does (figure) want to help you when you need it?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 4-1

CORRELATION BETWEEN LIKING FOR AUTHORITY FIGURES AND PERCEPTION OF THEM AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS

(ITALY)

FIGURES	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	.33*	.30*	.03	.19	.17	.24*
Mother	.18	.14	.09	.30*	.12	.18
Teacher	.19*	.15	.22	.19	.40*	.55*
Policeman	.13	.23*	.17	.10	.23*	.28*
Prime Minister	.21*	.45*	.10	.29*	.26*	.52*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 4-2

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO PARENTS BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	5.46	5.37	5.21	5.30	5.75	5.67	5.71	5.52	5.41
Six	5.49	5.37	5.22	5.29	5.68	5.71	5.69	5.52	5.47
Eight	5.10	4.64	5.52	5.05	5.09	5.21	5.15	4.85	5.35
Totals				5.22			5.51	5.31	5.41

Note. Significant Effects: SES, Sex by Grade, Index based on combination of 2 items: "Do you like your father (mother)?" Item Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - yes, very, very much.

TABLE 4 - 3

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO TEACHER, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.54	4.73	4.07	4.43	4.84	4.57	4.70	4.77	4.28
SIX	3.34	3.18	2.94	3.06	4.14	3.13	3.61	3.65	3.04
EIGHT	2.95	2.83	3.12	2.96	2.80	3.07	2.94	2.82	3.09
TOTALS	3.67			3.61			3.74	3.82	3.52

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SEX BY GRADE. ITEM: "DO YOU LIKE YOUR TEACHERS?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 4 - 4

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.06	3.09	3.06	3.08	3.21	2.89	3.04	3.14	2.98
SIX	2.72	2.76	2.86	2.81	2.86	2.41	2.63	2.81	2.63
EIGHT	2.67	2.64	2.83	2.73	2.70	2.53	2.61	2.67	2.67
TOTALS				2.90			2.76	2.89	2.77

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "DO YOU LIKE POLICEMEN (THE PRESIDENT OF ITALY)?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 4 - 5

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO PRESIDENT, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.45	3.59	3.38	3.50	3.52	3.24	3.38	3.57	3.32
SIX	2.99	3.04	3.23	3.14	3.16	2.60	2.85	3.10	2.91
EIGHT	2.86	2.88	2.89	2.88	2.92	2.77	2.84	2.90	2.83
TOTALS				3.21			3.01	3.22	3.02

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) GRADE. ITEM: "DO YOU LIKE THE PRESIDENT OF ITALY?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 4 - 6

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF POLICEMAN AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.74	4.83	4.59	4.71	4.94	4.63	4.78	4.87	4.61
SIX	4.72	4.83	4.06	4.42	5.04	4.98	5.01	4.94	4.52
EIGHT	4.50	4.27	4.35	4.31	4.70	4.65	4.67	4.49	4.52
TOTALS				4.51			4.82	4.77	4.55

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) GRADE, SES, SEX. ITEM: "DO POLICEMEN WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 4 - 7

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF PRESIDENT AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.88	5.12	4.51	4.84	5.33	4.64	4.95	5.19	4.56
SIX	4.02	4.53	3.29	3.88	4.21	4.15	4.18	4.38	3.70
EIGHT	3.69	4.00	3.37	3.74	3.91	3.42	3.66	3.95	3.40
TOTALS				4.29			4.24	4.57	3.96

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) GRADE, SES, SEX. ITEM: "DOES THE PRESIDENT OF ITALY WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 4 - 8

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF VIEW OF RELIGIOUS LEADER AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.35	5.18	5.40	5.28	5.67	5.29	5.47	5.36	5.35
SIX	5.28	5.18	4.80	4.99	5.61	5.52	5.56	5.40	5.17
EIGHT	5.03	4.75	4.79	4.77	5.66	4.95	5.28	5.20	4.88
TOTALS				5.04			5.43	5.32	5.13

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) GRADE, SES, SEX. ITEM: "DOES THE RELIGIOUS LEADER WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 4-9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTACHMENT TO AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.12	.22*	.15	.31*	.03	-.20*	-.14	-.20*
	6	.23*	.21*	.17	.18	-.10	.07	-.04	-.06
	8	.03	.04	.07	.14	-.12	-.07	-.02	-.09
Mother	4	.09	.13	.15	.27*	.03	-.21*	-.04	-.25*
	6	.14	.13	.08	.09	.10	.13	.04	.04
	8	.01	.11	.15	.10	-.25*	-.08	-.09	-.16
Teacher	4	.17	.04	.22*	.21*	-.21*	-.18	-.27*	-.19
	6	.47*	.16	.34*	.29*	-.20*	.09	-.12	-.07
	8	.16	.14	.13	.26*	-.01	-.24*	-.11	-.24*
Policeman	4	.13	.10	.14	.11	.03	-.17	-.05	-.17
	6	.10	.17	.14	.19	-.15	.11	-.11	-.09
	8	.04	.15	-.00	.10	.02	-.08	-.10	-.09
President	4	-.15	-.02	-.16	.02	.06	-.15	.16	-.13
	6	.27*	.07	.12	-.04	-.20	-.00	-.14	.01
	8	.15	-.01	.02	.02	.04	-.19	-.04	.01

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 4-10

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.02	.14	-.02	.06	-.05	-.02	-.11	-.01
	6	.08	-.03	.01	-.03	.09	.09	.07	.07
	8	.08	.05	-.02	.17	-.07	.00	.02	.01
Mother	4	.08	.07	.06	.06	-.08	-.11	-.22	-.04
	6	.03	.12	-.04	.15	.02	-.03	-.02	-.12
	8	.04	.13	-.04	.18	-.16	-.06	.07	-.05
Teacher	4	.08	.03	.06	.01	-.02	.02	.10	.06
	6	.11	.04	.00	.11	-.14	-.13	-.11	-.11
	8	.16	.18	.24*	.30*	-.21*	-.26*	-.11	-.30*
Policeman	4	-.20*	.11	-.14	.11	.21	-.13	.23*	-.07
	6	.07	.09	.07	.17	-.08	.02	.08	-.09
	8	.22*	.17	.14	.19	-.04	-.12	-.09	-.15
President	4	-.02	-.08	.01	.00	-.05	-.02	-.17	.03
	6	-.08	.02	-.09	.12	.07	.16	.17	.04
	8	.13	.27*	.13	.30*	.01	-.10	.08	-.09
Religious Leader	4	.06	-.08	.09	-.01	.02	-.07	.06	-.07
	6	.08	-.02	-.08	.12	-.09	.14	.07	.05
	8	.06	.09	.03	.10	-.09	-.22	-.03	-.19

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Perception of the Power of Authority Figures To Punish Noncompliance

Children's perception of the power of authority figures to punish noncompliance is probably based both on direct experience and the assimilation of attitudes shared by the culture in which they grow up.

Mean ratings on the questionnaire items dealing with the punitive power of family and non-family figures are widely scattered, ranking from "always" for parental figures and judge, to "usually" for teacher, President, and policeman, to "sometimes" for religious leader, and to "never" for friends. These data show that children clearly differentiate the roles of the authority figures with regard to their power to punish. Parents and judge, who rank highest, represent respectively the major sources of power inside and outside the home. The teacher, President, and policeman are also rated quite high, while the religious leader ranks low since he has no coercive power. Friends rank at the bottom of the scale for the same reason (see Figure 4-3).

Discrimination among the different figures increases with age. Grade means across figures show that only the parental figures' ratings increase with age, especially from fourth to sixth grade (see Figure 4-3). At this age level children probably achieve a higher degree of identification with parents and a feeling of belonging to the family as the major source of social control.

Ratings of all other figures except the policeman tend to decrease with age because of a progressive specification of their roles. Friends' ratings decrease significantly from fourth to sixth grade also because of the increased awareness of equality among peers (see Figure 4-3).

Sex differences are significant with respect to ratings of parental power to punish, with boys giving higher values. (Girls' means at grades four, six, and eight were 5.05, 5.65, and 5.59, respectively, for father, and 5.28, 5.65, and 5.67, respectively, for mother. Boys' corresponding means were 5.43, 5.82, and 5.75, respectively, for father, and 5.66, 5.85, and 5.63, respectively, for mother.) Toward the other authority figures girls and boys also behave differently, the former giving higher ratings to the President and the latter to policeman. (Girls' ratings at grades four, six, and eight were 4.25, 4.12, and 4.34, respectively, for the policeman, and 5.11, 5.11, and 4.85, respectively, for the President. Boys'

corresponding means were 4.73, 4.56, and 4.88, respectively, for the policeman, and 4.70, 3.95, and 3.96, respectively, for the President.) With respect to the judge and religious leader, the sex differences were small at grades four and eight; at grade six, however, the girls' ratings were higher than those of boys for both figures, especially for the religious leader. Sex differences cancel out when the means are pooled into a single index in the analysis of variance (see Table 4-12). The findings suggest that the boys' perception of the power of authority figures to punish is based on direct experience since they attribute more power than girls to parents and policeman who are the figures who have more opportunities to punish them in the home as well as in the streets. On the other hand, girls give clearly higher ratings than boys to the President (and at grade six also to the religious leader) who does not have direct coercive power but whose authority is formally accepted in our culture. It could be inferred that girls tend to perceive as more powerful the figures whose authority they have experienced least, and as less powerful the figures who actually exercise their power to punish and who may in fact be more lenient toward them.

In ratings of the teacher there is an interaction effect between age and sex. Girls give lower ratings than boys at the fourth and eighth grade levels. This trend reverses itself at the sixth grade level where girls' ratings increase and boys' ratings decrease (see Table 4-11). In the sixth grade, children are confronted with a new situation which is evidently handled differently by boys than by girls. When confronted with new teachers whose authority they have hardly experienced, boys tend to underestimate it, whereas girls tend to overestimate it. At the eighth grade level both boys' and girls' ratings return to their original values.

SES differences are significant for all non-family figures with high SES children rating their power to punish higher than do low SES children (see Tables 4-11 and 4-12). However, the difference was much more marked for the religious leader and teacher than for the President and policeman. (The low SES children's means at grades four, six, and eight were 4.41, 4.21, and 4.68, respectively, for the policeman; 5.35, 5.13, and 5.58, respectively, for the judge; 4.88, 4.47, and 4.66, respectively, for the President; and 3.65, 2.49, and 2.83, respectively, for the religious leader. The corresponding means for high SES children were 4.63, 4.49, and 4.52, respectively, for the policeman; 5.52, 5.50, and 5.46, respectively, for the judge; 4.93, 4.52, and 4.23,

respectively, for the President; and 3.90, 3.97, and 3.34, respectively, for the religious leader.) Ratings of both high and low SES children decreased with age and at the eighth grade level the combined index values were very similar (see Table 4-12). However, ratings of low SES children tended to drop more from fourth to sixth grade while ratings of high SES children tended to drop from sixth to eighth grade. This difference parallels the difference found on ratings of girls vs. boys, suggesting that there might be different age trends. The change in attitudes toward authority figures outside the family occurs in the same direction, and values at the eighth grade are often very similar for all groups. It could be inferred that at the eighth grade peer group identification reaches its peak and that children's perception is less influenced by family standards and values. Boys and low SES children of both sexes achieve this sort of emancipation earlier because they enjoy more freedom earlier. In fact, both high and low SES families generally allow more freedom to boys than to girls. Similarly, low SES children are playing in the streets by themselves at an age at which high SES children are still chaperoned by either parents or servants.

The similarity of values of all groups at the eighth grade level could be attributed to a greater intermingling of SES and sex groups.

Relationship between perception of figures' power to punish and classroom behavior. There are very few significant correlations between classroom behavior and children's perception of punitive power of authority figures (see Table 4-13).

Boys' compliance with the teacher appears to be related to their perception of father, teacher, and religious leader as figures endowed with the power to punish. No such relation is evident for girls, probably indicating a higher degree of internalization of norms of appropriate and conforming social behavior.

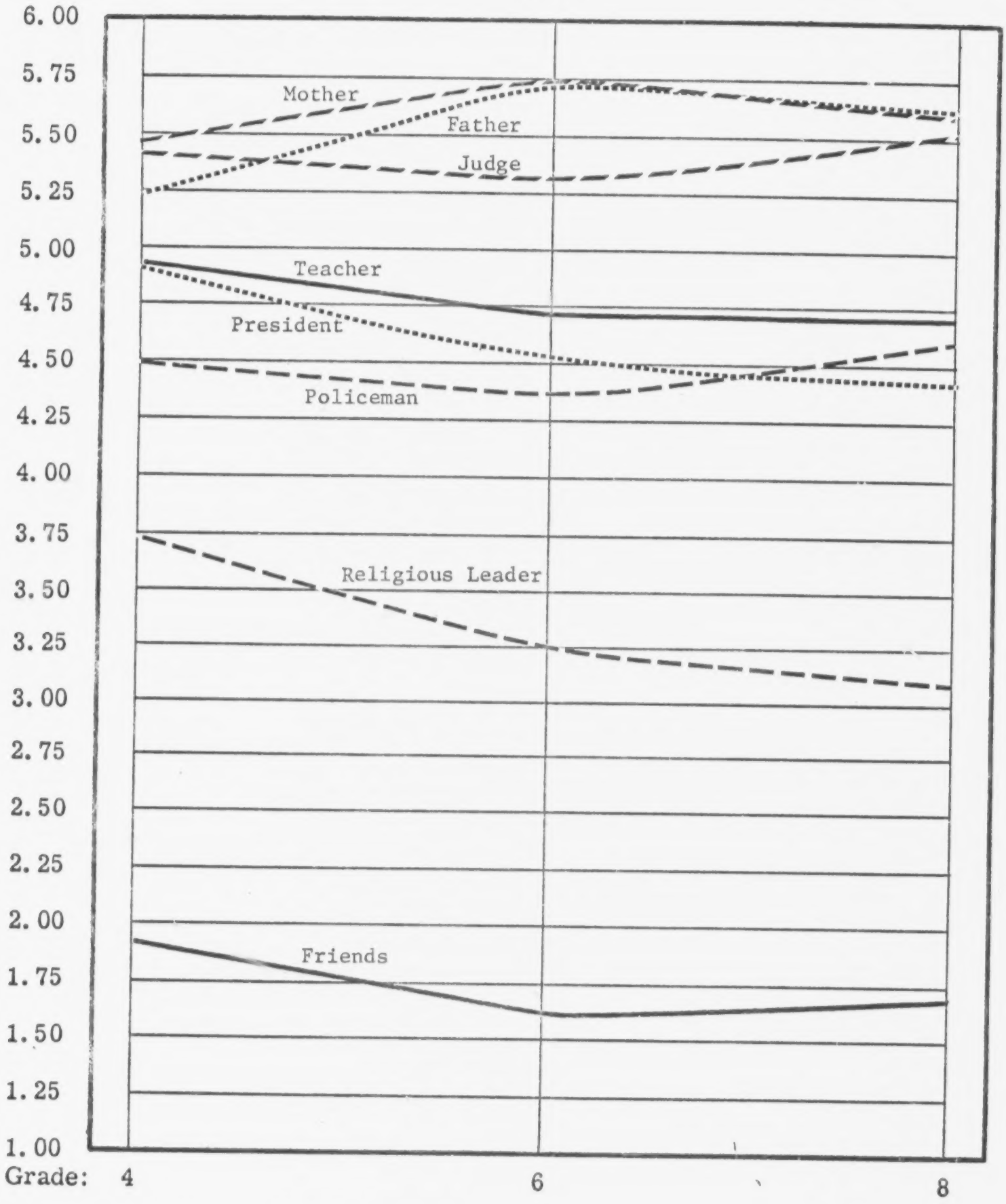
Boys' and girls' good reputation among peers is associated with their view of parents and religious leader as powerful agents of punishment. The association is limited to figures involved with their education (with the remarkable exclusion of the teacher). It seems, therefore, that good relations among peers are enhanced by children's regard for the punitive power of figures who have not only strictly disciplinary power but also an affective or moral ascendancy.

Summary. In general, children were able to differentiate among authority figures and rate their relative punitive power according to their roles. Parents and judge were endowed with the greatest power, religious leader and friends with the least. The discrimination among the different figures increased with age.

Boys attributed greater power to punish to parents and policeman than did girls. Because of the commonly shared opinion that boys must be treated more severely in order to counteract their stronger aggressive tendencies and help them develop stronger character, they are liable to be punished by parents more often than girls. Being allowed more freedom outside the home they are also more easily subject to the policeman's sanctions. Girls perceive the President (and, to some extent, the religious leader) as vested with more power to punish, a finding indicating that absorption of traditional cultural attitudes is more pronounced among girls than boys. The interaction between sex and age in the teacher's ratings probably reflects differences in children's ways of responding to new school situations: girls overestimate the punitive power of the new teachers, boys underestimate it.

Higher SES children, compared to those of low SES, appeared to attribute greater power to punish to all non-family figures. The difference, however, tends to disappear with age, adding further evidence to the already observed tendency of the pre-adolescent to conform to standards of behavior shared by the peer group.

FIGURE 4-3
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH, BY GRADE
(ITALY)



Item: Does (figure) have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 4 - 11

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF TEACHER'S POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.92	4.58	5.23	4.87	4.80	5.15	4.98	4.66	5.19
SIX	4.72	4.86	3.96	4.42	4.98	5.02	5.00	4.92	4.52
EIGHT	4.72	4.45	4.80	4.61	4.45	5.17	4.83	4.45	5.00
TOTALS	4.79			4.66			4.94	4.67	4.92

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES, SEX BY GRADE. ITEM: "DO TEACHERS HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 4 - 12

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF SEVERAL AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.49	4.33	4.53	4.42	4.52	4.64	4.58	4.40	4.58
SIX	4.26	4.36	3.65	4.01	4.55	4.46	4.50	4.46	4.07
EIGHT	4.29	4.36	4.17	4.27	4.26	4.35	4.31	4.32	4.27
TOTALS				4.26			4.46	4.39	4.32

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 4 ITEMS: "DOES THE PRESICENT (POLICEMAN, JUDGE, RELIGIOUS LEADER) HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 4-13

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PERCEPTION OF THE POWER OF AUTHORITY FIGURES TO PUNISH NONCOMPLIANCE AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.10	.28*	.15	.20*	-.12	-.17	-.24*	-.21
	6	.21*	.12	.09	.11	-.17	-.02	-.06	-.01
	8	-.09	.06	-.09	.08	.04	-.13	.13	-.02
Mother	4	.21*	.01	.18	.04	-.11	-.14	-.16	-.11
	6	.13	.11	.14	.09	-.11	-.04	-.16	-.05
	8	-.03	-.01	.02	.05	.03	-.14	.12	-.06
Teacher	4	.10	-.03	.16	.01	-.02	-.13	-.13	-.09
	6	.12	.12	-.02	.22*	-.04	.10	.12	-.07
	8	.06	-.01	.10	-.06	-.06	.02	.04	.07
Policeman	4	.07	.03	.07	.00	-.17	-.09	-.11	-.07
	6	-.09	-.02	-.08	.01	-.06	.03	-.08	-.06
	8	.09	.04	-.03	-.03	.02	-.08	.09	-.11
President	4	.01	-.11	.12	-.06	.02	-.01	-.07	-.03
	6	.03	.04	-.01	.18	.03	.13	.06	.04
	8	.03	-.02	.11	-.02	.06	.05	.02	.10
Judge	4	-.01	.06	.07	-.01	-.05	-.07	-.08	-.18
	6	-.05	.04	.00	.11	.08	-.12	.04	-.19
	8	.12	.01	.16	.06	-.08	.02	-.22	.01
Religions Leader	4	-.07	.02	.07	.09	.02	-.18	-.04	-.22
	6	.21*	.24*	.01	.30*	-.10	.05	.06	.01
	8	.10	-.03	.16	.08	.04	.02	.04	.09
Friends	4	-.11	-.17	-.11	-.08	.10	-.08	.10	-.10
	6	.15	.04	.06	.13	.01	.05	.01	.03
	8	-.14	-.09	-.17	-.11	.15	-.01	.09	.02

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

c. Children's View of the Consequences of Non-compliance--Inevitability of Punishment

Responses to the items dealing with the consequences of noncompliance should indicate to what extent children expect to be punished when they disobey. The question encompassed disobedience of mother, father (parents variable), city officials, policeman, and government officials (other authority variable), and teacher.

Grade means across figures showed that children "usually" expect punishment for their disobedience from all figures (see Figure 4-4). At the fourth grade level the ranking of figures showed very little variation. With increasing age the ranking of non-family figures, such as city officials, policeman, and teacher, remained quite stable; ratings of the government, which occupied the highest rank position across all grade levels, increased considerably from sixth to eighth grade. By contrast, ratings of the mother and father decreased significantly with age, the latter more than the former; at grades six and eight the father occupied the lowest rank position. The decrease in the father's rating parallels the decrease of his rating on the scale of willingness to help; as children grow older, they perceive him as less punitive but also as less helpful.

Sex differences were significant and consistent across all authority figures, with girls giving lower ratings than boys to all figures. (Girls' means at grades four, six, and eight were 4.43, 3.93, and 4.26, respectively, for father; 4.44, 4.25, and 4.63, respectively, for mother; 3.97, 4.39, and 4.28, respectively, for teacher; 4.17, 4.11, and 4.20, respectively, for policeman; 4.54, 4.94, and 4.81, respectively, for city officials; and 4.30, 4.63, and 5.07, respectively, for government officials. Boys' corresponding means were 5.05, 4.39, and 4.48, for father; 4.97, 4.55, and 4.36, for mother; 4.88, 4.55, and 4.59, for teacher; 4.82, 4.70, and 4.77, for policeman; 5.18, 5.07, and 5.04, for city officials; and 5.03, 4.76, and 5.18, for government officials.) Sex differences were more marked at the fourth grade level than at the subsequent grade levels. Differences on ratings of parents actually disappeared at the eighth grade level. An analogous convergence was observed with age in boys' and girls' ratings of the punitive power of authority figures.

This finding supports the previously stated hypothesis of different age trends by sex. There is no evidence

of SES differences. Sex differences indicate that girls probably experience less punishment than boys.

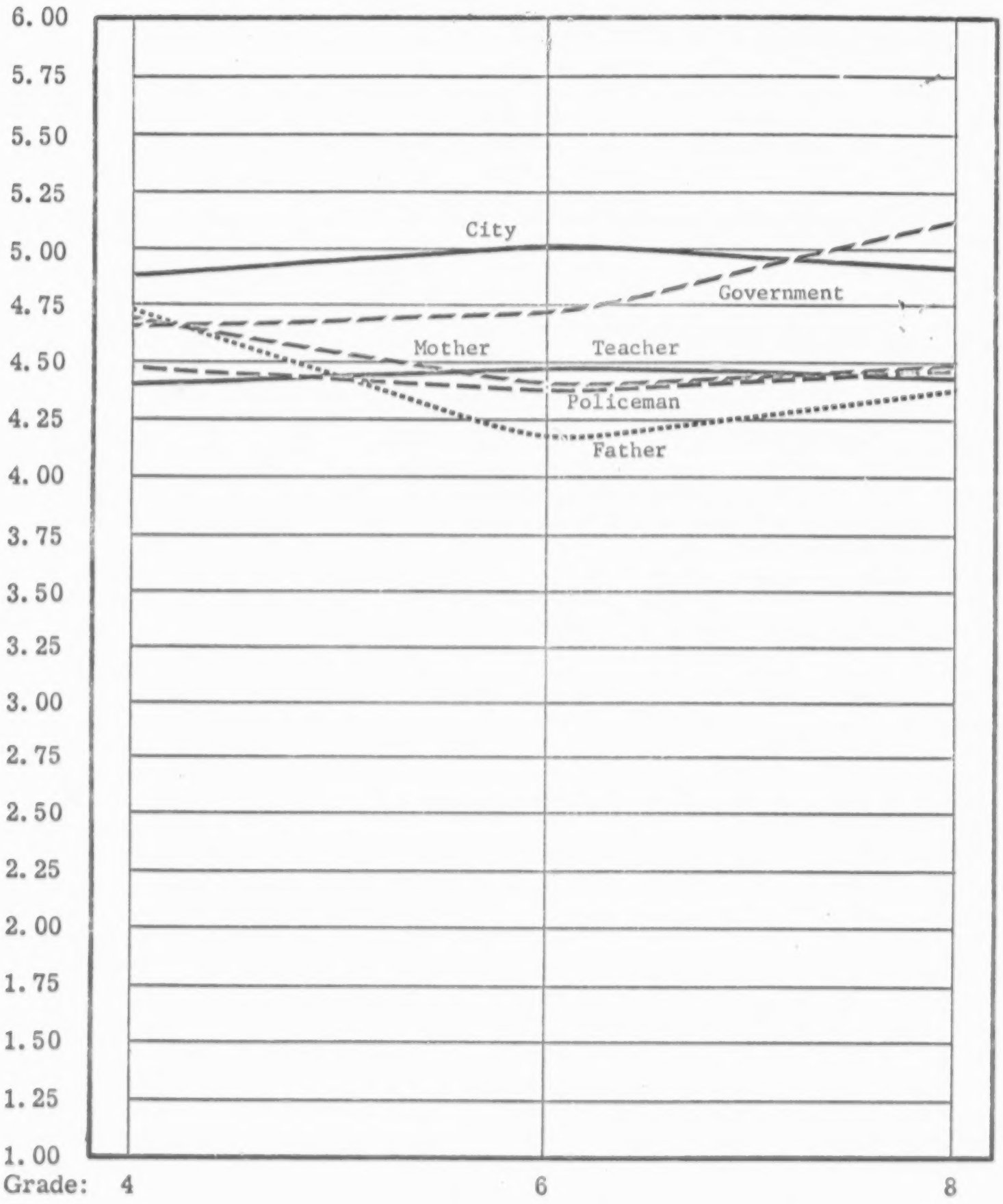
The interview data support these findings. The greatest number of children (46 percent) maintain that one who breaks rules gets away with it only "sometimes," thus indicating that they generally see punishment as a necessary consequence of transgression affected neither by authority figures' personal preferences, nor by the prestige of the transgressor. Furthermore, when asked who the individuals are that generally get away with breaking the rules, the greatest number (52 percent) of them define these people as "sly," "cunning as foxes," or "people that always know what excuse to make." Twenty percent of the children answer that one gets away with it "always" and 17 percent "most of the time." The greatest number of children (43 percent) maintained that boys get away more often than girls with breaking rules, pointing to boys' superiority as regards cleverness and slyness as well as to their compliant behavior. Twenty-seven percent maintained that girls get away more often with breaking rules than boys, and 19 percent thought that there is no difference between boys and girls. As to sex differences, 52 percent of the answers supporting boys' superiority in getting away with breaking rules were given by boys and 48 percent by girls, while 59 percent of the answers supporting girls' superiority in getting away with rule breaking were given by girls and 41 percent by boys. More girls than boys see both sexes as equally successful in getting away with breaking rules. Fifty-eight percent of these answers were given by girls and 42 percent by boys. Furthermore, the greatest number of interviewed subjects (62 percent) appeared to think that children get away with rule breaking more often than adults, probably because they realize that adult actions, being invested with greater responsibility, are submitted to more severe control.

Relationship between beliefs in the inevitability of punishment and classroom behavior. It is of interest that, while there is no positive correlation between good behavior and beliefs regarding the consequences of noncompliance, there are a few positive correlations between misbehavior in the classroom and expectations of punishment by the teacher, policeman, and government officials. All of these correlations pertain to boys at grades six and eight (see Table 4-14). The finding suggests that fear of punishment is not associated with good behavior while, on the other hand, expectations of punishment do not prevent misbehaving. The data lead to the conclusion that punishment is not an effective means of inducing compliance in the classroom setting.

Summary. Italian children appeared to believe that punishment "usually" follows noncompliance. Ratings for non-family figures were generally stable across the grades; however, ratings for government officials tended to increase with grade, suggesting that with age children become more aware of its importance as a coercive source of control. Parents' ratings decreased as children grew older. Parents' rules, unlike those of the city official, are not restricted to specific situations, and regulate the child's behavior in many different ways. With increasing age, as the child gains autonomy, he probably has many more occasions for disobedience of parents' rules, while there are fewer possibilities that parents would be present to punish him.

Sex differences indicate that girls probably experience less punishment than boys.

FIGURE 4-4
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT
FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH AUTHORITY FIGURES' RULES, BY GRADE
(ITALY)



Item: If you do not obey the laws or rules of (figure), does he punish you?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 4-14

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF IN INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOR DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND SYSTEMS AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	-.03	-.13	-.01	-.10	-.07	-.03	-.12	-.03
	6	-.17	.06	-.22*	-.03	.09	-.16	.12	-.08
	8	.04	.14	-.02	.08	-.02	-.03	-.02	-.01
Mother	4	.04	.05	.06	.06	-.11	-.17	-.09	-.23*
	6	-.11	.01	-.17	.02	-.03	-.02	.12	.03
	8	-.10	-.04	-.08	.07	.14	.09	.15	.06
Teacher	4	-.04	-.09	.00	.02	-.03	-.11	-.07	-.12
	6	-.01	.07	-.04	-.02	-.15	-.08	-.01	-.09
	8	.05	-.06	-.05	.03	.01	.23*	.02	.24*
City	4	.06	-.02	.04	.10	-.11	-.18	-.08	-.22*
	6	.03	-.01	-.05	-.04	-.15	.16	-.09	.14
	8	-.06	.01	-.10	.01	.11	.05	.11	-.01
Government	4	-.13	-.04	-.16	.04	-.09	-.11	-.00	-.15
	6	-.09	-.23*	-.20	-.25*	-.22*	.14	-.09	.24*
	8	-.17	.03	-.05	-.12	.18	-.07	.08	-.12
Policeman	4	.05	-.02	-.02	.13	-.18	-.16	-.06	-.19*
	6	.04	-.07	.02	-.15	-.24*	.02	-.21	.15
	8	-.04	.18	-.04	.03	.04	.21*	.06	.14

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

d. Intersystem Support for Sanctions Against Noncompliance

The items related to this topic investigate children's beliefs regarding mutual support among authority figures in reinforcing each other's disciplinary measures sanctioning noncompliance. The findings should indicate the extent to which the child perceives the authority figures as cooperative and united in their request for compliance.

Data show that the belief regarding support given by parents to non-family authority figures (teacher, policeman, city, government) is largely shared among children and does not vary with age or with respect to systems or figures such as the school, city, and government (see Figures 4-5 through 4-9 and Table 4-15). On the average, 90 children out of 100 perceived their parents as reinforcing any other figure's punishment. This finding suggests that children generally see their parents as the major source of reinforcement of punishment for noncompliance.

The percentages of children believing in other family members' support of parents', teachers', and other non-family authorities' discipline were also quite high. However, this belief appeared to become less frequent with age as far as city officials and policeman are concerned, but remained stable with age with respect to the teacher. The total family seemed to play a major role in supporting the school's discipline.

Beliefs regarding support given to parents by non-family figures (i.e., the religious leader, teacher, and policeman) were relatively less frequent and declined significantly with age (see Figure 4-5). At the fourth grade level, the religious leader and teacher ranked well above the policeman, but the percentages of children believing in these figures' support of parents' discipline decreased sharply with age. This general decline with age probably indicates that as the child acquires a better understanding of the roles and responsibilities of the various authority figures, he becomes aware that non-family authorities have little influence on the family discipline.

Beliefs regarding mutual support among non-family figures across systems were relatively infrequent. However, the percentages of fourth graders who expected the teacher to support all other figures were quite high, especially those concerning the teacher's support of city

and government officials' discipline. Therefore, the teacher appears to be the figure who comes next to parents in terms of his perceived concern with controlling children's behavior outside the family. However, beliefs in his influence declined with age, while beliefs in parents' influence remained stable.

Within each system, figures appeared to support each other very strongly. Police and judge support government, principal and other teachers support teacher, and other family members support parents. In general, beliefs in support across systems tend to decline with age, while beliefs in support within each system tend to remain stable.

As far as sex differences are concerned, more girls than boys see their parents as supporting non-family figures (see Table 4-16). There is also a sex by grade interaction regarding beliefs in reciprocal support among non-family figures. Inspection of Table 4-16 (index 'Non-family Authority for Non-family Authority') indicates that boys' ratings drop sharply at the sixth grade level, but increase again somewhat at the eighth grade level. Girls' ratings remain relatively stable.

The analysis of variance (performed only on the indices combining responses to groups of figures) shows no evidence of significant SES differences. Inspection of the ratings of the individual figures showed that there are, at the fourth and sixth grade levels, some differences for most non-family figures. At the eighth grade level these differences generally disappeared.

Relationship between beliefs about inter-system support and classroom behavior. There is no evidence that school behavior is associated with children's beliefs regarding inter-system support of discipline (see Table 4-17).

Summary. Italian children appeared to believe that parents extend their disciplinary control over all social systems reinforcing sanctions of all authority figures.

On the contrary, their beliefs regarding non-family figures' support of parents' discipline were relatively low and decreased with age. Non-family figures seemed to interfere little with family rules and values, indicating that parents do not usually need and/or ask for external support. However, the teacher and the religious leader (at the fourth grade level) appeared to support parents' punishment to a greater extent than the

policeman's. Being charged with the education of children they seem to be a trait d'union between family and non-family systems. Their influence, however, decreases with age.

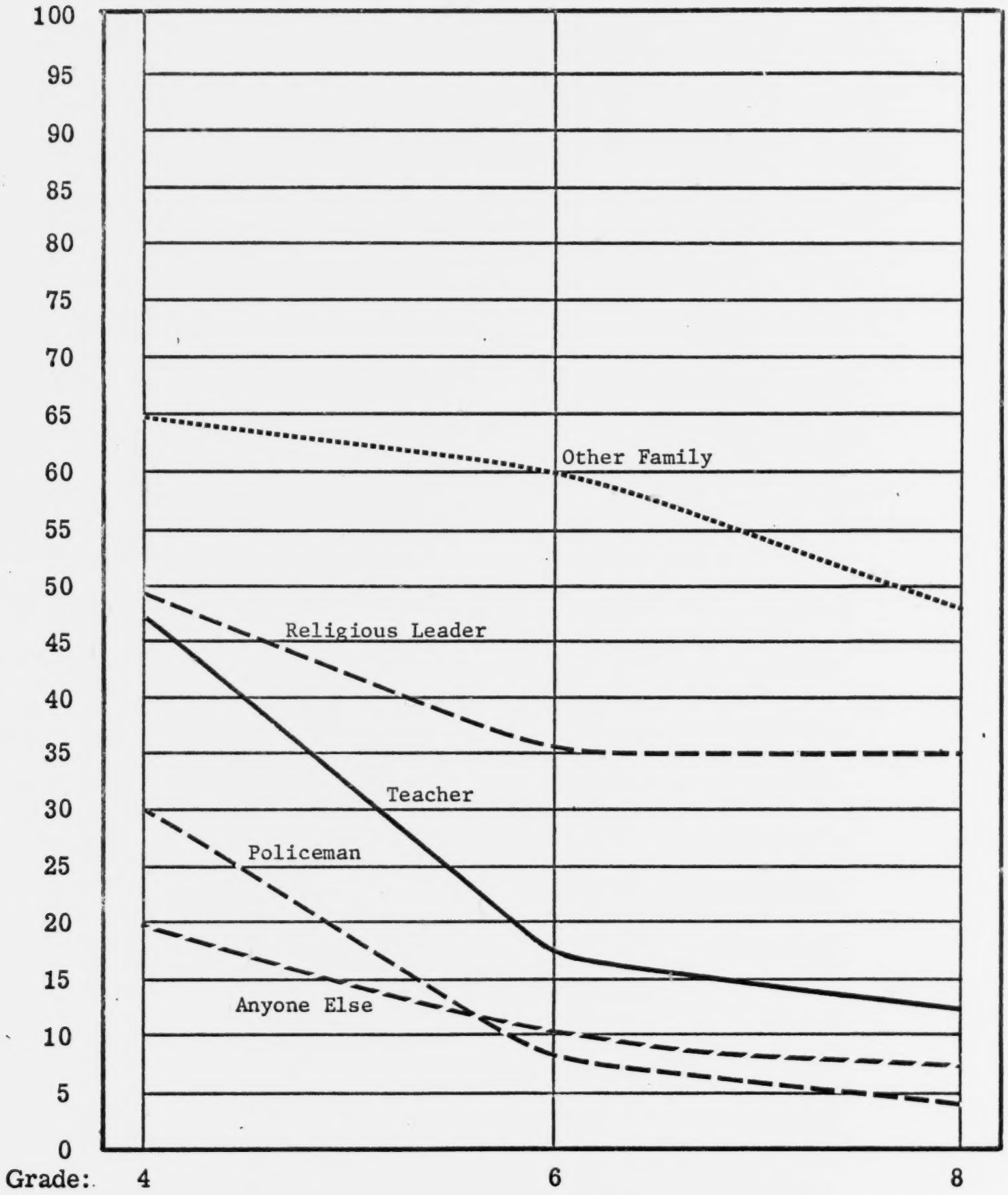
The reciprocal support of non-family figures seemed to be restricted within their own specific areas of competence. In fact, belief in mutual support among figures within each system was very strong and remained stable with age; while belief in support among figures across systems was relatively low and tended to decrease with age.

The finding that beliefs in parents' support of non-family authorities remains stable with age indicates that children are aware that they have to account to them for all sorts of misbehavior outside the family. Consequently, parents may be viewed as the major source of learning acceptable social attitudes and behavior.

Sex differences indicate that more girls than boys see parents as cooperating with non-family authorities in reinforcing control over noncompliance. Also, beliefs regarding reciprocal support among non-family figures remained constant with age for girls but declined drastically with age for boys. On the whole, girls seemed to be more deferent and more consistent through age than boys in their attitudes towards authority.

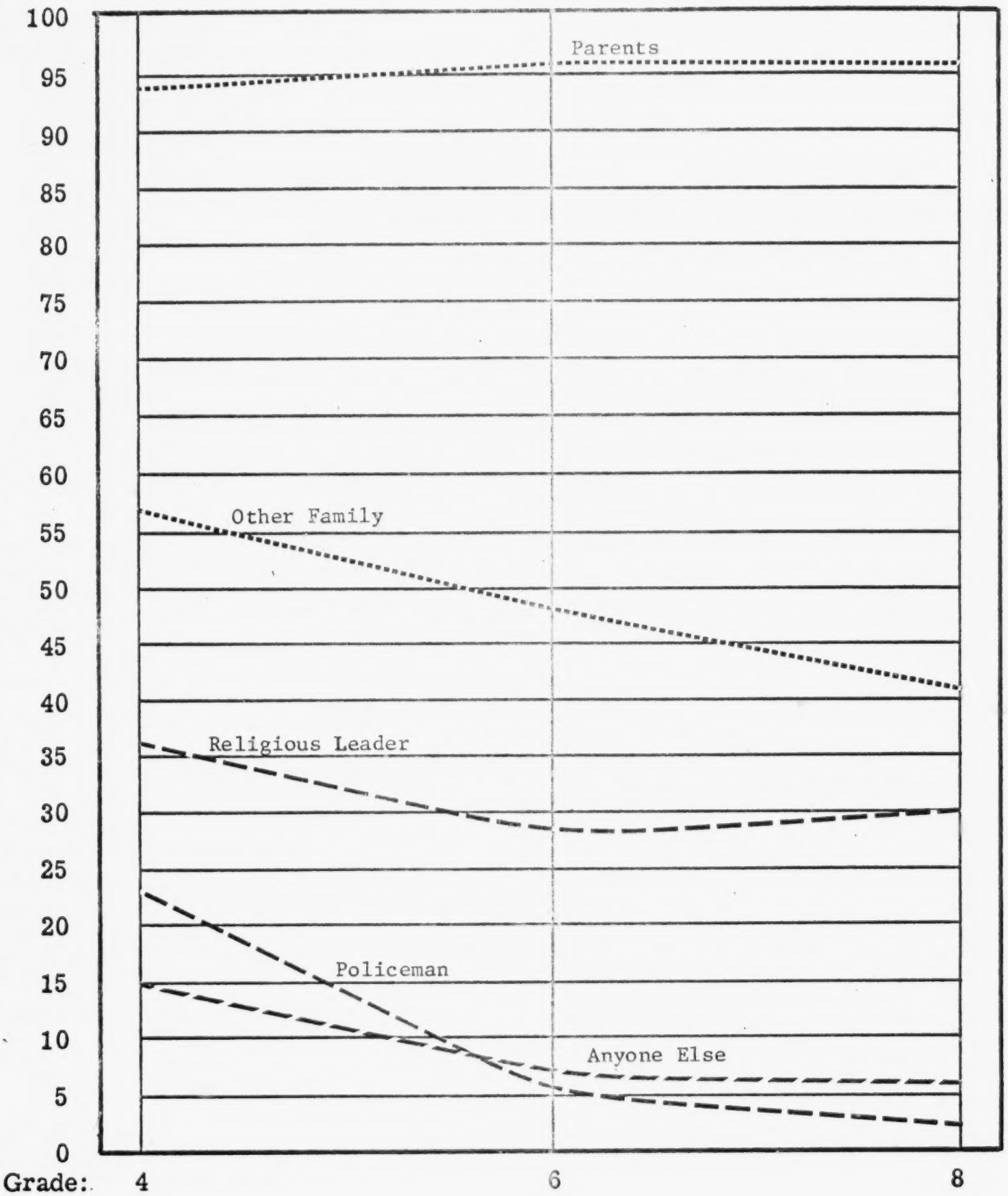
There were no significant SES differences, and the similarity of means at the eighth grade level supports the hypothesis of children's emancipation from the family background and their greater involvement in heterogeneous peer groups.

FIGURE 4-5
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF PARENTS, BY GRADE
(ITALY)



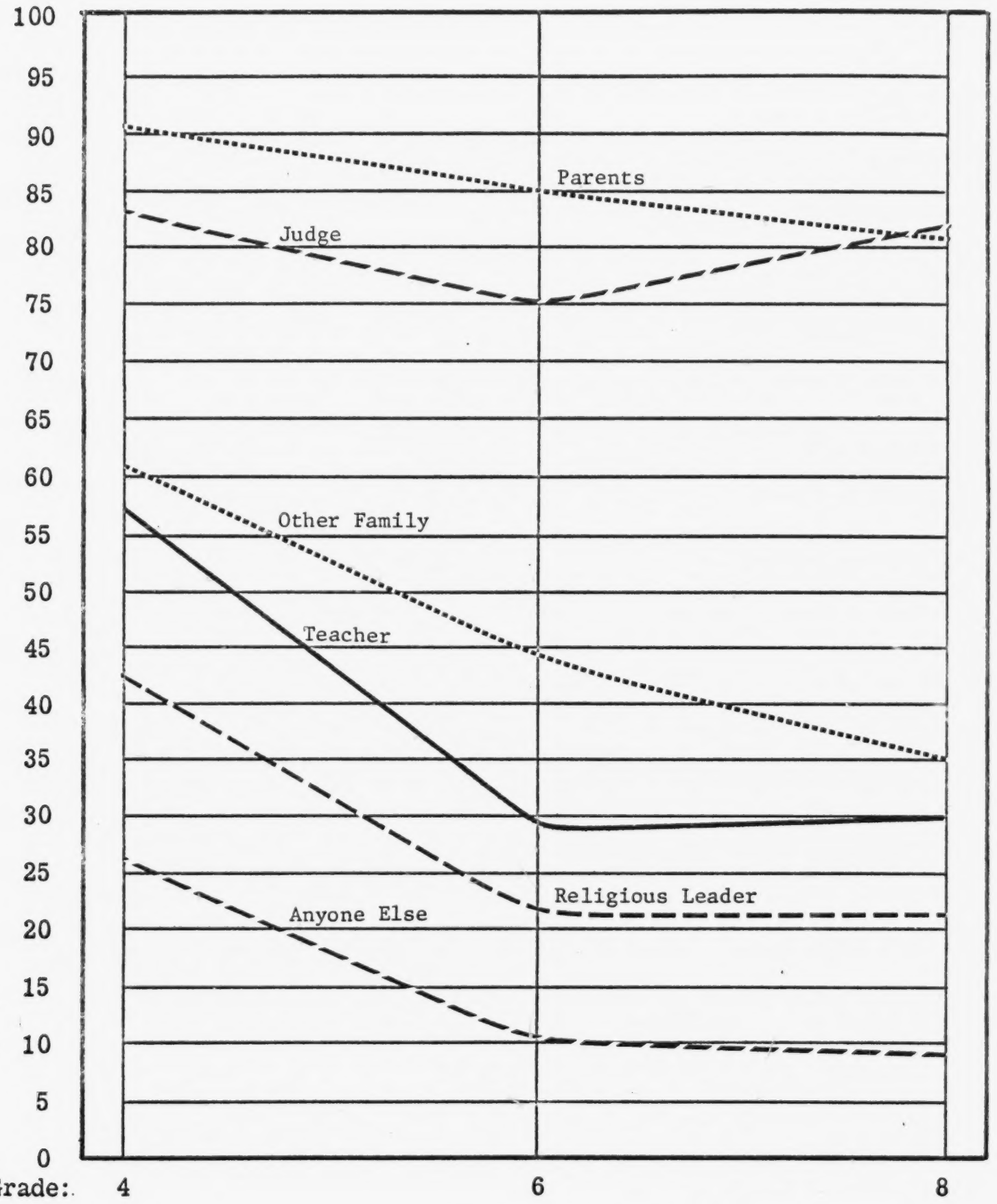
Item: Index based on combination of 2 items: "Besides your father (mother), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your father's (mother's) rules?"

FIGURE 4-6
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE TEACHER, BY GRADE
(ITALY)



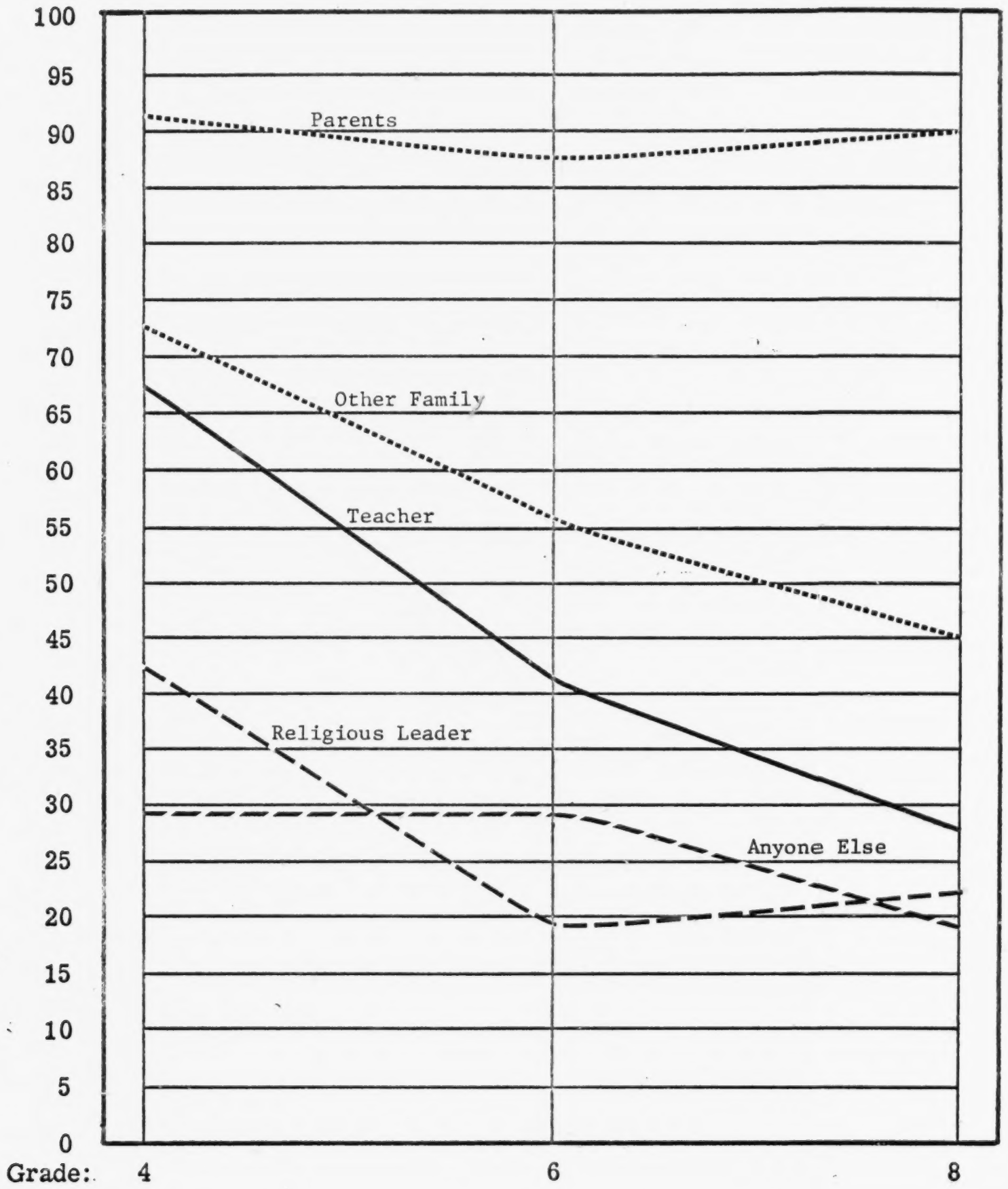
Item: "Besides your teacher, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your teacher's rules?"

FIGURE 4-7
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE POLICEMAN, BY GRADE
(ITALY)



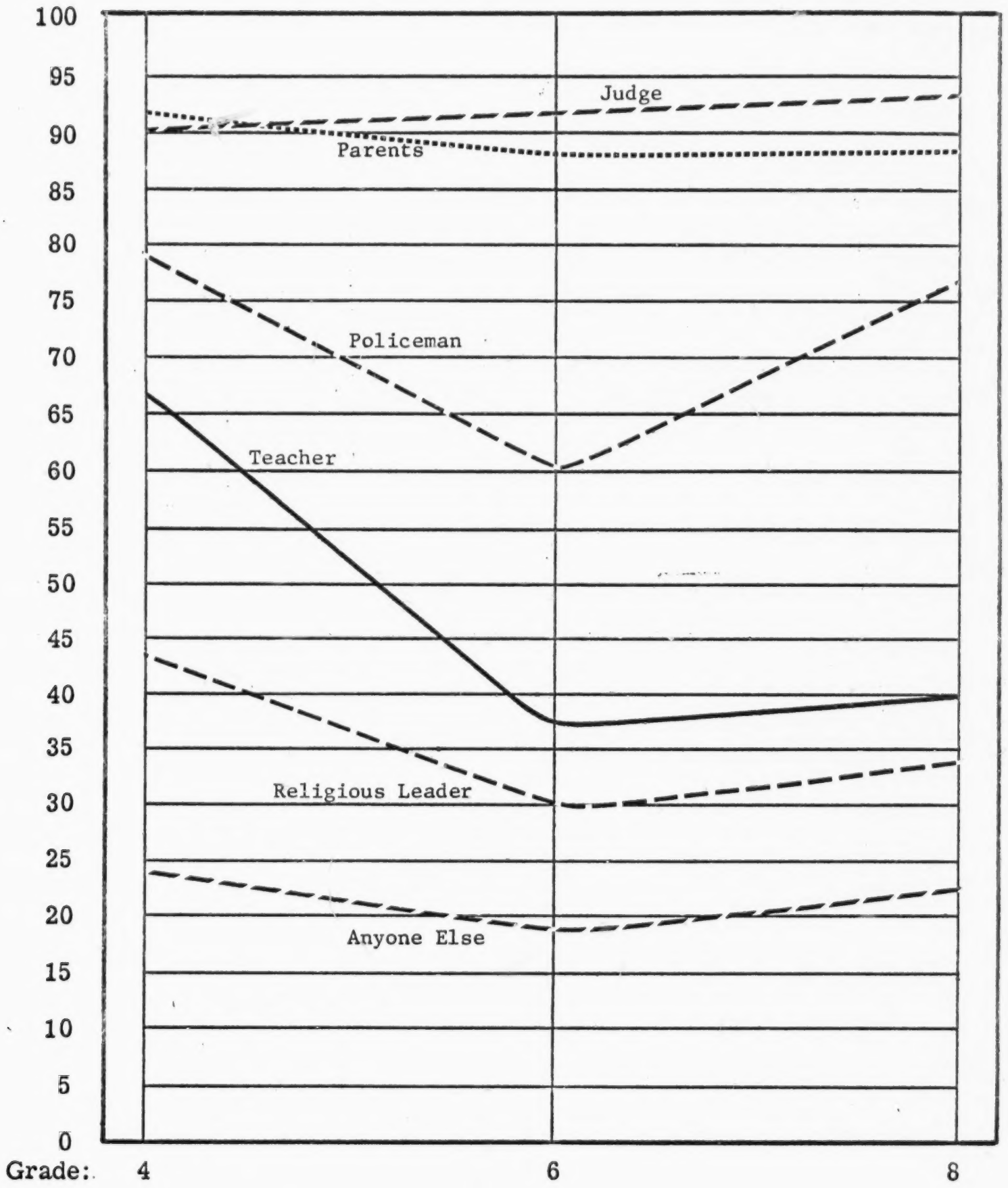
Item: "Besides policemen, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey policemen's orders?"

FIGURE 4-8
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CITY, BY GRADE
(ITALY)



Item: "Besides city officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the city's laws or rules?"

FIGURE 4-9
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE THE DISCIPLINE OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, BY GRADE
(ITALY)



Item: "Besides government officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the laws or rules of Italy?"

TABLE 4-15

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON EXPECTATION THAT PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WILL BE REINFORCED BY OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES
(PERCENTAGE OF YES RESPONSES)
(ITALY)

FIGURE ALSO PUNISHING	SYSTEM OR FIGURE WHO IS DISOBEYED																	
	MOTHER			FATHER			TEACHER			POLICEMAN			CITY			GOVERNMENT		
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8
Mother				97	94	95	94	95	96	90	85	81	92	85	90	92	88	88
Father	94	96	97				94	96	95	91	85	82	91	89	90	91	88	89
Other Family	66	62	52	63	58	44	57	48	41	61	44	35	72	56	45			
Teacher	44	17	14	50	18	10				57	29	30	67	41	28	66	36	40
Principal							83	91	88									
Policeman	21	3	3	38	12	5	23	5	2							79	60	77
Judge										83	75	82				90	92	94
Religious leader	48	35	36	49	34	34	36	28	30	42	21	21	42	19	22	43	30	34
Friends	13	6	8	13	5	6	16	5	6	16	8	10	19	6	7	20	10	14
Anyone Else	18	9	9	21	8	6	15	7	6	26	10	9	29	29	19	24	19	22

Note. Item: "Besides your mother (father, teacher, policeman, city officials, government officials) who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your (mother's, teacher's, etc.) rules (laws, orders)?" Alternatives: Mother, Father, Other adult relatives, Teacher, Principal, Policeman, Judge, Religious Leader, Friends, Anyone else.

TABLE 4-16

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE, BY TOTAL GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX

(ITALY)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS		
Parents for Non-family Authority Figures	4	6.93	6.90	6.96	7.01	6.84	0-8	Sex
	6	6.68	6.69	6.67	6.89	6.48		
	8	6.70	6.81	6.58	7.24	6.16		
	Total		6.82	6.73	7.05	6.50		
Other Family Members for Parents	4	1.09	1.03	1.14	1.06	1.11	0-2	None
	6	1.09	1.00	1.18	1.08	1.10		
	8	.88	.98	.79	.90	.87		
	Total		1.00	1.04	1.01	1.03		
Other Family Members for Non-family Authority Figures	4	1.54	1.59	1.50	1.50	1.59	0-3	Grade
	6	1.29	1.29	1.29	1.26	1.33		
	8	1.07	1.13	1.02	1.25	.90		
	Total		1.34	1.27	1.34	1.27		
Total Family for School	4	2.28	2.31	2.23	2.28	2.27	0-3	None
	6	2.29	2.25	2.33	2.28	2.29		
	8	2.21	2.20	2.23	2.30	2.13		
	Total		2.26	2.26	2.29	2.23		

TABLE 4-16 (CONTINUED)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Non-family Authority Figures for Parents	4	2.05	2.23	1.77	1.95	2.15	0-6	Grade
	6	1.02	.92	1.12	1.42	.63		
	8	.93	.81	1.06	1.04	.83		
	Total		1.43	1.31	1.50	1.24		
Non-family Authority Figures for School	4	.58	.69	.41	.57	.58	0-3	Grade
	6	.34	.30	.38	.45	.24		
	8	.34	.28	.40	.37	.31		
	Total							
Non-family Authority for Non-family Authority	4	5.84	5.92	5.72	5.44	6.26	0-12	Sex by
	6	4.57	4.25	4.88	5.15	4.01		Grade
	8	4.96	4.87	5.06	5.36	4.58		
	Total		5.13	5.22	5.33	5.01		
Anyone Else for all Authority Figures	4	1.01	1.20	.82	1.09	.93	0-6	Grade
	6	.70	.61	.79	.84	.56		
	8	.61	.62	.60	.59	.63		
	Total		.81	.74	.84	.71		

TABLE 4-16 (CONTINUED)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Friends for School	4	.14	.14	.13	.14	.13	0-1	Grade
	6	.04	.07	.02	.07	.02		
	8	.05	.06	.04	.06	.04		
	Total		.09	.07	.09	.06		
Friends for All Authority Figures (Except School)	4	.69	.70	.69	.71	.67	0-5	Grade (Curvl.)
	6	.30	.31	.28	.36	.23		
	8	.40	.35	.45	.48	.33		
	Total		.45	.47	.52	.41		

Note. Item: "Besides your mother, (father, teacher, policeman, city official, government officials) who else might scold or punish you, when you do not obey your (mother's, father's, etc.) rules (laws, orders)?" Alternatives: Mother, Father, Other Adult Relatives, Teacher, Principal, Policeman, Judge, Religious Leader, Friends. Index: Number of "Yes" responses for appropriate alternatives of reinforcing figures by number of supported figures or systems, grouped as mentioned in each index label.

TABLE 4-17

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

WHO ELSE WOULD PUNISH?	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Parents for Parents	4	.15	.12	.16	.11	-.04	-.18	-.14	-.28*
	6	-.01	-.06	-.05	-.10	.16	-.18	.07	-.15
	8	-.11	.10	-.23*	.07	-.12	-.01	-.04	.07
Parents for Non-family Authority	4	.12	.14	.15	.13	.06	-.19*	-.03	-.16
	6	-.02	-.06	-.15	-.10	.01	-.10	.15	-.07
	8	-.09	.04	-.15	.05	-.15	.03	-.06	.05
Other Family for Parents	4	.01	-.13	.04	-.05	-.06	-.05	-.02	.01
	6	.06	-.17	.08	-.17	.17	-.01	.07	.11
	8	.04	-.11	-.03	-.11	.03	.01	-.09	.10
Other Family for Non-family Authority	4	.03	-.05	.02	-.02	-.13	-.12	-.06	-.04
	6	-.06	-.15	-.02	-.16	.13	-.03	.04	.06
	8	.06	-.05	-.07	-.04	.02	.05	-.02	.04
Total Family for School	4	-.01	.10	.01	.02	.02	-.08	.01	-.07
	6	-.05	.07	-.10	.02	.13	-.11	.09	-.07
	8	.12	-.06	-.08	-.01	-.21*	.06	-.10	.15
Non-family Authority for Parents	4	.06	-.17	.05	-.08	-.10	-.11	-.07	-.07
	6	.01	.02	.04	.05	.02	-.06	.06	-.14
	8	.00	-.25*	-.08	.14	.02	.07	.06	.08

TABLE 4-17 (CONTINUED)

WHO ELSE WOULD PUNISH?	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Non-family Authority for School	4	-.02	-.15	-.03	-.04	-.06	-.14	.03	-.11
	6	-.02	-.11	-.08	.03	.03	.02	.07	-.05
	8	-.01	-.20*	-.14	-.14	-.12	.12	-.03	.09
Non-family Authority for Non-family Authority	4	.08	-.14	.12	.02	-.13	-.23*	-.14	-.15
	6	.03	.11	-.04	..20*	.06	-.05	.16	-.17
	8	.00	-.10	-.14	-.00	.05	-.02	.01	.01
Anyone Else for All	4	.07	-.13	.01	-.06	-.17	-.13	-.10	-.07
	6	.02	-.01	-.07	.05	.15	-.05	.10	-.06
	8	-.01	-.20*	-.08	-.11	.00	.07	-.05	-.01
Friends for School	4	.04	.04	.07	.08	-.10	-.08	-.17	-.10
	6	.04	-.04	.11	-.05	.03	-.08	-.06	-.06
	8	-.03	-.12	-.05	.01	.01	-.06	-.17	.04
Friends for All Except School	4	.09	-.04	.14	-.02	-.12	-.12	-.20*	-.10
	6	-.00	-.02	.06	-.06	.01	-.09	-.04	-.07
	8	-.03	-.10	-.08	-.19*	.03	-.04	-.06	-.01

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

B2. The Child's Conception of Rules and Laws

This section deals with children's conception of rules and laws. Data are drawn from children's reports of their opinions in the interviews as well as from their responses to the YIAPR questionnaire. The analysis focuses on children's views about the nature and origin of rules and laws, their definitions of fairness of rules, their ratings of the fairness of rules of different authority figures and their views concerning the conditions allowing a person to enforce rules and require others to obey.

a. The Nature of Rules and Laws

Children's views on the nature of rules and laws were investigated in terms of conceptual definition, perception of function, and hierarchy of importance of rules and laws in relation to different social situations.

Definition of rules and laws. The interview study indicated that children's definitions of rules and laws can be grouped into a few main categories. When asked to define a rule, the greatest number of children (54 percent) made a general statement--it's something one has to follow. For some (22 percent) a rule is a regulation for the benefit of people, while for others (19 percent) it is a prohibition that requires obedience (a rule is "an order to follow," "something which teaches us to respect others," "something to follow, like not trampling on flowerbeds"). In responding to "What is a law?" the greatest number of interviewed children (47 percent) stressed that it is a prohibition, while others (28 percent) maintained that it is a duty, a regulation for the benefit of people ("law is something written in the Italian constitution that one must respect, otherwise one is fined or sent to jail," ". . . is for all citizens, to favor them, to help the people"). Some children (23 percent) defined law with a general statement such as "something to follow."

When asked about the difference between law and rule, 30 percent of the children pointed to the greater comprehensiveness of law as compared to rules ("law is for everybody," "law is stronger, higher," "there is greater damage in disobeying a law than a rule"). Seventeen percent of the answers indicated that a rule is not universal but restricted to specific areas and situations ("only students must follow school regulations") and

17 percent maintained that there is no difference between law and rule. However, considering the data on the definition of rule and law, it appears that the category "something to follow," implying a global concept all centered on the necessity for obedience, is used 71 percent of the time to define a rule and 29 percent of the time to define law. Responses focusing on the function, such as controlling behavior, or on the aim, such as the benefit of people, and implying a greater differentiation of attributes, were used more frequently with respect to law than rule (71 percent vs. 29 percent control, 55 percent vs. 45 percent benefit).

Of interest is that in the case of both rule and law, there were slight differences in the answers with increasing age. In the fourth grade children were more inclined to see law and rule as prohibitions, while in the eighth grade they defined them more often as regulations for the benefit of society. This age trend could be interpreted as a symptom of children's moral evolution from a stage of passive acceptance of coercive authority to a stage of active involvement with rules and laws.

It is noteworthy that boys and low SES children were inclined to define law and rule as regulations for the benefit of people more often than girls and high SES children. Fifty-five percent of the definitions of this kind were given by boys, 45 percent by girls, 69 percent by low SES children, and 31 percent by high SES children. Definitions of rule and law as prohibitions were given more often by girls and high SES children than by boys and low SES children (in both instances the percentages were 58 vs. 42). The coercive aspect of rule and law is evidently emphasized more by girls and high SES children whom the YIAPR questionnaire results indicate as being in general more compliant towards authority.

The function of rules. When asked about the possible effects of no rules, the greatest number of children (40 percent) stressed that rules inhibit and control personal desires. Children maintained that if there were no rules, "everybody would do what he likes," or "all would behave as is most convenient for them." A good number of children (30 percent) saw rules as a means of preventing chaos. For them the lack of rules would provoke "disaster and chaos." In particular, home rules seemed to be considered by most children (82 percent) as obstacles to personal desire, while the lack of school rules was perceived not only as negatively affecting discipline (32 percent), but also as impeding learning (29 percent) ("no study would take place," "all pupils would talk: it

would be a mess and the teacher could not intervene," "one would not learn anymore"). Fifteen percent of the children stated that "they would not go to school."

Hierarchy of rules and laws. Children's views on the hierarchy of importance of rules and laws are inferred from their evaluation of the seriousness of different types of offenses in relation to different social situations. Children were asked to choose which is worst among three types of antisocial behavior: against person, against property, and against the rules or order of a social system. The questions applied to different life situations within the school, the community, the family, the peer group, and the church.

Antisocial behavior against persons was exemplified by offenses which damage the person either physically (like fighting with another child in school) or morally (like insulting or speaking ill of friends, siblings, priests, or people in the community). Offenses against property referred to stealing. Offenses against the rules or order of a social system included misbehaviors such as transgressing the rules of the system (disobeying parents, breaking traffic laws, refusing to do something agreed upon with friends) or damaging the reputation of the system (saying the church is not doing a good job and people should not attend it).

Ranking of the indices combining choices of each of the three types of offenses within the school, community, family, friends, and religion shows that many more children chose offenses against property as more serious than offenses against a person and/or the order of social systems, which rank second and third, respectively. The index for offenses against a person was the only one which rose significantly with age (see Figure 4-10). There is no evidence of other changes, either by age, sex, or SES.

If the specific life situations are taken into consideration, the hierarchy of offenses varies as follows: Within the community, the perceived seriousness of offenses against property ranks second to offenses against a person. The percentages of children choosing the former increase with age, while the percentages choosing the latter decrease. Within the family and the religious system, the perceived seriousness of offenses against persons ranks third, while within the school it switches from second to third place with increase in age. Within the religious system, the perceived seriousness of offenses against property decreases, while the perceived

seriousness of offenses against the order of the system increases (see Tables 4-18 through 4-20).

The findings seem to indicate that offenses against property are generally regarded as the worst kind in nearly all situations except the community and, with increase in age, the church, i.e., the authority systems outside the close entourage of the child (family, friends, and school). As far as the community is concerned, a ready-made explanation which may account for the low ranking of offenses against property is to be found in the historical and socioeconomic conditions of Italy previous to its unity in 1861. Italians have for centuries undergone the exploitation of foreign domination and have traditionally developed a sort of indifference for community welfare.

The lack of identification with the community and its institutions may account for the greater importance given to personal and individual relationships implied in the higher ratings given to offenses against a person. The results of the interview study give further support to this hypothesis. To the question "Which is the worst deviation--to hit another person, to steal from a person, to slander a person?" most children (64 percent) answered that to affect one's moral prestige--"to say bad things about him"--is worse than stealing from or hitting a person.

As far as religion is concerned the data show that the number of children citing offenses against the system's order (such as criticism of the church) as the worst increases with age while the percentage choosing offenses against property (stealing from the church) as the worst decreases, and the percentage citing offenses against a person (saying bad things about a priest) remains quite low. It could be inferred from these changes that, with age, children become more capable of discriminating among the ultimate values implied in the teachings of the church; thus, the church's earthly riches become less important as is the case for the property offenses within the community.

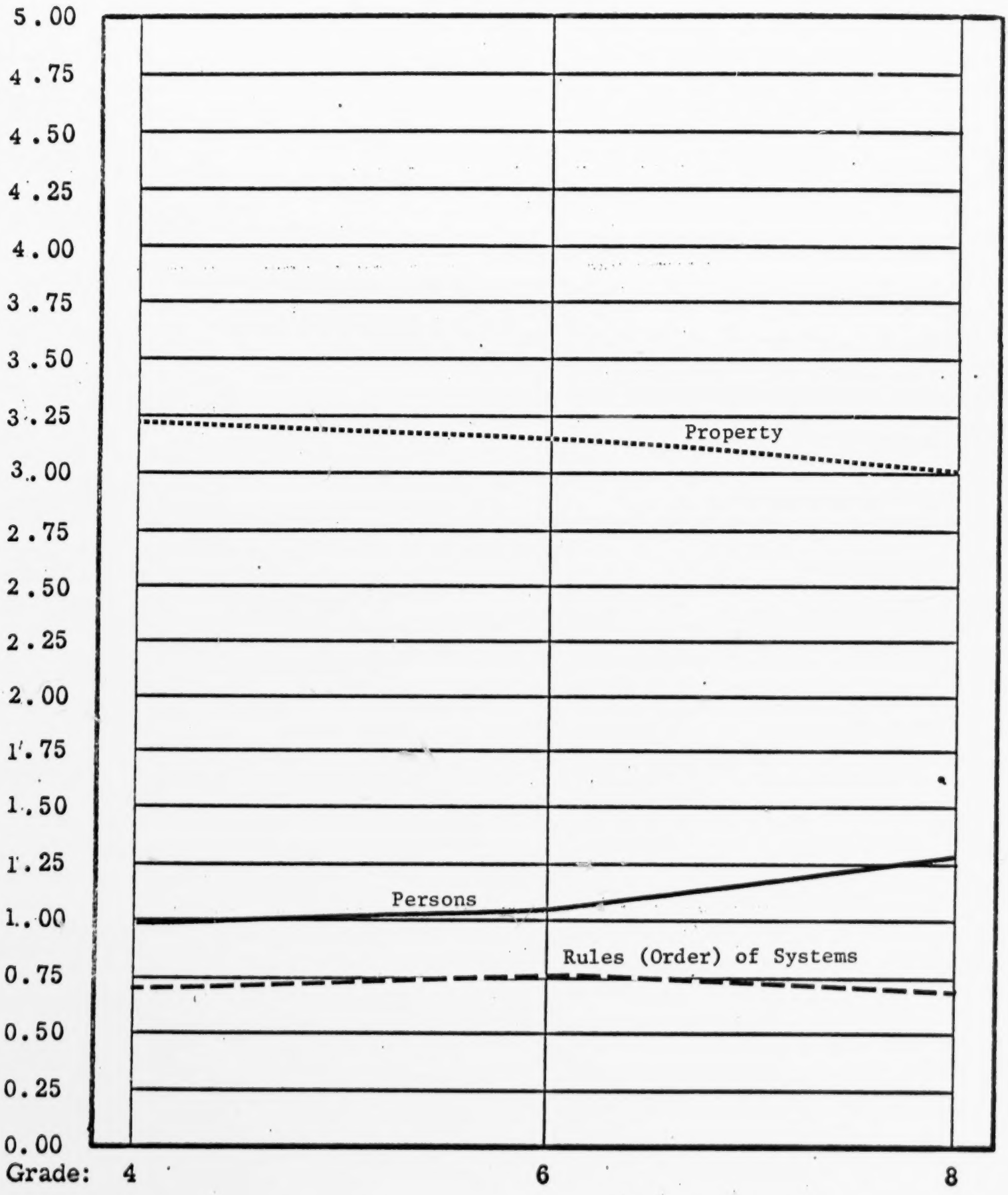
Relationship of perception of the seriousness of property, person, and social order transgressions to classroom behavior. For girls at grade eight, compliant behavior towards the teacher is positively correlated with their condemning of offenses against the order of social systems (see Table 4-21). The finding, which is supported throughout this study, is consistent with the view of girls as being more rule-conscious than boys and

in greater need to be socially accepted. Surprisingly, for grade eight boys, peer nomination indices for negative behavior in school were associated with their tendency to condemn offenses against property. The finding is not easily interpreted though it might suggest a difficulty in personal relationships and a lack of social awareness in the more troublesome children.

Summary. The majority of interviewed children defined rules with a general statement implying that a rule is something one has to follow. A good number, however, maintained that a rule is a regulation for the benefit of people or that it is a prohibition. As to the function of rules, Italian children appeared generally to believe that rules inhibit or control personal desires or impede chaos. As to law, children appeared to see it in a better perspective as regards its function of controlling behavior and its beneficial effects upon people's lives. Girls and high SES children were more inclined than boys and low SES children to define rule and law as prohibitions.

From children's evaluations of the seriousness of different kinds of antisocial behavior it may be inferred that they attribute a hierarchy of values to rules regarding person, property, and the order of social systems. Rules protecting property appeared to be seen as more important in all situations except in the community and, with increase in age, in the church. Rules protecting personal rights were seen as more important in the community than rules protecting property and the social order; the number of children making such choices increased with age. In general, offenses against the order of social systems appeared to be seen as the least serious. The results point to the importance given by children to personal rights and individual relationships within the community. This has been interpreted as an attitude typical of the Italian culture which has developed under particular socio-historical conditions.

FIGURE 4-10
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEWS OF WHICH IS WORST:
OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS, AGAINST PROPERTY,
OR AGAINST THE RULES (ORDER) OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS BY GRADE
(ITALY)



Item: Which is worst?

TABLE 4-18

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PERSONS OR THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	63	61	66	68	58
	6	69	65	72	61	76
	8	80	82	77	82	78
	Total		69	72	70	71
Community	4	40	35	45	44	35
	6	40	36	43	40	39
	8	29	29	28	24	33
	Total		33	39	36	36
Family	4	84	82	85	88	79
	6	80	76	85	83	78
	8	76	81	71	77	76
	Total		80	80	83	78
Peers	4	81	78	84	85	77
	6	75	73	77	72	79
	8	72	77	66	71	72
	Total		76	76	76	76
Religion	4	59	58	60	53	65
	6	50	52	49	42	59
	8	44	52	37	35	53
	Total		54	49	43	59

Note. Significant Effects: (Property) None. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To take or steal something in the school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: Number of choices of offenses against property as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 4-19

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PROPERTY AND THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	24	26	21	21	26
	6	18	18	17	22	13
	8	7	8	6	7	7
	Total		17	15	17	15
Community	4	42	43	41	39	45
	6	49	50	48	53	45
	8	68	67	70	73	63
	Total		53	53	55	51
Family	4	12	13	12	8	16
	6	12	16	8	12	12
	8	17	8	26	16	18
	Total		12	15	12	15
Peers	4	12	10	14	10	14
	6	18	18	17	21	14
	8	25	19	31	25	26
	Total		16	21	19	18
Religion	4	9	10	8	10	8
	6	9	11	6	9	8
	8	9	9	10	8	11
	Total		10	8	9	9

Note. Significant Effects: (Persons) Grade.
Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To fight with, insult, or say something against a person in the school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: Number of choices of offenses against person as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 4-20

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PROPERTY OR PERSONS, ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	11	12	10	8	14
	6	13	16	11	16	10
	8	13	10	16	10	15
	Total		13	12	11	13
Community	4	16	18	12	14	18
	6	10	12	8	7	13
	8	3	4	2	2	4
	Total		11	7	8	12
Family	4	4	5	3	3	5
	6	6	8	6	4	9
	8	6	11	2	6	6
	Total		8	4	4	7
Peers	4	6	12	1	4	9
	6	7	8	6	7	6
	8	3	3	2	4	2
	Total		8	3	5	6
Religion	4	31	31	31	36	26
	6	40	35	45	49	31
	8	46	39	52	56	36
	Total		35	43	47	31

Note. Significant Effects: None. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To disturb, break, disobey, refuse to follow or say something against the rules (order) of school, community, family, peer group, religious group. Index: Number of choices of offenses against the systems'rules(order), as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 4-21

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDICES OF PERCEPTION OF THE RELATIVE SERIOUSNESS OF THREE TYPES OF OFFENSES AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(ITALY)

WHICH IS WORST INDICES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Anti-Person Acts	4	-.01	-.02	.00	-.08	-.06	.05	-.05	.07
	6	-.09	.03	.03	.10	.16	-.14	.12	-.21*
	8	-.01	.09	.08	.17	-.03	-.18	-.01	-.18
Anti-Property Acts	4	.05	.05	.06	.07	-.04	-.15	-.06	-.09
	6	.05	.01	-.08	-.08	-.05	.18	-.08	.23*
	8	-.03	-.09	-.21*	-.19*	.08	.21*	.09	.27*
Anti-System Acts	4	.03	.04	-.02	.02	-.06	.11	-.03	.06
	6	.01	.00	.12	.04	-.10	-.22*	-.02	-.18
	8	.11	.03	.28*	.10	-.14	-.12	-.12	-.21*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Origin of Rules and Laws

Children's views about the origin of rules and laws in the family and the community were assessed through the questionnaire items cited in Tables 4-22 and 4-23.

Rule-making in the family. Data in Table 4-22 indicate that about 55 percent of the total sample perceived father and mother as "ruling" the family together. Father as sole rule-maker ranks second but the number of nominations he receives decreases with age, and the whole family ranks third but the number of children citing this alternative increases with age. Mother as sole rule-maker ranks the lowest (about 5 percent of choices) at all three age levels.

The results indicate that the majority of children perceive the norms of behavior as being established by the mother and father acting together. When rule-making is perceived as a function held by the one parent alone, it is the father rather than the mother who is seen as assuming the role of the unilateral rule-maker; the mother alone appears to have almost no ruling power in the Italian family. The data are in line with the often commented upon patriarchal and hierarchical structure of the Italian family. However, the finding that the number of children perceiving the father as ruling alone decreases considerably with age, while the number of children perceiving the whole family as participating in the process of rule-making increases, shows that the older child, being allowed more autonomy, partakes actively in the family system. Furthermore, the teenager who has reached greater independence from the parental figures may perceive other members of the family setting as influencing family norms that the younger child attributes exclusively to parents.

Overall SES differences suggest that lower SES children have a less democratic perception of the family functioning; this is indicated by the lower percentages of low SES children choosing "both parents" and "whole family" alternatives and the higher frequency with which they ascertain the father's ruling. The data support the notion that lower class families are more bound to the patriarchal structure which was particularly important in agricultural and artisan cultures from which most of the low class urban workers come.

Sex differences indicate that boys more often than girls ascertain the father's ruling. This is probably due to the boys' strong identification with the same sex

parent. On the other hand, girls show a more democratic perception of the family functioning.

Rule-making in the neighborhood. Children's responses to the item cited in Table 4-23 and Figure 4-11 indicate that the mayor is perceived as the person who is most likely to make rules in the community (see Fig. 4-11). The President, governor, policeman, father, mother, religious leader, and teacher follow in that order. The range in percentages of "yes" choices (from 87 percent for mayor to 20 percent for teacher) and the ranking of figures indicate that the fourth grade children have a pretty clear notion of the legislative power of authority figures in the community. The marked decrease, from fourth to sixth grade, of nominations of all figures except the mayor, and the further decrease of nominations for the President, mother, and father from sixth to eighth grade, show that with age children acquire the knowledge of different roles of government, municipality, and family figures. The mayor and the President rank the highest and are little differentiated at the fourth grade. By the eighth grade, the President's nominations drop below those of the policeman. The same discriminating process is implied in the fact that parents' nominations drop more than the nominations of all other figures.

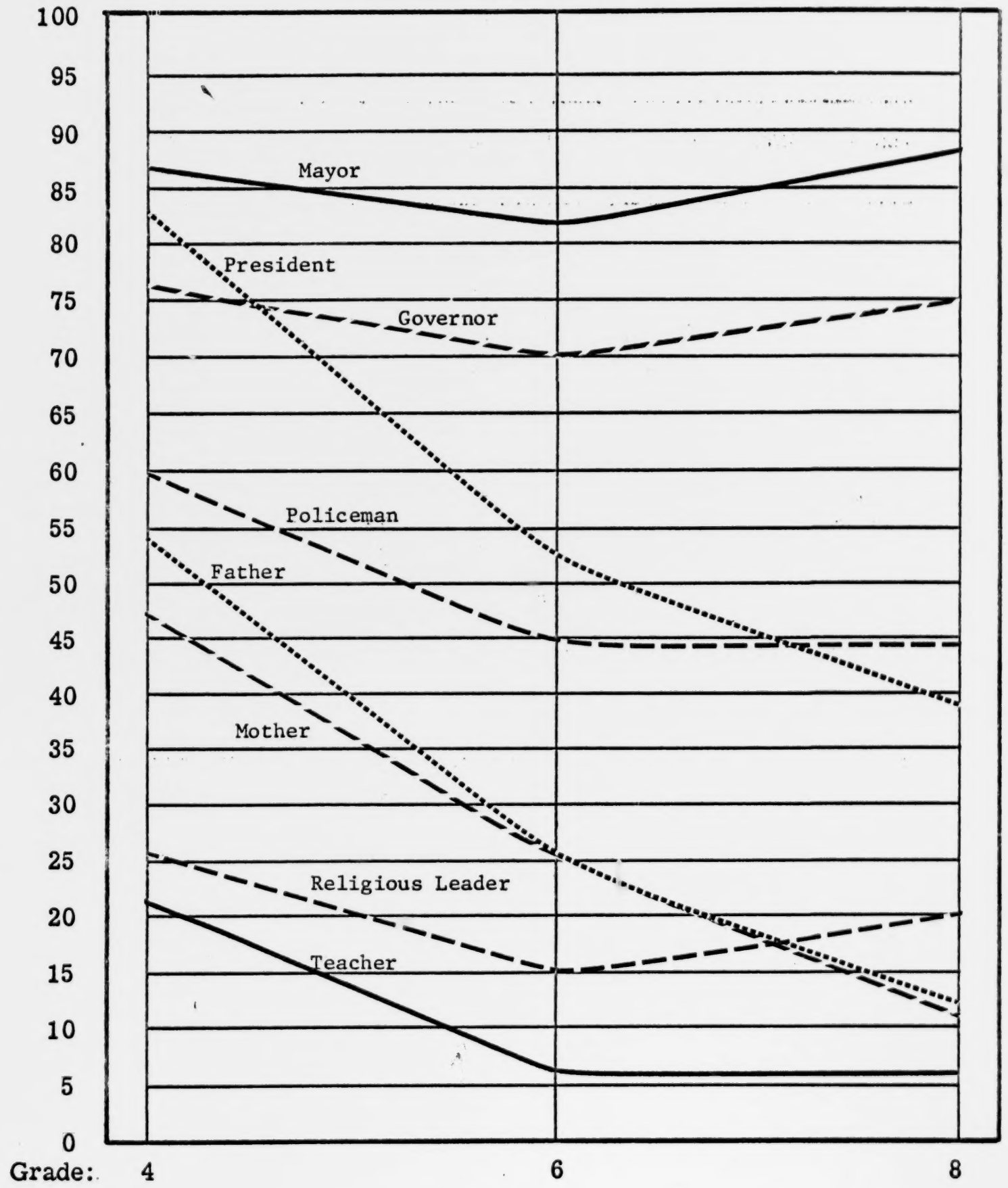
Sex differences (see Table 4-23) are in line with the findings on the "power to punish" items. Mayor and President, who are at the top of the scale of the institutional hierarchy, are nominated more often by girls than boys. As far as President is concerned, the sex difference increases with age, indicating that boys (whose percentages drop more than girls') become more acquainted with age with political roles and specifications. This finding will be taken up in the following sections (B5 a.b.).

SES differences (see Table 4-23) indicate that more low SES than high SES children perceive father and mother as involved in rule-making in the neighborhood. The finding is open to speculations which would need further research focusing on the complex composition of lower class population which is made up, to a great extent, by immigrants from different regions of Italy to the highly industrialized area of Milan. It could be that the higher frequencies with which low SES children nominate their parents reflect, on one side, children's awareness of their parents' greater involvement in everyday community problems which are magnified by overcrowding; and on the other side, a greater concern among low SES families about government and community provisions such

as housing, schooling, health insurance, and social assistance in general. Such problems are particularly important for immigrants who--coming from underdeveloped and essentially agricultural areas of the country--have hardly known these institutions typical of a more industrialized society.

Summary. Most children appear to see family rules as deriving from the cooperation of father and mother. For a substantial number of children rules are made only by the father and for an almost equal percentage by the whole family. Very few children perceive the mother as a rule-maker acting alone. The data add further evidence to the patriarchal and hierarchical attitudes surviving in the Italian family. As regards rule-makers in the community, children appear to have a good discriminative knowledge about the different roles of the authority figures which improves with age. Girls attribute more power to the mayor and President than boys, thus indicating their greater tendency to be compliant with the established authorities outside the family. More SES than high SES children perceive their parents as involved in community rule-making, probably because of their parents' greater concern with everyday community problems.

FIGURE 4-11
PERCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
IN RULE AND LAW-MAKING, BY GRADE
(ITALY)



Item: "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live--like your neighborhood?"

TABLE 4-22

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN MAKING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	27	36	17	21	32
	6	16	23	8	11	20
	8	10	13	8	4	17
	Total		24	11	12	13
Mother	4	4	4	3	4	3
	6	5	6	4	5	5
	8	3	4	2	4	3
	Total		5	3	4	4
Father and Mother Together	4	54	44	65	55	53
	6	60	54	66	67	53
	8	57	56	58	57	57
	Total		51	63	60	54
Whole Family	4	16	16	15	20	11
	6	20	18	22	17	23
	8	29	26	32	35	23
	Total	22	20	23	24	19

Item: "Who usually makes the rules in your family?"
Item scale: Percentage choice of one alternative.

TABLE 4-23

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES IN RULE- AND LAW-MAKING IN THE COMMUNITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Mother	4	47	57	37	49	46
	6	25	30	20	23	27
	8	11	14	8	9	13
	Total		34	22	27	29
Father	4	54	58	49	54	53
	6	25	29	22	23	28
	8	12	15	8	10	13
	Total		34	26	29	31
Teacher	4	21	21	20	21	20
	6	6	6	6	7	4
	8	6	8	4	3	8
	Total		12	10	10	11
Policeman	4	60	57	63	62	57
	6	44	38	49	48	39
	8	44	50	38	45	42
	Total		48	50	52	46
Mayor	4	87	84	91	91	84
	6	82	77	87	88	76
	8	88	90	85	92	83
	Total		84	88	90	81
Governor	4	76	71	80	80	71
	6	70	66	73	76	63
	8	75	81	70	77	74
	Total		73	74	78	69
President	4	83	79	86	84	82
	6	52	50	54	61	43
	8	39	42	37	52	26
	Total		57	59	66	50
Religious Leader	4	26	31	21	24	27
	6	15	15	16	19	11
	8	20	14	26	25	14
	Total		20	21	23	17

Item: "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live, like your neighborhood?" Alternatives: "Yes", "No", "Don't know". Item scale: Percentage responding "yes" to each of the figures listed.

c. Justice of Rules and Laws

The item cited in Figure 4-12 was used to investigate children's perception of justice of rules of authority figures, i.e. parents, teachers, friends, and other authorities (country, policeman, city).

Responses show a general positive attitude toward the authority system. Mean ratings range from the category "all," when the authority figures are the parents, to the category "most" in the case of friends. All ratings, except friends', decrease significantly with age. The teacher's rating decreases more sharply than those of other figures, changing in ranking from the second place at the fourth grade to last place at the eighth grade. Friends' ratings show an increasing trend, switching with age from last to second place (see Figure 4-12).

The data are consistent with the results obtained on the "willingness to help" and "liking" items. When asked to evaluate the fairness of rules of different authority figures, children appeared to see their parents' rules in a more favorable light than the rules of all other authority figures. The number of significant correlations between fairness of rules and affective attachment to authority figures (27 significant coefficients out of a total of 30 across grade- and sex-groups) confirm the importance of affective ties in the process of identification, whereby values and rules of each authority figure are accepted according to the degree of the child's affective attachment to them (see Table 4-24). Of particular interest is the finding (not shown in Table 4-24) that liking for the President and teacher--that is, for authority figures outside the family--is correlated with a perception of all other authority figures' rules as being fair. It might be inferred that affective attachment to such figures is associated with general compliant attitudes toward all authorities.

The general decrease in ratings of all figures' rules but friends' appears to support the hypothesis of a gradual and critical emancipation of children from the adult world as they grow up and become more involved with their peer groups.

The analysis of variance showed that girls give higher ratings than boys to non-family authority figures and to friends. (Girls' means at grades four, six, and eight were 4.41, 4.05, and 4.01, respectively, for policeman; 4.53, 4.45, and 4.02, respectively, for government; 4.68, 4.61, and 4.22, respectively, for city;

and 2.92, 2.98, and 3.04, respectively, for friends. Boys' corresponding means were 3.91, 3.51, and 3.77 for policeman; 4.19, 3.29, and 3.66 for government; 4.25, 3.65, and 3.91 for city; and 2.29, 2.26, and 2.81 for friends.) The finding suggests that girls are more confident and compliant than boys toward authority figures outside the family circle. However, as far as friends are concerned, the differences tend to disappear with age. This is due to an increasing trend in boys' appreciation of their peers' rules.

As to SES differences, high SES children are more inclined to see their friends' rules in a more favorable light than the low SES children. (The low SES childrens' means at grades four, six, and eight were 2.58, 2.37, and 2.81, respectively; the corresponding means for high SES children were 2.65, 2.84, and 3.04, respectively.)

There is no evidence of SES differences with respect to the rules of parents or other authorities. This implies that children's evaluation of the justice of rules is not affected by SES standards.

Responses to the interview question, "What is a fair rule?" indicated that the concept of fairness when referring to rules has different implications through the years. At the fourth grade a great number of children (35 percent) answered with absolute judgments maintaining that all rules are fair. This reflects an authoritarian conception of rules ("there are no wrong rules"). At the same grade levels some children (20 percent) maintained that a rule or law is fair if "everybody agrees with it"; for others (20 percent) a rule or law is fair if it is congruent with an external system ("a fair rule is to obey the state laws"); only 10 percent of the fourth grade children saw the fairness of rules and laws as depending on the reasons for their making (a rule is fair "if it is right to do it . . . for instance that of shutting the window if it is cold"). At the eighth grade level the greatest number of children (30 percent) maintained that the fairness of rules and laws depends on people's consensus ("a rule or law is fair if everybody approves of it"), a definition reflecting a more democratic and mature concept of rules and laws. One-fourth of the eighth grade children (25 percent) felt that a rule or law is fair when there are justifiable reasons for its making ("it has been made after right principles," "it is something that allows us to keep the order in the community"). Few eighth graders (15 percent) maintained that a rule or law is fair if it affects everyone equally ("it aims at improving everybody's life, with no

exceptions"), and an equal percentage (15 percent) appeared to think that the fairness of a rule or law depends on its being created by a trusted authority ("it depends on the person who makes it").

More high SES children than low SES children (17 percent vs. 7 percent), and only girls (23 percent vs. 0 percent) maintained that a rule or law is fair if it is congruent with the principles of an external system, thus confirming other data of this study indicating their greater compliance toward the established social order. On the "willingness to help" items, high SES children gave higher ratings than did low SES children to all authorities, and girls gave higher ratings than boys did to non-family figures. This greater confidence toward the system probably stems from the more protective attitudes toward high SES children and girls in our society. Girls' greater compliance is also shown by the fact that, unlike boys, they rarely define the fairness of a rule or law as deriving from people's consensus (10 percent vs. 30 percent). These findings confirm the results on the items about the justice of rules of authority figures which pointed to girls' more favorable evaluation of rules of authority figures outside the family.

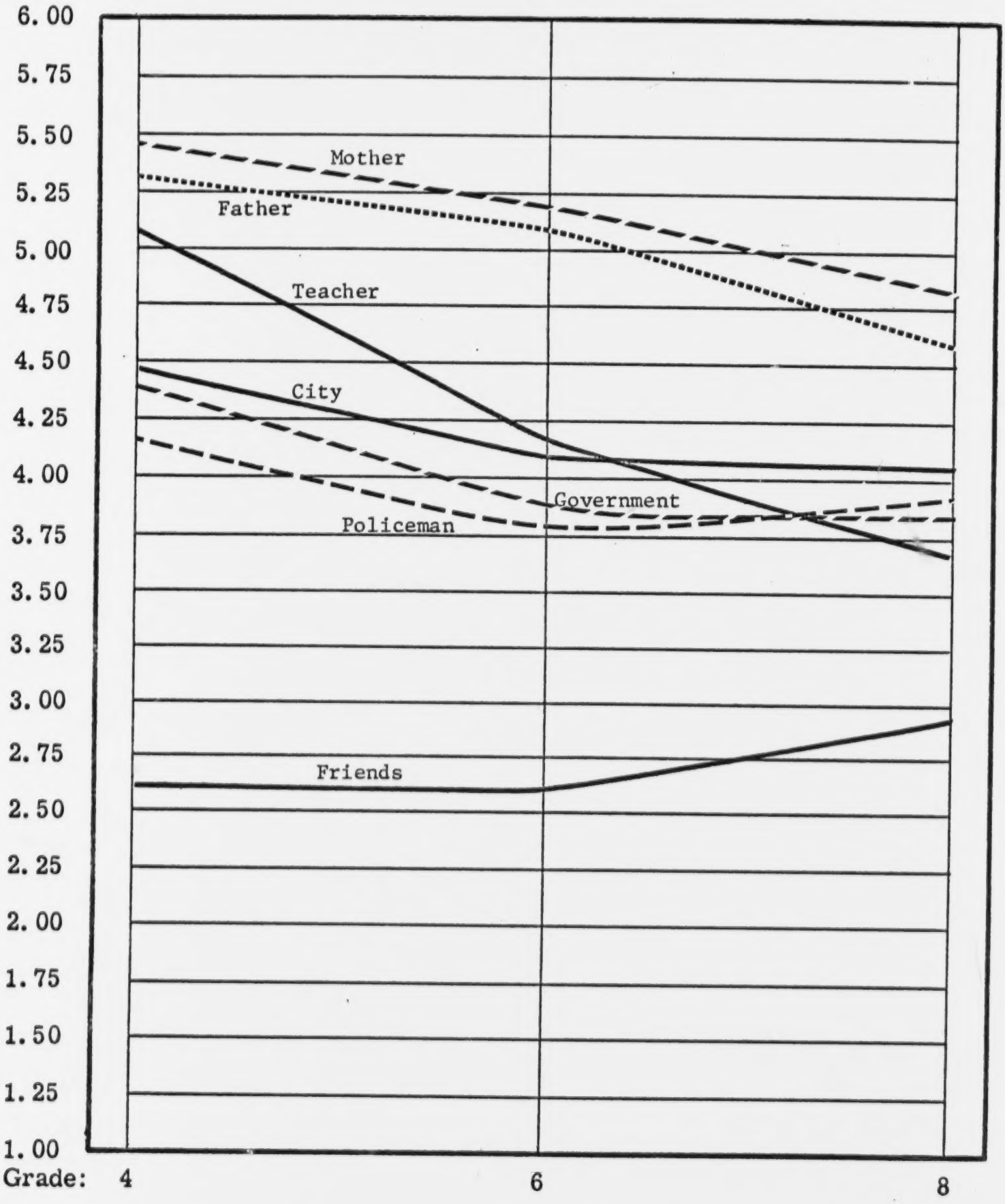
Relationship between perception of authority figures' rules as fair and classroom behavior. The perception of fairness of authority rules is closely associated with children's behavior in the classroom (see Table 4-25). Compliant behavior is positively associated with a favorable perception of rules, especially at the sixth and eighth grade levels; concomitantly, noncompliant behavior is consistently correlated with the perception of authority figures' rules as being less fair.

Confidence or distrust in the system seems, therefore, to play a greater role as regards school behavior than awareness of the coercive power of the authority figures.

Summary. Children's evaluation of the fairness of rules changes with age in two main directions. First, their opinion about adults' rules become less positive, while this does not happen with friends' rules. Secondly, their conception of the fairness of rules becomes more mature and democratic. At the fourth grade level they seem to accept all adults' rules blindly and passively; at the eighth grade level they appear to realize that rules must be based on group consensus and become more critical toward the authority of adults and

more involved with their peers. The ratings of the teacher's rules, in particular, which show a sharp decrease with age, emphasize the loss of prestige of this figure in children's evaluations and his or her switch from a privileged position to the lowest ranking.

FIGURE 4-12
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE
OF FIGURES' RULES, BY GRADE
(ITALY)



Item: "How many of (figure's) rules are fair?"

Scale: 1 - None; 6 - All.

TABLE 4-24

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF POSITIVE AND PUNITIVE DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND BELIEF IN THE JUSTICE OF THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

JUSTICE OF RULES WITH:	AUTHORITY FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
		GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Willingness to Help	Father	.44*	.13	.03	.41*	.02	.21*
	Mother	.07	.25*	.14	.28*	.18	.22*
	Teacher	.09	.01	.34*	.16	.37*	.30*
	Policeman	.13	.22*	.34*	.06	.36*	.26*
	Government President	.10	.41*	.25*	.21	.25*	.35*
Affective Attachment	Father	.41*	.19*	.58*	.18	.54*	.36*
	Mother	.28*	.35*	.57*	.26*	.52*	.22*
	Teacher	.43*	.47*	.35*	.44*	.56*	.44*
	Policeman	.24*	.30*	.31*	.36*	.26*	.62*
	Government President	.13	.35*	.37*	.30*	.41*	.13
Power to Punish Noncompliance	Father	.24*	-.00	.23*	.04	.02	.12
	Mother	.10	.06	.04	.05	.15	.30*
	Teacher	.11	.28*	.28*	.24*	.27*	.22*
	Policeman	.04	.18	.26	.23*	.30*	.02
	Government President	.03	.10	.19	.33*	.10	.10
Inevitability of Punishment	Father	.09	.04	.04	.03	-.15	.13
	Mother	-.00	.11	-.07	-.04	-.08	.08
	Teacher	-.01	.25*	.16	.17	.03	.03
	Policeman	.20*	.39	.17	.00	.20	.14
	Government President	.01	.23*	.22*	.00	.10	.03

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 4-25

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF IN THE JUSTICE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.02	.18	.05	.14	-.02	-.15	-.11	-.15
	6	.13	-.03	.12	-.01	-.27*	.07	-.24*	.02
	8	.07	.03	.18	.21*	-.18	-.16	-.09	-.11
Mother	4	.04	.09	.05	.17	-.07	-.01	-.07	-.07
	6	.07	-.00	-.07	.01	-.06	.11	-.03	.07
	8	.20*	.15	.26*	.25*	-.27*	-.33*	-.12	-.24*
Teacher	4	.09	-.12	.07	.01	-.26*	-.08	-.24*	-.06
	6	.29*	.04	.09	.14	-.27*	.02	-.11	-.04
	8	.29*	.24	.19	.23*	-.06	-.27*	.20*	-.27*
Government	4	.01	.12	-.01	.21*	-.09	-.29*	-.06	-.30*
	6	-.00	.16	-.13	.15	-.24*	-.08	-.10	-.12
	8	.22*	.20*	.05	.15	-.02	-.14	-.10	-.19*
Policeman	4	.02	.02	.07	.10	-.14	-.31*	-.14	-.32*
	6	.01	.07	.01	.03	.02	-.08	.03	-.13
	8	.20	.21	.05	.10	.03	-.15	-.08	-.12
City	4	.10	.02	.12	.11	-.06	-.26*	-.03	.29*
	6	.16	.11	-.01	.07	-.13	-.10	-.01	-.12
	8	.17	.15	.04	.10	.05	-.23*	-.03	-.16
Friends	4	.11	.02	.02	.07	-.22*	-.24*	-.14	-.11
	6	.25*	.22*	.11	.28*	-.06	-.06	.08	-.12
	8	.05	.17	.02	.09	-.09	-.02	.11	-.03

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

d. The Enforcement of Rules and Laws

Rule-enforcers in the family. Children's perception of rule-enforcers in the family was investigated through the item cited in Table 4-26. Data show that the majority of the Italian research group across all grades think that the family rules are enforced by both parents acting jointly; much fewer children thought that the entire family is involved in the enforcement of family rules; an equal proportion of the sample appeared to think that the rule-enforcing functions are carried by the father alone; the percentage of children attributing such functions to the mother alone ranked lowest. The frequency of children perceiving the father as the sole rule-enforcer in the family decreased with age while the opposite age trend was apparent on the frequencies of children believing that the family rules are enforced by both parents. The findings concerning rule enforcement therefore add further support to the hypothesis that perception of the family as functioning democratically is more frequent among high status than low status children.

Children's views about the conditions allowing a person to enforce rules and to require obedience were investigated through two interview questions. Responses to the question, "Who cna make you follow the rules?" indicate that while at the fourth grade level parents are seen as the major enforcers of rules, by the eighth grade most adult figures, as well as friends, may induce children to follow rules. Forty-eight percent of the answers pointing to parents were given by fourth grade children, 28 percent by sixth grade children, and 25 percent by eighth grade children. The answers indicating most adult figures, as well as friends, as rule-enforcers were given as follows: 17 percent by fourth grade children, 38 percent by sicth grade children, and 67 percent by eighth grade children.

When one compares these results with those of the items on the perception of the power of authority figures to punish noncompliance, where parents rank far above all non-family figures but judge, it may be concluded that children discriminate between a punitive social control (which they definitively assign to parents) and a more general social control (which with increases in age becomes less and less limited to family authority). The interview data seem, therefore, to add further evidence to the pre-adolescent's process of emancipation from parental authority.

In responding to the interview question "Who cannot make you follow the rules?" 25 percent of the interview sample answered that younger children or siblings have no power to enforce rule-observance. This kind of answer, however, was given by preference by younger children. On the other hand, 17 percent of the children answered that peers cannot enforce rules; 14 percent pointed to strangers, maintaining that they are not endowed with rule-enforcing power; and 13 percent indicated that people who do not follow the rules themselves cannot enforce rules upon others.

TABLE 4-26

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN ENFORCING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	20	28	12	18	23
	6	18	27	9	15	21
	8	9	11	8	11	7
	Total		22	10	15	17
Mother	4	9	12	6	11	8
	6	11	8	13	13	9
	8	8	10	6	8	7
	Total		10	8	11	8
Father and Mother Together	4	57	48	66	56	57
	6	55	54	57	57	54
	8	65	67	62	63	66
	Total		56	62	59	59
Whole Family	4	14	12	16	15	12
	6	16	10	22	16	16
	8	18	12	24	18	19
	Total		11	21	16	16

Item. "Who sees that the rules of your family are obeyed or enforced?"
Item scale: Percentage choice of one alternative.

B3. The Child's Internalization of Norms

Internalization of social norms of behavior is assumed to be based essentially on identification processes initially with parental figures and later on with all those figures who, within a given culture, play a major role in children's lives.

According to the psychoanalytic thinking identification is a defensive mechanism aimed at reducing the anxiety generated during the oedipal phase by jealous and hostile feelings toward the rival parent.

According to the developmental theory (O. H. Mowrer, 1950), the child, mainly out of fear of loss of love, wishes to be like the loving and rewarding parent without the dramatic conflict implied in the Freudian theory. Role theorists (J. W. M. Whiting, 1960; R. R. Sears, 1957), realizing a compromise between the two approaches, are inclined to see the identification process as the result of the child's playing the role of parents who are nurturant and rewarding as well as all-powerful and punitive.

Guilt feelings, self-recrimination, and role playing, which are generally assumed to reflect the identification process, are investigated in this section.

a. Subjective Response to Noncompliance

The questionnaire items cited in Figure 4-13 were intended to test the degree of guilt associated with the child's undetected disobedience of the rules of authority figures. The items were thought of as a measure of children's internalization of the norms of the system. Children were asked to rate (on a six-point scale) how bad they felt when they disobeyed the rules of parents, religious leaders, teacher, other non-family authorities (government, city, policeman), and friends, even though their disobedience was not known.

For the Italian research group, mean ratings range from the category "much" for violating rules of relition, mother, father, and teacher, to "some" for breaking government, city, and policeman's rules, to "a little" for breaking friends' rules. The rank order of figures as well as the general decrease with age in ratings of all figures except friends are consistent with most of the data so far examined.

The decline of feelings of guilt with age parallels the general decrease in the perceived willingness of authority figures to help and the children's liking for them. This could be attributed to children's gradual emancipation from the significant adult figures and to a concomitant greater identification with peers. Religion and parents, as they have been perceived to be the major source of help, also appeared to be the major sources of guilt. The decrease, with age, in their ratings on both scales is far less marked than the decrease in ratings of teachers and other authority figures outside the family.

The analysis of variance shows marked sex effects indicating that girls feel guilty toward all non-family figures to a greater degree than boys. (The girls' means at grades four, six, and eight were 4.33, 3.94, and 2.95, respectively, for teacher; 3.49, 2.88, and 1.99, respectively, for policeman; 3.86, 3.18, and 2.32, respectively, for city; 4.25, 3.73, and 2.98, respectively, for government; 4.71, 4.39, and 4.63, respectively, for religion; and 3.07, 2.88, and 2.56, respectively, for friends. Boys' corresponding means were 4.03, 3.24, and 2.65 for teacher; 3.35, 2.32, and 2.08 for policeman; 3.62, 2.57, and 2.43 for city; 3.70, 3.13, and 2.91 for government; 4.77, 4.63, and 4.00 for religion; and 2.38, 2.23, and 2.43 for friends.) Girls appear to view these figures as more lenient and helpful than do boys; and their feelings of guilt could be greater because of greater dependency needs, desire for external approval, and a consequent higher motivation to conform with the standards of the social environment.

With respect to parents and friends high SES children reported higher degrees of guilt than did low SES children. (Low SES children's means at grades four, six, and eight were 4.24, 3.80, and 3.61, respectively, for father; 4.58, 4.27, and 3.79, respectively, for mother; and 2.75, 2.18, and 2.25, respectively, for friends. The corresponding means for high SES children were 4.63, 4.32, and 3.98 for father; 4.82, 4.53, and 4.19 for mother; and 2.74, 2.90, and 2.76 for friends.) This difference is probably determined by the differences in the child-rearing practices of parents from the two SES groups.

The combined index for other authorities shows no significant SES differences. However, if individual figures are considered, feelings of guilt toward religion are higher for higher class children. (The low SES children's means at grades four, six, and eight were

4.55, 4.53, and 4.19, respectively; the corresponding means for high SES children were 5.03, 4.97, and 4.44, respectively.)

Relation of guilt to other variables of the study. The correlational analysis indicates that guilt feelings are strongly associated with affective attachment to the figures concerned and belief in the justice of their rules and, to a lesser degree, with other dimensions relevant to the socialization process, such as children's estimates of the figures' power to punish and their expectations of punishment following noncompliance (see Tables 4-27 and 4-28). Therefore, internalization appears to be associated with affective attachment and regard for the figures' fairness and nurturance as well as with perception of the figures as powerful and consistent in sanctioning noncompliance. These findings are in line with the role theory of identification which derives internalization from both nurturant and punitive aspects of authority.

Self-punishment for disobedience. On the assumption that self-punishment is another facet of internalization, children were asked whether they would punish themselves when transgressing the rules of various authority figures. The percentages of "yes" responses across the different figures (see Table 4-29) grouped together by the analysis of variance, indicate that about 60 percent of all children assert that they would punish themselves in such situations of detected disobedience.

Sex differences showing girls' greater tendency toward intrapunitiveness emphasize their greater inclination toward internalization of rules already observed in the "feel bad" items (see Table 4-29).

Relationship between reports of guilt for undetected rule violation and reports of self-blame for detected disobedience of authority figures. The correlation between feelings of guilt and self-punishment for disobedience known to others is moderate (17 out of a total of 48 possible coefficients across all grade-sex groups). These correlations indicate that the more a child feels guilty, the more he tends to punish himself (see Table 4-30). However, guilt yields a greater number of significant correlations with other indices of children's beliefs regarding intersystem reinforcement of punishment for noncompliance. There were 29 significant correlations (out of 48 possible) between guilt and beliefs that nonfamily authority figures support each other's disciplinary acts and 18 (out of 48 possible) significant

correlations between guilt and beliefs that parents reinforce the discipline of non-family authorities. These findings emphasize the importance of both positive and punitive dimensions of authority in inducing internalization of norms.

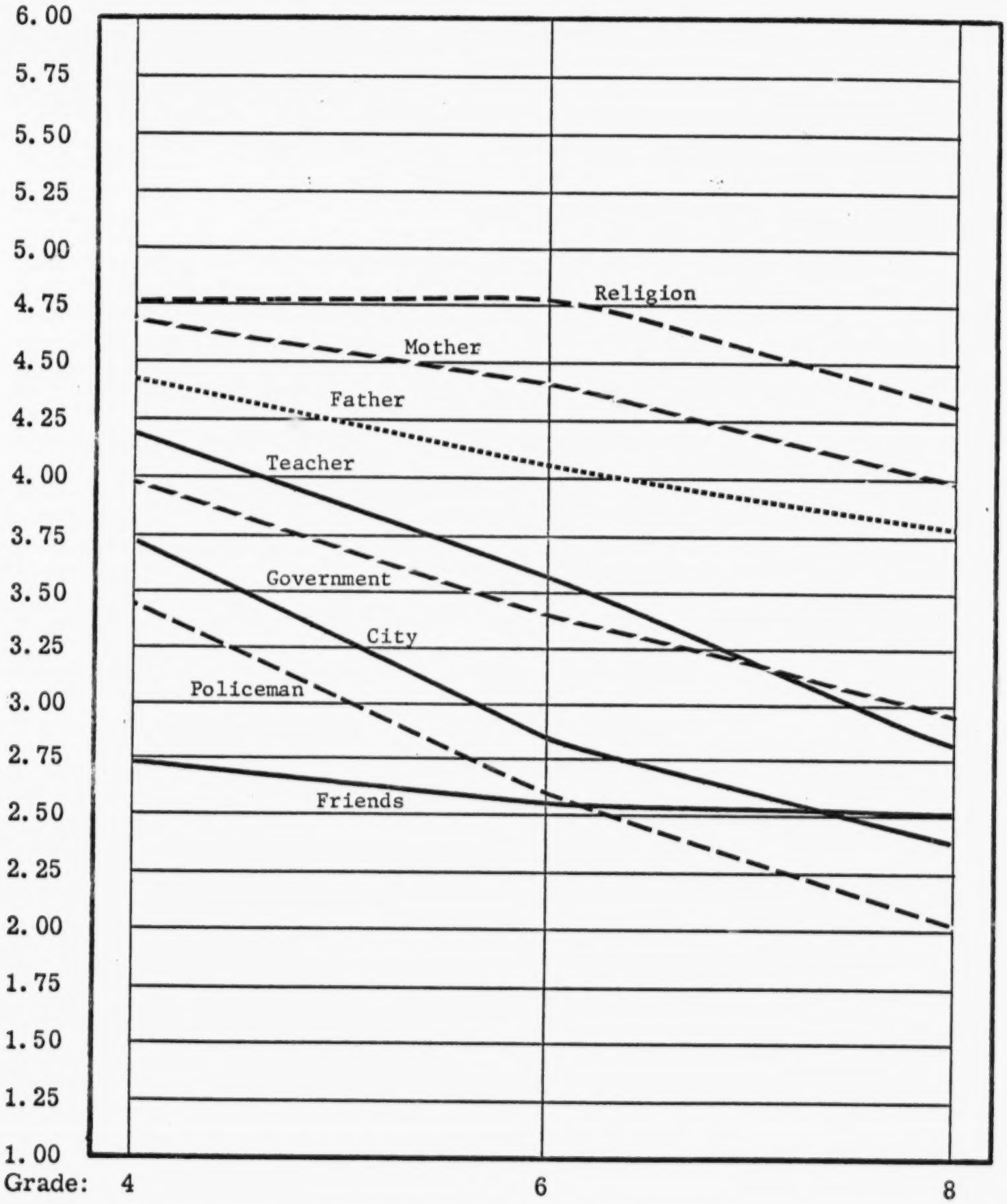
Relationship between guilt and classroom behavior. There are no consistent patterns of correlation between the internalization of norms and rules, as measured by feelings of guilt and self-punishment, and peer ratings of classroom behavior (see Table 4-31).

Despite the observed association between guilt feelings and other measures of children's socialization, and between guilt feelings and self-punishment, there is very little evidence that these aspects of internalization affect school behavior. This could imply that there is a gap between children's self-reports and their manifest behavior. Therefore, the items would measure children's formal knowledge of cultural norms rather than attitudes affecting behavior. The hypothesis seems appropriate considering that Italian children are generally taught very early, particularly through religious training, about the cathartic moral value of guilt feeling and intrapunitiveness.

Summary. Feelings of guilt and intrapunitiveness, the psychological components that are commonly labeled "conscience," appear to result largely from relationships with parents and religious leaders. Nurturant attitudes and moral prestige seem to favor these processes to the greatest extent. Punitive attitudes are also involved but to a lesser degree.

Guilt feeling following transgression of authority rules decreases with age. The results testify to the pre-adolescent's gradual emancipation from the adult world and his gradual identification with peers. The higher intensity of guilt feelings reported by girls and high SES children as compared to boys and low SES children parallels the former groups' greater affective dependency upon authority figures. Girls also appeared to be more inclined than boys to blame themselves for detected rule disobedience.

FIGURE 4-13
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH FIGURE'S RULES, BY GRADE
(ITALY)



Item: When you break (figure's) rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

TABLE 4-27

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, LIKABLE, AND JUST, AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Guilt with: Affiliation (liking for Authority Figures)						
Father	.12	.28*	.32*	.20*	.43*	.16
Mother	.29*	.43*	.37*	.26*	.52*	.15
Teacher	.32	.49*	.32*	.36*	.50*	.30*
Policeman	.21*	.40*	.43*	.41*	.17	.32*
President(Gov't)	.26*	.29*	.34*	.31*	.30*	.13
Guilt with: Perception of Authority Figures as helpful						
Father	.04	.05	.01	.40*	.17	.10
Mother	-.04	-.00	.16	.21*	.07	.15
Teacher	.24*	.17	.15	.01	.36*	.32*
Policeman	.21*	.20*	.03	-.09	.20	.04
Religious Leader	.13	.42*	.16	.42*	.21*	.36*
President	.14	.35*	.28*	.02	.22	.16
Friends	.23*	.17	.26*	.11	.43*	.23*
Guilt with: Perception of Rules of Author. Figures as fair						
Father	.17	.28*	.40*	.48*	.39*	.30*
Mother	.26*	.32*	.31*	.35*	.50*	.17
Teacher	.21*	.44*	.34*	.33*	.51*	.42*
Policeman	.22*	.40*	.28*	.20	.34*	.29*
City	.28*	.36*	.20*	.16	.20*	.26*
Government	.13	.30*	.26*	.04	.24*	.14
Friends	.39*	.35*	.49*	.19	.39*	.36*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 4-28

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF PUNITIVE DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Guilt with: Power of Figure to Punish						
Father	.17	.01	.14	.04	.06	.13
Mother	.20*	.08	.28*	.00	.15	.09
Teacher	.21*	.38*	.38*	.34*	.16	.27*
Policeman	-.11	.15	.05	.18	.31*	-.00
Religious Leader	.05	.27*	.21*	.27*	.08	.31*
President	.21*	.21*	.32*	.11*	.10	.22*
Judge	.15	.10	-.03	-.01	.07	.06
Friends	.20*	.12	.47*	.09	.39*	.38*
Guilt with: Likelihood that Figure Will Punish Disobedience						
Father	.21*	.18	.22*	.10	.09	.01
Mother	.31*	.22*	.26*	-.02	.21	.08
Teacher	.18	.26*	.41*	.16	-.03	.05
Policeman	.09	.09	.19	.12	.37*	.11
Government	.07	.18	.36*	.16	.24*	.08
City	.11	.14	.16	.27*	-.01	.11

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 4-29

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF Ss REPORTING PUNISHMENT OF SELF FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WITH RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

FIGURES	GRADE FOUR					GRADE SIX					GRADE EIGHT				
		SOCIAL STATUS		SEX			SOCIAL STATUS		SEX			SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	67	68	66	82	51	62	62	61	72	52	53	46	59	51	54
Mother	63	57	70	78	48	63	59	67	74	51	57	50	63	62	52
Teacher	64	57	72	81	47	60	58	64	70	51	56	48	64	58	53
Policeman	62	61	63	78	46	53	50	57	61	46	46	38	53	46	45
City	63	62	65	78	49	63	60	65	74	51	63	62	64	60	66
Government	57	51	62	73	40	59	56	62	72	46	54	48	59	54	54

Note. Significant Effects: (Punish-Self Index) Sex. Item: "Besides (figure), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey (figure's) rules?" Alternative: "I (me). Index: Number of "Yes" responses across 6 figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, city, government). Index scale: 0-6

TABLE 4-30

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF INTERNALIZATION OF RULES AND NORMS OF COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS: BELIEF THAT DISCIPLINE BY ONE AUTHORITY FIGURE WILL BE REINFORCED BY OTHERS AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT MEASURES (ACROSS DIFFERENT FIGURES)	GUILT OVER DISOBEDIENCE TO FIGURES (NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS)								TOTAL SIGNIF. CORREL.	TOTAL POSSIBLE CORREL.
	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	RELIG. LEADER	GOVT.	CITY	POLICE	FRIENDS		
Would punish self	3	4	1	1	3	2	1	2	17	48
Parents for parents	3	0	0	1	2	1	3	0	10	48
Parents for non-family authority figures	4	3	3	1	2	3	2	0	18	48
Other family for parents	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	0	8	48
Other family for non-family figures	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	0	9	48
Total family for school	1	0	0	2	1	3	0	1	8	48
Non-family figures for parents	0	0	5	1	3	3	3	0	15	48

TABLE 4-30 (CONTINUED)

INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT MEASURES (ACROSS DIFFERENT FIGURES)	GUILT OVER DISOBEDIENCE TO FIGURES (NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS)								TOTAL SIGNIF. CORREL.	TOTAL POSSIBLE CORREL.
	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	PELIG. LEADER	GOVT.	CITY	POLICE	FRIENDS		
Non-family figures for school	2	3	1	1*	0	2	3	1	1*/12	18
Non-family for non-family	5	3	5	4	4	4	4	0	29	48
TOTALS	22	15	17	1*/12	17	21	18	4	1*/126	432

Note. *Indicates negative correlations.

TABLE 4-31

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GUILT AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR,
BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(ITALY)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.22*	.07	.23*	.11	.01	-.15	.04	-.08
	6	.09	.04	.13	.C8	-.04	.14	-.17	.03
	8	.08	.14	-.05	.21*	-.09	.04	-.09	-.06
Mother	4	.13	.12	.14	.12	-.06	-.11	-.11	-.13
	6	.07	-.08	.08	-.00	-.05	.08	-.15	.00
	8	.09	.13	.09	.21*	-.18	.01	-.15	-.06
Teacher	4	.16	-.01	.14	.18	-.14	-.25*	-.18	-.18
	6	.15	-.02	.08	.03	-.16	.11	-.02	-.09
	8	.11	.21*	.12	.24*	-.10	-.04	-.12	-.16
Policeman	4	.15	.06	.18	.15	-.07	-.20*	-.13	-.17
	6	.04	.09	-.01	.13	-.13	.08	-.14	-.02
	8	.21*	.09	.01	.21*	-.15	-.11	.10	-.14
Religious Leader	4	.09	.05	.12	.03	-.12	-.03	-.12	.02
	6	.08	-.21*	.07	-.05	.04	.10	.00	.00
	8	.03	.18	-.03	.19	-.02	-.03	-.08	-.08
Government	4	.16	.02	.17	.18	-.01	-.22	-.09	-.25*
	6	.07	-.15	.09	-.05	-.04	.25*	-.05	.13
	8	.10	.19*	.01	.16	-.12	-.04	-.14	-.03
City	4	.15	-.09	.20*	.03	-.02	-.13	-.14	-.12
	6	-.02	-.17	.01	-.11	.11	.13	.03	.06
	8	-.03	.18	-.08	.09	.05	-.03	-.01	-.07
Friends	4	.02	-.11	.03	-.10	-.09	.01	-.12	.06
	6	.33*	-.05	.25*	.12	-.03	-.07	-.02	-.09
	8	.09	.07	-.02	.13	-.04	.09	.07	-.01
Punish-Self Index(1)	4	.17	.19*	.19*	.11	-.21*	-.04	-.28*	-.01
	6	.06	-.03	.13	-.08	.15	-.04	.06	-.09
	8	-.00	-.12	.01	-.05	-.16	-.06	-.03	.01

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.
(1) For content of Punish-self Index see Table 4-29, footnote.

b. Identification with the Norms of the System

Another aspect of the internalization process is the assimilation, on the part of the child, of the norms of the adult world in which he grows up. The kinds of action he takes when other children break rules should give indications of the degree and quality of this assimilation.

To assess this process children were presented with the question "When other children break your father's (mother's, teacher's, city's, religion's) rules, what do you do?" followed by a series of action alternatives to each of which they were instructed to answer "Yes," "No," or "Don't know." The action alternatives used with these items are listed in Tables 4-32 and 4-33.

Data in Table 4-32 indicate that, in general, children did not discriminate among individual authority figures in the extent to which they use each of the various methods of rule enforcement upon their disobeying peers. However, the frequency of citing each action alternative across all authority figures differed substantially. Comparison of grade means for the various actions shows a marked difference in ranking. Items indicating verbal action addressed to the offenders, such as "Tell them they are wrong" and "Ask them why" rank the highest in frequency and are well above items indicating either that the child would denounce the offenders to some authority figure (his own parents, the offenders' parents, or the figure whose rules were violated), or would take direct action ("Try to punish them"). The alternative "Do nothing" ranks the lowest but its frequency significantly increases with age while the frequency of all other kinds of actions decreases significantly (see Table 4-33).

Low SES children rate significantly higher than high SES children on the "Try to punish" and "Tell their parents" action alternatives though the differences tend to disappear with age (see Table 4-33).

Sex differences were significant in regard to three action alternatives: "Ask why," "Tell my parents" (which were cited more frequently by girls), and "Try to punish" (which was cited more frequently by boys).

At the fourth grade level verbal action implying a judgment of the disobedience (i.e., "Tell them they are wrong"), or a request of explanation on the part of the offender (i.e., "Ask them why"), is already markedly preponderant over overt aggression (i.e., "Try to punish") as well as over the requests of support by parental figures or over reporting the disobedience to the figure concerned.

The finding indicates that already at the fourth grade children have reached a remarkable degree of autonomy in that they seldom ask for adult support when other children break rules (i.e., "Tell my/their parents," "Tell the figure"). The kind of action preferred ("Tell them they are wrong," "Ask why") could also indicate that our culture favors direct, verbal dealing with the situation over more overt aggression or deferring the ruling to superior authorities.

The decrease of frequency of all alternatives indicating action, and the consequent increase of frequency of the "Do nothing" alternative indicate that, with age, a substantial number of children tend to develop critical and noncommital attitudes toward adult standards and rules.

The higher frequency with which low SES children cited the action alternatives "Try to punish" and "Tell their parents" indicate SES differences in parents' methods of child training. Lower class children are more likely than upper class children to experience direct punishment when they break rules. This may also explain the higher frequency with which low SES children cite the alternative of "Telling the offenders' parents" who usually are the dispensers of punishment.

The finding that the alternative "Ask why" was cited more often by girls than boys while the opposite was true for the "Try to punish" option probably indicates that girls, who are generally less aggressive and experience less punishment than boys, prefer to face such situations verbally than with overtly aggressive action. The additional finding that girls also chose more often than boys the alternative "Tell my parents" probably reflects their greater dependency upon their parents. As already noted, this attitude reflects the girls' tendency to perceive the adult world as more helpful and more supporting.

Relationship between choices of methods of enforcing rules upon disobeying peers and other measures of internalization of norms. The inspection of the number and direction of significant correlations between children's preferred methods of handling peers' disobedience of authority figures' rules and their reports concerning the intensity of their guilt feelings over their own rule violations may further clarify the meaning of these findings. Data presented in Table 4-34 indicate that the higher the intensity of guilt over one's own transgressions the greater the likelihood that he would face rule violation by his peers by direct verbal questioning and/or direct verbal rebuke rather than through other methods. Furthermore, the more intense the guilt experienced for one's own

transgressions the less the likelihood that one would remain indifferent (i.e., he would "Do nothing") in the face of his peers' transgressions.

Relationship between choices of methods of facing peers' rule violation and peer ratings of classroom behavior. The number of significant correlations between the two sets of measures (see Table 4-35) is relatively small (21 out of a total of 168 coefficients across grade-sex groups). However, most of the significant correlations form consistent patterns worth commenting upon. At the fourth grade level a predilection for reporting noncompliant peers to authority figures ("Tell my parents" and "Tell their parents") tends to be associated (especially for boys) with a reputation for noncompliance in the classroom. At grades six and eight, the index "Try to punish" is correlated positively with midconduct and negatively with good behavior in school; the relationship tends to be significant for both sexes. Later on, children's misbehavior in the classroom, rather than being associated with dependent attitudes upon adults, is related to overt aggression toward peers.

Of the other methods of dealing with peers' noncompliance only the option "Ask why" correlates significantly (and negatively) with noncompliant classroom behavior; this relationship is significant only for eighth grade boys.

Summary. When faced with noncompliant peers most children appear to be willing to play the roles of authority figures and enforce their rules upon other children. Therefore, they seem to identify extensively with the system. The "Do nothing" response occurs very seldom, but its frequency increases with age. Considering this trend in conjunction with the previously discussed finding that, with age, children tend to feel less guilty when breaking authority rules one may speculate that with age they become gradually aware that adult rules are not necessarily their own rules. The early preference for verbal action directed toward the offender probably reflects a cultural standard which disapproves of overt aggression and of reporting misconduct to a superior authority.

Girls and high SES children show less inclination toward overt aggression than boys and low SES children.

TABLE 4-32

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES ON REACTIONS FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY TOTAL GRADE (ITALY)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	FIGURE OR SYSTEM WHOSE RULES ARE DISOBEYED BY PEERS														
	MOTHER			FATHER			TEACHER			RELIGION			CITY		
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8
Do nothing	51	50	47	50	46	42	62	66	66	55	52	53	63	63	65
Ask why	81	74	73	76	76	72	76	69	62	79	75	69	73	61	57
Tell them they are wrong	81	78	72	86	78	73	82	71	66	81	80	77	74	65	61
Tell my parents	41	31	19	49	47	20	45	31	22	39	36	16	44	36	19
Tell the figure	47	33	23	48	31	18	32	12	4	41	33	19	30	12	5
Tell their parents	22	20	8	37	21	14	27	11	4	31	19	6	29	16	9
Try to punish them myself	41	41	27	39	35	25	33	18	8	34	21	12	33	16	8

Note. Item: "When other children break (figure) rules what do you do?" Percentages of "Yes" responses to each of 7 alternatives for 5 figures (mother, father, teacher, church, city), by total grade.

TABLE 4-33

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON RESPONSES FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS		
Ask Them Why	4	3.82	3.77	3.90	4.13	3.50	0-5	Grade, Sex
	6	3.53	3.50	3.55	3.66	3.39		
	8	3.04	2.82	3.25	3.21	2.87		
	Total		3.41	3.56	3.70	3.26		
Tell Them They Are Wrong	4	4.00	3.93	4.10	4.25	3.73	0-5	Grade
	6	3.67	3.69	3.65	3.78	3.57		
	8	3.16	3.05	3.26	3.19	3.12		
	Total		3.60	3.66	3.77	3.48		
Tell My Parents	4	2.19	2.27	2.08	2.54	1.82	0-5	Grade, Sex
	6	1.66	1.66	1.65	1.87	1.46		
	8	.86	.75	.96	.94	.78		
	Total		1.64	1.55	1.83	1.37		
Tell Their Parents	4	1.56	1.95	.99	1.80	1.31	0-5	Grade, SES
	6	.85	1.02	.69	.80	.91		
	8	.38	.36	.39	.33	.42		
	Total		1.10	.69	.92	.87		

TABLE 4-33 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Tell the Figure	4	1.98	2.10	1.85	2.18	1.78	0-5	Grade
	6	1.20	1.23	1.18	1.21	1.20		
	8	.64	.58	.70	.62	.66		
	Total		1.30	1.24	1.34	1.21		
Try to Punish Them Myself	4	1.80	1.88	1.69	1.40	2.23	0-5	Grade, Sex, SES
	6	1.29	1.49	1.08	.88	1.67		
	8	.74	.81	.68	.60	.88		
	Total		1.44	1.14	.99	1.61		
Do Nothing	4	.18	.15	.23	.10	.26	0-5	Grade
	6	.39	.45	.34	.38	.40		
	8	1.11	1.35	.86	1.18	1.04		
	Total		.60	.48	.53	.56		

Note. Item: "When other children break (figure's) rules, what do you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to each of seven alternatives for five figures (father, mother, teacher, city, church).

TABLE 4-34

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF INTERNALIZATION OF RULES AND NORMS OF COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS: RESPONSES IN REACTION TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND GUILT OVER ONE'S OWN NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

TYPE OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE	(NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS) GUILT TOWARD:							TOTAL SIGNIF. CORREL.	TOTAL POSSIBLE CORREL.
	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	POLICE	RELIG.	GOVT.	CITY		
Tell my parents	1*/1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1*/8	42
Tell their parents	0	0	0	0	0	1	1	2	42
Tell figure	1*/1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1*/8	42
Ask them why	0	0	2	4	2	2	4	14	42
Tell them they are wrong	1	0	2	4	2	2	4	15	42
Try to punish them	0	0	0	2	0	1*/1	0	1*/3	42
Do nothing	1*	0	3*	4*	2*	2*	3*	15*	42
TOTALS	3*/3	3	3*/6	4*/12	2*/6	3*/8	3*/12	18*/50	294

Note. *Indicates negative relationship.

TABLE 4-35

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPES OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

TYPES OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Tell my parents	4	-.06	-.26*	-.05	.22*	-.02	.01	.00	.05
	6	.03	-.04	.00	.09	-.08	-.16	-.08	-.19
	8	.16	-.06	.03	.04	-.18	.00	.01	-.07
Tell their parents	4	-.16	-.36*	-.12	-.31*	.06	.22*	.12	.19*
	6	-.25*	-.13	-.16	-.10	.00	-.01	-.12	-.02
	8	.05	-.05	-.02	.02	-.08	.00	.04	.03
Tell (figure)	4	-.11	-.17	-.10	-.14	.01	.03	.02	.00
	6	-.10	-.18	-.06	-.14	-.06	-.01	-.12	-.05
	8	.12	-.07	-.03	.09	-.06	-.06	.05	-.04
Ask why	4	.12	.22*	.13	.16	-.03	-.12	-.06	-.10
	6	.03	-.04	.01	.06	.10	.01	.14	-.02
	8	.12	-.06	.06	.12	-.23*	-.03	-.21*	-.01
Tell them they are wrong	4	.16	.13	.15	.08	-.06	-.18	-.06	-.14
	6	.01	.05	.02	.14	.06	-.03	.04	-.10
	8	.16	-.01	.00	.22*	-.13	-.13	-.08	-.12
Try to punish them	4	-.03	.03	-.01	-.03	.22*	.09	.14	.17
	6	-.27*	-.22*	-.21*	-.28*	.20*	.12	.11	.23*
	8	.01	-.09	.03	-.10	.10	.23*	-.02	.20*
Do nothing	4	-.07	.06	-.06	.12	-.05	.06	.03	-.02
	6	-.11	.21*	-.11	.02	-.02	-.08	.02	-.06
	8	-.20	.04	-.05	-.15	.14	.06	.15	-.00

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

B4. Response to Unjust Authority

As Piaget has pointed out, the process of internalization of rules and norms may be considered as unfolding through two main phases. During the first, children conform to norms as they are dictated by the adults they identify with. During the second phase the internalized norms become autonomous moral values that control behavior independently from authority pressure. Attainment of this latter phase requires greater conceptual maturity as well as less affective dependency. Moral autonomy is reached when a child is able to discriminate between authority figures and norms and vest the latter with greater value.

This section investigates the various ways in which children react to the conflict between authority figures and rules.

The question cited in Figure 4-14 was used to assess children's responses to unjust pronouncements (commands or actions) of authority figures, i.e., parents, teachers, and other authorities (policeman, government). Each question was followed by a series of response options--such as "Do nothing," "Ask why," "Verbal responses" ("Tell the figure he was unfair," "Tell him not to do it again," "Show him one's anger"), "Talk to peers about it," "Ask parents to talk to or stop the unjust figure," and "Get even with the unjust figure"--to which children were instructed to answer "Yes" or "No."

Children's preferences for the different responses can be assumed to depend on both their degree of moral autonomy and on cultural pressures upon different behavioral outlets of aggressive tendencies.

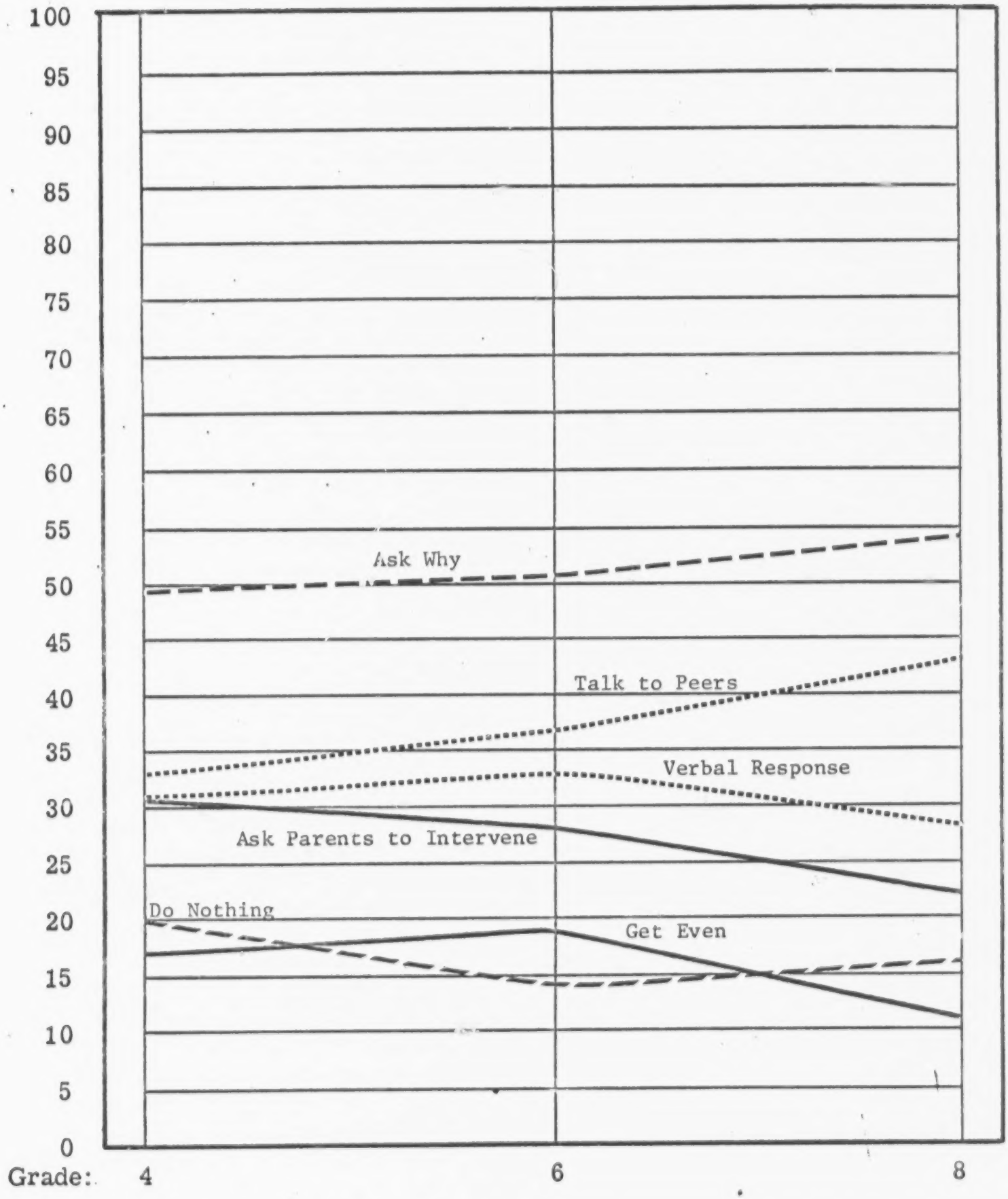
a. Reactions to Injustice from Total Authority

The summary frequencies of "Yes" responses to each of the six categories of responses to injustice across all authority figures assessed (see Table 4-36 and Figure 4-14 indicate that, across all grades, "Ask why" is the response with which most children would face injustice from authority figures in general. "Talk to peers" ranks second in frequency, followed by "Verbal responses" and "Ask parents to intervene." The options "Do nothing" and "Get even" rank lowest in frequency indicating that both extremes, inaction and revenge, are relatively rarely thought of as productive ways of dealing with injustice from authority figures.

None of the independent variables of the study--age, sex, and SES--affected the frequency with which children opted for the "Do nothing" and the "Ask why" alternatives (see Table 4-37). The sex of children significantly differentiated the frequency with which they appeared to be inclined to face injustice through "Verbal responses," requests for parental intervention ("Ask parents to talk to or stop the unjust figure"), and "Get even" practices--with boys citing these options more often than girls; sex also differentiated the frequency of Ss who would "Talk to peers," with girls citing this option more often than boys do. Finally, the frequency of two response categories, "Talk to peers" and "Ask parents to intervene" was affected by the Ss' age--the former type of response becoming more frequent as children grew older and the latter less frequent.

The low percentage of Ss citing the "Do nothing" option, whatever the source of injustice, indicates that children in general feel they have to cope with the unjust pronouncements of authority figures. The finding suggests (but does not prove) that at grade four children have already entered the phase of autonomous morality. On the other hand, the low percentage of Ss citing the "Get even" option across all authority figures may indicate that children have internalized quite early the cultural attitude against revengeful behavior. The findings may also indicate that, in general, the authority figures' prestige prevents children from engaging in such an aggressive kind of reaction.

FIGURE 4-14
COMPARISON OF ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE
IN RESPONSE TO UNJUST USE OF AUTHORITY, BY GRADE
(ITALY)



Item: If (figure) did something to you that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?

TABLE 4-36

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY FOR FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES), BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(PERCENTAGE OF "YES" RESPONSES)
(ITALY)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
	4	6	8	4		6		8				4		6		8			
				L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
Do nothing (Resp. Alt. 1)	20	14	16	16	24	15	14	21	11	17	16	23	17	19	10	14	19	18	15
Ask why (Resp. Alt. 2)	49	51	54	52	46	51	51	50	57	51	51	48	50	49	53	54	54	50	52
Verbal responses (Resp. Alt. 3-6)	31	33	28	35	27	35	31	28	28	32	29	24	36	28	37	27	29	27	34
Talk to peers (Resp. Alt. 7-8)	33	37	43	33	33	37	37	36	49	35	40	33	33	41	33	51	34	41	34
Ask parents to intervene (Resp. Alt. 9-10)	31	28	22	36	25	28	28	20	24	28	26	27	34	23	33	22	23	24	30
Get even (Resp. Alt. 11)	17	19	11	20	13	18	19	11	10	16	14	10	24	15	22	10	11	11	19

Note. Item: "If your father (mother, teacher, a policeman, the government) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?" Response Alternatives: (1) "I would do nothing and tell no one (I'd keep it to myself)." (2) "I would ask him (her, them) why?" (3) "I would tell him (her, them) he was unfair." (4) "I would tell him (her, them) not to do it again." (5) "I would show him (her, them) my anger." (6) "I would tell other teachers (policeman) that this teacher (policeman) was unfair." (7) "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it." (8) "I would talk to my friends about it." (9) "I would ask my mother (father) or other adult relatives to stop him (her, them) from doing it again." (10) "I would ask my parents or other adult relatives to talk to him (her, them)." (11) "I would get even with or get back at him (her, them)."

TABLE 4-37

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY FOR FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES), BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES (Index Labels)	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Do Nothing	4	1.01	.81	1.20	1.14	.87	0-5	None
	6	.72	.75	.70	.96	.48		
	8	.82	1.06	.57	.69	.95		
	Total		.87	.82	.93	.77		
Ask Why	4	1.96	2.09	1.83	1.90	2.01	0-4	None
	6	2.04	2.05	2.04	1.95	2.13		
	8	2.16	2.03	2.29	2.16	2.16		
	Total		2.06	2.05	2.01	2.10		
Verbal Responses	4	5.24	5.90	4.58	4.31	6.17	0-17	Sex
	6	5.61	5.99	5.24	4.85	6.37		
	8	4.76	4.68	4.84	4.61	4.91		
	Total		5.52	4.88	4.59	5.82		
Talk to Peers	4	3.30	3.34	3.27	3.29	3.31	0-10	Sex,
	6	3.69	3.67	3.71	4.06	3.32		Grade
	8	4.27	3.63	4.90	5.08	3.45		
	Total		3.54	3.96	4.14	3.36		

TABLE 4-37 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES (Index Labels)	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Ask Parents to Intervene	4	1.53	1.82	1.25	1.36	1.71	0-5	Sex, Grade
	6	1.41	1.41	1.40	1.16	1.65		
	8	1.11	1.03	1.20	1.08	1.15		
	Total		1.42	1.28	1.20	1.50		
Get Even	4	.83	.99	.66	.48	1.18	0-5	Sex
	6	.93	.90	.97	.74	1.12		
	8	.53	.57	.50	.50	.57		
	Total		.82	.71	.57	.96		

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives comprising each response category across five figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, government).

b. Variations in Reactions to Injustice as a Function of the Identity of Authority Figures

To assess possible variations in children's preferences of methods of coping with injustice depending on its source, the frequency of "Yes" responses to each category of reaction was analyzed by figures grouped as Parents (combining responses to father and mother), Teacher, and Other Authority (combining responses to policeman and government). Table 4-38 shows that the action alternatives "Ask why" and "Verbal responses" were cited, across all grades, more often in reaction to parents' and other non-family authorities' injustices than to a teacher's. On the other hand, the options "Talk to peers" and "Get even" as well as "Do nothing" appeared to be used more often in response to injustice from non-family authorities (government, policeman, and teacher) than when parents are thought to be unfair. Finally, requests for parental support (i.e., the response option "Ask parents to talk to or stop the unjust figure") appeared to be elicited most often by teachers, and least often by other non-family authorities (policeman and government), with parents occupying an intermediate rank position.

These rankings probably reflect both family and school training. The ranking of authority groupings on the "Ask why" and "Verbal responses" action alternatives suggests that many children feel more free to directly challenge their parents', a policeman's or the government's decisions or commands than those of their teachers. This may be due to the fact that they experience a kind of school training where there is no freedom to discuss the teacher's pronouncements.

Sampling variations in the frequencies with which children chose each of the six behavior alternatives in response to injustice by family, school, and other non-family authorities are shown in Tables 4-39 through 4-44. This additional analysis of response variations by authority groupings further clarifies the impact of sampling factors on children's choices of methods of coping with unjust authority.

The analysis of variance for total authority had indicated no sampling variations in the frequency of citing the behavior alternatives "Do nothing" and "Ask why." The analysis by authority groupings confirmed the lack of sampling variations for the "Do nothing" option; however, the frequency of the "Ask why" alternative was affected by a significant sex difference when this

option was elicited by a teacher's injustice--with boys choosing it more often than girls. The total authority analysis indicated significant sex differences in the frequency of Ss citing the options "Verbal responses," "Get even," "Ask parents to intervene," and "Talk to peers." The analysis of variance by authority groupings reveals that sex differences on "Verbal responses" and "Get even" practices were significant when these reactions were elicited by teachers and other non-family authorities but not for parents; that is, only when facing a teacher's, a policeman's, and government authorities' injustices did boys maintain more often than girls that they would protest verbally and/or would seek revenge. Also, boys significantly exceeded girls in responding that they would "Ask parents to intervene" only when the source of injustice was outside the home and school, i.e., when it came from a policeman and/or the government. On the other hand, girls appeared to significantly exceed boys in incidence of "Talk to peers" only in the face of injustice from parents and teachers.

The total authority analysis indicated significant grade effects on the frequency of Ss citing the options "Talk to peers" and "Ask parents to intervene"--the former increasing with age and the latter decreasing. The analysis of variance by figure groupings confirmed the grade effects on the "Talk to peers" option only in response to teacher's injustice; also, a significant decline in the incidence of "Ask parents to intervene" was observed in response to parents', policeman's, and government's injustices, but not teachers'. In addition, the analysis by authority groupings indicated that, with age, "Verbal responses" to policeman's and government's injustices declined significantly.

No SES effects were observed in the total authority analysis. The analysis of variance by authority groupings indicated that low SES children were more inclined than their high SES peers to protest verbally to policeman's and government's injustices as well as to "Ask one parent to intervene" when the other parent's acts are thought to be unfair.

Of interest is the finding that, while the percentage of children citing "Verbal responses" remains stable with age (for parents and teacher) or decreases (for other non-family authorities) and the percentage of those citing the alternative "Ask parents to intervene" decreases significantly with age for parents and other authority (but not for teacher), the percentage of Ss citing the "Talk to peers" option increases with age only

in response to injustice from the teacher. These variations in the data seem to support the hypothesis that during the process of emancipation from adult authority, identification with and reliance on peers increases. This process is naturally enhanced more and is therefore reflected more clearly in the data involving relationships within the classroom setting.

The SES differences observed in the analysis by figure groupings--with more low SES than high SES children reporting that they would protest verbally to injustices by a policeman or the government--probably reflect the less favorable attitudes, in the low SES children's families, toward the government and police. The SES difference in the percentage of children who would "Ask one parent to stop the other" may reflect the fact (already mentioned) that less lower SES than higher SES children see their parents as ruling the family together; therefore, lower SES children may feel it easier than their high SES peers to influence their parents' decisions by appealing to each of them individually. This SES difference decreases, however, with age, possibly because lower SES children's sense of independence from the family increases with age.

Sex differences are in line with the general finding that girls usually hold more accepting and less critical attitudes toward authority. The finding that girls rate higher than boys on the "Talk to peers" option (a difference increasing with age) suggests that this kind of response, which is commonly considered as a characteristic of feminine behavior, compensates for girls' tendency to resort less often than boys to other direct expressions of criticism of authority figures.

Relationships between reactions to injustice and other variables of the study. Correlations shown in Table 4-45 indicate that the degree of association among the frequencies of citing the various action-alternatives in response to injustice by parents, teacher, and other authorities is substantial though the magnitude of coefficients varies greatly and some are not significant. The latter pertain to the least frequently chosen options, i.e., "Do nothing (for sixth grade boys), "Ask parents to intervene" (for eighth graders), and "Get even" (for eighth graders). In general, the data suggest that the various categories of responses to injustice are general rather than figure-specific.

The impact of children's perception of various characteristics of authority figures upon their choices of

methods of dealing with authority figures' injustices may be inferred through inspection of the correlational matrices associating the frequency with which they chose each method of coping with injustice with their ratings of authority figures on the scales of nurturance, affiliation, fairness of rules, guilt, punitive power, and inevitability of punishment (see Table 4-46). The data show that the behavior options most strongly influenced by the quality of children's attitudes toward authority were "Verbal responses," "Get even," "Talk to peers," and "Do nothing." Of those, "Verbal responses" and "Get even" were in negative association with children's perception of authority figures' rules as fair, their tendency to experience guilt over violation of the figures' rules and their affective attachment to figures; the relationship of these methods of coping with injustice to children's perception of authority figures' helpfulness, power to punish, and consistency in punishing disobedience was less often significant across grade and sex groups. "Talk to peers" was also negatively and quite consistently associated, across grade and sex groups, with perception of the figures' rules as fair and the intensity of children's guilt feelings over noncompliance with them; its negative association with children's regard for the other features of authority figures (nurturance, affiliation, power to punish, and consistency in punishing disobedience) was less often significant across grade and sex groups.

As could be expected, the option "Do nothing" was positively associated with children's perception of the figures' rules as fair and their tendency to feel guilty over breaking rules; its positive association with measures of other dimensions of children's images of authority figures was less often significant. "Do nothing" was negatively associated with liking for authority figures; that is, the more children are affectively attached to an authority figure the greater the likelihood that they will not resign themselves to passive submission to injustice on the part of that figure.

Relationship between reactions to injustice and peer ratings of classroom behavior. Table 4-47 indicates that children reporting that they would face injustice from authority figures through verbal protests, revenge, and, to a lesser extent, with reports to peers and requests for parental intervention were those who tended to be rated by their peers for noncompliant behavior at school and/or those who were less likely to enjoy a reputation for good, compliant school conduct. The data suggest that acceptance of school standards of discipline is

associated with self-control of verbal aggression and repression of revengeful tendencies. The finding that, especially at grade four, the more a child is inclined to face parental injustice by asking one parent to check the other the more likely he is to be troublesome at school and vice versa warrants further research on the dynamics of children's conflictual relationships with parents and their impact upon school behavior.

As could be expected, "Do nothing" was associated positively with compliant behavior and negatively with noncompliant behavior at school. The relationship was significant mostly for the younger children. If obliging behavior and submission to injustice are both signs of emotional dependency on authority figures, it is not surprising that their association is stronger in the younger age levels, where the child's needs for dependence are still strong.

Summary. Italian children tend to oppose injustice from all authority figures, a finding suggesting that at the fourth grade level they have already reached an advanced level of internalization of rules and norms. Their preferences for the different kinds of reactions vary depending on the authority figures involved. Teachers appear to discourage verbal aggression more than all other figures do.

Affective attachment and positive evaluation of the fairness of rules of authority figures appear to impede the most aggressive kinds of reaction. Children who are inclined to distrust the fairness of authority rules seem to have little confidence in the efficacy of methods of direct challenge of the authority figures' pronouncements and are more inclined to speak about the injustice with their friends.

Girls' greater amount of talking with peers seems to compensate for their greater repression of behavioral manifestations of overt aggression. The responses of lower SES children reflect the greater verbal aggressivity of their milieu.

TABLE 4-38

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, GROUPED AS PARENTS, TEACHER AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(PERCENTAGE OF "YES" RESPONSES)
(ITALY)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
	4	6	8	4		6		8				4		6		8			
				L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
DO NOTHING																			
Parents	.18	.12	.12	.15	.22	.10	.12	.16	.08	.14	.15	.20	.16	.14	.08	.07	.18	.14	.14
Teacher	.20	.14	.14	.16	.23	.17	.11	.20	.09	.18	.14	.22	.17	.21	.07	.13	.16	.19	.13
Other Authority	.22	.18	.22	.18	.26	.18	.17	.28	.16	.22	.20	.26	.19	.24	.12	.20	.22	.23	.18
ASK WHY																			
Parents	.58	.61	.64	.61	.56	.58	.64	.61	.68	.60	.62	.58	.58	.62	.60	.70	.59	.64	.59
Teacher	.36	.37	.35	.38	.34	.39	.35	.28	.42	.35	.37	.34	.38	.29	.45	.26	.44	.29	.42
Other Authority	.43	.45	.52	.48	.38	.50	.40	.53	.51	.51	.43	.39	.47	.41	.49	.51	.54	.44	.50
VERBAL RESPONSE																			
Parents	.34	.40	.39	.36	.32	.43	.38	.38	.40	.39	.37	.30	.38	.38	.43	.45	.24	.38	.38
Teacher	.22	.26	.20	.24	.19	.29	.23	.18	.20	.28	.21	.16	.27	.20	.31	.14	.25	.17	.28
Other Authority	.33	.31	.23	.39	.27	.32	.29	.23	.23	.22	.26	.26	.40	.25	.36	.19	.27	.24	.34
TALK TO PEERS																			
Parents	.26	.28	.36	.29	.23	.29	.27	.29	.42	.29	.31	.28	.24	.33	.24	.47	.25	.36	.24
Teacher	.34	.40	.49	.29	.38	.42	.37	.42	.56	.38	.22	.35	.32	.46	.34	.55	.42	.45	.36
Other Authority	.40	.44	.46	.40	.40	.41	.47	.40	.52	.41	.46	.37	.42	.46	.42	.53	.40	.45	.42

TABLE 4-38 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
	4	6	8	4		6		8				4		6		8			
				L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE																			
Parents	.34	.30	.22	.42	.25	.32	.27	.22	.24	.32	.26	.30	.36	.24	.36	.24	.22	.26	.32
Teacher	.32	.40	.32	.36	.29	.35	.44	.30	.34	.34	.36	.30	.35	.35	.45	.34	.30	.33	.36
Other Authority	.27	.20	.17	.32	.23	.21	.20	.15	.19	.22	.21	.23	.32	.17	.24	.13	.21	.18	.26
GET EVEN																			
Parents	.10	.10	.07	.13	.08	.10	.11	.07	.06	.10	.08	.05	.16	.08	.13	.08	.04	.07	.11
Teacher	.18	.21	.12	.21	.16	.23	.20	.15	.10	.19	.15	.09	.28	.18	.24	.10	.15	.12	.22
Other Authority	.22	.26	.14	.26	.18	.23	.28	.14	.14	.22	.20	.15	.30	.20	.31	.12	.17	.15	.26

Note. Item: "If ...(figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"
Response alternatives: See list in Table 4-36, footnote.

TABLE 4-39

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "DO NOTHING" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS
Parents	4	.37	.37	.20	.29	.45	.44	.45	.41	.32	0-2	None
	6	.23	.28	.13	.21	.27	.21	.24	.28	.17		
	8	.24	.15	.49	.32	.14	.20	.17	.14	.35		
	Total				.27			.29	.28	.28		
Teacher	4	.20	.23	.10	.16	.22	.24	.23	.22	.17	0-1	None
	6	.14	.28	.06	.17	.14	.09	.11	.21	.07		
	8	.14	.15	.25	.20	.12	.07	.09	.13	.16		
	Total				.18			.14	.19	.13		
Other Authority	4	.44	.51	.23	.37	.51	.54	.52	.51	.38	0-2	None
	6	.35	.55	.19	.37	.39	.29	.34	.47	.24		
	8	.43	.43	.66	.55	.39	.23	.31	.41	.45		
	Total				.43			.39	.46	.36		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"

TABLE 4-40

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "ASK WHY" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	1.16	1.19	1.25	1.22	1.16	1.06	1.11	1.17	1.15	0-2	None
	6	1.22	1.15	1.17	1.16	1.35	1.21	1.28	1.25	1.19		
	8	1.29	1.28	1.15	1.22	1.51	1.22	1.36	1.40	1.18		
	Total				1.20			1.25	1.27	1.18		
Teacher	4	.36	.33	.44	.38	.35	.33	.34	.34	.38	0-1	Sex
	6	.37	.34	.43	.39	.24	.46	.35	.29	.45		
	8	.35	.20	.36	.28	.31	.52	.42	.26	.44		
	Total				.35			.37	.29	.42		
Other Authority	4	.43	.45	.52	.48	.33	.43	.38	.39	.47	0-1	None
	6	.45	.42	.58	.50	.41	.39	.40	.41	.49		
	8	.52	.48	.58	.53	.53	.50	.51	.51	.54		
	Total				.51			.43	.44	.50		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Number of "Yes" responses to alternative "I would ask why," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman).

TABLE 4-41

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "VERBAL RESPONSES" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	2.04	1.87	2.51	2.19	1.73	2.07	1.90	1.80	2.29	0-6	None
	6	2.43	2.32	2.87	2.59	2.24	2.29	2.26	2.28	2.58		
	8	2.36	2.92	1.66	2.29	2.45	2.40	2.43	2.68	2.03		
	Total				2.36			2.20	2.25	2.30		
Teacher	4	.87	..65	1.31	.98	.67	.87	.77	.66	1.09	0-4	Sex
	6	1.03	.87	1.43	1.15	.76	1.07	.92	.82	1.25		
	8	.78	.60	.89	.74	.55	1.08	.82	.57	.99		
	Total				.96			.83	.68	1.11		
Other Authority	4	2.32	1.98	3.49	2.73	1.73	2.09	1.91	1.85	2.79	0-7	Sex,SES
	6	2.15	1.83	2.66	2.25	1.69	2.43	2.06	1.76	2.54		Grade(lin.)
	8	1.62	1.40	1.89	1.64	1.29	1.90	1.60	1.35	1.89		
	Total				2.21			1.85	1.65	2.41		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives: 1. "I would tell (figure) he (she, they) was (were) unfair," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government). 2. "I would tell (figure) not to do it again," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government). 3. "I would show (figure) my anger," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government.) 4. "I would tell other teachers or the principal (or other policeman) that this teacher (or this policeman) was unfair," for teacher and other authority (policeman).

TABLE 4-42

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "TALK TO PEERS" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	1.04	1.18	1.13	1.15	1.02	.81	.92	1.10	.97	0-4	Sex
	6	1.14	1.38	.98	1.18	1.27	.91	1.09	1.33	.95		
	8	1.43	1.63	.70	1.17	2.08	1.30	1.69	1.89	1.00		
	Total				1.17			1.23	1.43	.97		
Teacher	4	.68	.61	.55	.58	.78	.76	.77	.70	.65	0-2	Sex
	6	.79	.98	.70	.84	.84	.64	.74	.91	.67		Grade(lin.)
	8	.98	1.03	.64	.84	1.20	1.05	1.12	1.11	.85		
	Total				.75			.88	.91	.72		
Other Authority	4	1.59	1.40	1.80	1.60	1.59	1.57	1.58	1.49	1.69	0-4	None
	6	1.76	1.87	1.43	1.65	1.78	1.96	1.87	1.83	1.70		
	8	1.86	2.12	1.13	1.62	2.10	2.08	2.09	2.11	1.61		
	Total				1.63			1.85	1.81	1.67		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it," and "I would talk to my friends about it," for parents (mother, father), teacher, and other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 4-43

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.67	.77	.89	.83	.43	.57	.50	.60	.73	0-2	SES
	6	.60	.57	.72	.64	.37	.73	.55	.47	.72		Grade(lin.)
	8	.45	.43	.43	.43	.53	.42	.47	.48	.43		
	Total				.63			.51	.52	.63		
Teacher	4	.32	.28	.44	.36	.31	.26	.29	.30	.35	0-1	None
	6	.40	.34	.36	.35	.35	.54	.44	.35	.45		
	8	.32	.32	.28	.30	.37	.32	.34	.34	.30		
	Total				.34			.36	.33	.36		
Other Authority	4	.55	.47	.80	.64	.45	.46	.46	.46	.63	0-2	Sex
	6	.41	.36	.47	.22	.33	.48	.41	.35	.48		Grade(lin.)
	8	.34	.22	.38	.30	.29	.47	.38	.26	.42		
	Total				.45			.42	.35	.51		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative: "I would ask my mother (father) or other adult relatives to stop him (her) from doing it again," for parents (father, mother), and "I would ask my parents or other adult relatives to talk to (figure)," for teacher and other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 4-44

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "GET EVEN" IN REACTION TO INUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.20	.12	.39	.26	.08	.22	.15	.10	.31	0-2	None
	6	.21	.09	.32	.21	.24	.20	.22	.16	.26		
	8	.13	.20	.08	.14	.14	.10	.12	.17	.09		
	Total				.20			.16	.14	.22		
Teacher	4	.18	.07	.34	.21	.10	.22	.16	.09	.28	0-1	Sex
	6	.21	.19	.26	.23	.18	.21	.20	.18	.24		
	8	.12	.13	.17	.15	.06	.13	.10	.10	.15		
	Total				.19			.15	.12	.22		
Other Authority	4	.44	.23	.83	.53	.35	.35	.35	.29	.59	0-2	Sex
	6	.51	.36	.57	.46	.43	.68	.55	.39	.62		
	8	.28	.27	.30	.28	.20	.37	.28	.23	.33		
	Total				..43			.40	.31	.52		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative, "I would get even with or get back at (figure)," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 4-45

INTERCORRELATIONS OF FREQUENCIES OF ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE BY PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

CATEGORIES OF RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS											
	PARENTS						TEACHER					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT		GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
DO NOTHING												
Teacher	.57*	.44*	.52*	.05	.62*	.43*						
Other authority	.53*	.31*	.30*	.18	.29*	.31*	.58*	.46*	.33*	.08	.49*	.41*
ASK WHY												
Teacher	.39*	.42*	.31*	.36*	1.0*	.39*						
Other authority	.45*	.27*	.35*	.38*	.24*	.28*	.29*	.21*	.46*	.30*	1.0*	.43*
VERBAL RESPONSES												
Teacher	.53*	.50*	.49*	.47*	.40*	.41*						
Other authority	.57*	.37*	.42*	.40*	.36*	.26*	.51*	.44*	.69*	.51*	.45*	.37*
TALK TO PEERS												
Teacher	.72*	.52*	.62*	.50*	.61*	.59*						
Other authority	.66*	.45*	.49*	.51*	.46*	.53*	.79*	.55*	.67*	.46*	.48*	.56*
ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE												
Teacher	.28*	.25*	.29*	.29*	.16	.16						
Other authority	.22*	.43*	.34*	.33*	-.01	.41*	.43*	.49*	.32*	.31*	.12	.30*
GET EVEN												
Teacher	.62*	.57*	.52*	.49*	.12	.11						
Other authority	.40*	.42*	.55*	.50*	.12	.07	.56*	.58*	.42*	.50*	.64*	.49*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 4-46

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY FIGURES AND THEIR CHOICES OF METHODS OF FACING AUTHORITY FIGURES' INJUSTICES, ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(ITALY)

FEATURES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE						TOTAL NUMBER OF CORREL. SIGNIF.	POSSIBLE
	DO NOTHING	ASK WHY	VERBAL RESPONSES	TALK TO PEERS	ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE	GET EVEN		
Willing to Help	4*/1	5*/2	7	3*/2	3*/3	1*/4	16*/19	324
Likable	13	1*/3	14	9	2*/6	20	3*/65	324
Rules Fair	11*	1*/1	16	19	1*/12	22	13*/70	324
Guilt	14*/1	1*	18	13	4	13	15*/49	324
Power to Punish	6*	1*	9	3	1*/4	12	8*/28	324
Inevit. of Punishment	3	2*/1	2	2*/1		1*/2	5*/9	324
Total Signif. Correl.	35*/18	11*/7	66	5*/47	7*/29	2*/73		
Total Possible Correl.	324	324	324	324	324	324		

Note. Number of possible correlations for each cell comprises 54 coefficients computed for three groupings of authority figures (parents, teacher, other authority) across six sampling divisions (two sex groups by three grade levels) (3X3X6).
*Indicates positive relationship.

TABLE 4-47

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CATEGORIES OF RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS
DO NOTHING									
Parents	4	.14	.24*	.14	.27*	-.15	-.09	-.10	-.16
	6	.13	.05	.06	.09	-.13	-.04	-.18	-.05
	8	.15	.03	.15	.04	-.11	-.16	-.12	-.27*
Teacher	4	.17	.13	.17	.16	-.10	-.06	-.12	-.06
	6	.12	.04	.08	.11	-.12	-.13	-.11	-.20*
	8	.12	.04	.25*	-.03	-.14	-.12	-.14	-.24*
Other authority	4	.15	.10	.16	.25*	-.07	-.24*	-.02	-.25*
	6	.00	.05	-.01	.03	-.10	.06	-.08	.09
	8	.01	.09	.01	-.09	-.04	-.01	-.05	-.02
ASK WHY									
Parents	4	-.02	.06	-.02	.02	.05	-.07	.01	.03
	6	-.02	-.04	-.03	-.06	.07	.08	.21*	.21*
	8	-.01	-.02	-.00	-.02	.09	-.03	-.02	-.04
Teacher	4	-.10	-.02	-.02	-.02	.19	.04	.08	.03
	6	-.25*	-.18	-.17	-.12	.03	.14	.09	.21*
	8	.02	-.03	.06	.04	-.04	-.05	-.13	.17
Other authority	4	-.06	.11	-.02	.00	-.03	.04	-.03	.04
	6	-.06	-.13	-.05	-.17	.07	.08	.09	.17
	8	-.13	.11	-.07	.10	-.02	-.14	-.01	-.22*
VERBAL RESPONSE									
Parents	4	-.22*	-.15	-.20*	-.20*	.18	.08	.16	.09
	6	-.06	-.05	-.10	-.11	.14	.15	.29*	.21*
	8	-.06	-.11	-.19*	-.07	.04	.10	.05	.17
Teacher	4	-.16	-.07	-.17	-.13	.20*	.07	.12	.11
	6	-.28*	-.12	-.27*	-.26*	-.26*	-.05	.25*	.20*
	8	-.16	-.17	-.17	-.09	.18	.13	.02	.11
Other authority	4	-.09	-.04	-.10	-.18	-.01	.22	-.01	.17
	6	-.32*	-.12	-.28*	-.02	.31*	.09	.31*	.07
	8	-.11	-.06	-.04	-.08	.06	-.06	-.00	-.06

TABLE 4-47 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
TALK TO PEERS									
Parents	4	-.16	-.30*	-.19*	-.23*	.02	-.01	.11	.07
	6	-.09	-.05	-.03	-.04	.11	.04	.05	.07
	8	-.09	-.08	-.24*	-.08	-.07	.15	.04	.24*
Teacher	4	-.12	-.04	-.17	-.05	.12	.01	.13	.04
	6	-.21*	.08	-.15	.01	.11	.00	.08	.10
	8	-.09	-.06	-.21*	.03	.03	.03	.07	.07
Other authority	4	-.09	.02	-.14	-.12	.00	.01	.06	.07
	6	-.19*	.17	-.13	..27*	.06	-.01	.02	-.12
	8	.03	.03	-.06	.11	-.15	-.07	-.18	-.03
ASK PARENTS TO STOP OR TALK									
Parents	4	-.29*	-.19*	-.27*	-.25*	.21*	.02	.18	.02
	6	-.16	-.02	-.19*	-.01	-.06	.14	.02	.20*
	8	-.17	-.02	-.11	.01	-.04	-.04	.06	.07
Teacher	4	.01	-.05	-.06	-.07	.01	-.09	.06	-.12
	6	-.09	.10	-.15	-.03	.05	.04	.12	.12
	8	-.17	-.03	-.10	-.06	-.01	.07	.02	.09
Other authority	4	-.01	-.10	-.06	-.10	.06	-.04	-.08	-.02
	6	-.11	-.01	-.14	-.03	.05	.11	.07	.12
	8	-.13	-.18	-.02	-.24*	-.03	.17	-.09	.19*
GET EVEN									
Parents	4	-.11	-.34*	-.15	-.30*	.10	.28*	.08	.32*
	6	-.11	.06	-.14	-.08	.14	.04	.14	.00
	8	-.03	-.17	-.02	-.12	.14	.14	.02	.16
Teacher	4	-.16	-.11	-.14	-.14	.37*	.21*	.30*	.22*
	6	-.15	.02	-.05	-.12	.25*	.05	.17	.12
	8	-.11	-.00	-.19	-.11	.17	.16	.15	.11
Other authority	4	-.07	-.04	-.09	-.17	.19*	.21*	.13	.20*
	6	-.19*	-.03	-.14	.02	.13	.11	.10	.07
	8	-.02	-.08	-.05	-.19*	.05	.11	.03	.05

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

B5. Involvement and Participation in the System

It has often been pointed out in the literature concerning more advanced cultures that the lack of active involvement in the system is a frequent source of alienation of the youngsters engendering social maladjustment. Because of socioeconomic and technical progress, schooling is longer now than ever before. Despite the obvious positive aspects of this phenomenon, the young are often kept in a position of economic and moral dependency upon the adult world, with little chance of autonomous and creative participation in the system. The worldwide students' protests testify to the young people's need for self-determination and their wish for more control over the system.

This section deals with children's views on the extent to which they feel they are active and influential in the main social institutions of which they are members --directly, as in the case of the family and school, and indirectly, as in the case of the political system of their countries. The items deal with children's perceived role in decision-making processes of their homes and classrooms, their involvement in the political life of the country, and their views about their families' political efficacy.

Ranking of means ratings show that children are considerably more involved in the family and school systems than in the political life of the country.

a. Participation in the Political System

Political interest. The questionnaire item cited in Table 4-48 was used to investigate children's interest in how the country is run. Mean responses to this item are quite low, ranging, in terms of scale level, from "some" to "a little." Fourth graders appear to have a higher political interest than the older children. The mean drops sharply from grade four to six and then remains relatively stable from grade six to eight. Perhaps the higher level of political interest reported by fourth grade children is related to the fact that in Italian schools, fourth graders are taught "civic education." During this course they acquire a good deal of information about the political system of the country which apparently stimulates their interest in the subject. The reasons of the subsequent drop of the mean, especially from grade four to six, remain open to further consideration.

Political efficacy. Two questionnaire items were used to assess children's views on the political efficacy of their families. The index of political efficacy is the summary mean of children's responses to these two items which are listed in Table 4-49. Data in this table show that, in children's views, their families' political efficacy is very low, corresponding to the scale level "Yes, a little." As in the case of political interest, children's sense of political efficacy of their families declines with age; in the latter case the decline is linear from grade four to eight. These results may be associated on the one hand with children's declining regard for their parents' rule-making power within the community, and on the other, to their decreasing confidence in the structures of government.

Political activity. Children's involvement in political activities was assessed through four questionnaire items mentioned in Table 4-50, which shows the summary means of children's responses to these items. For Italian children, the index of political activity is very low, but increases significantly with age, especially from sixth to eighth grade. Reading and talking about political matters accounted for most of this increase.

The index of political activity showed a significant difference by sex, with boys exceeding significantly the girls in reporting participation in the various forms of political activity assessed.

There is no evidence of significant SES differences.

The low rate of Italian children's involvement in political activities probably derives from the fact that Italian mothers, who are the major source of information for children, are traditionally less involved in politics. Italian parents who have been drilled as children with political fascist propaganda are probably less inclined to talk politics with their children. The greater availability of the mass media and the greater range of teenagers' interests most likely account for the increase in reading and talking with parents from the sixth to the eighth grade level.

Sex differences are probably due to the still widely accepted prejudice that "politics is a man's business." This is another trace of an old cultural attitude once adequate for social and economic conditions centered upon the patriarchal structure of nineteenth-century Italian

society. In fact, this attitude was prevailing until very recently.*

The general low degree of participation of Italian children in political activities, while accounting for the lack of SES differences despite the contrasting political attitudes of children's social backgrounds, probably favors peer group identification and results in the tendency for most SES differences to disappear with age. Within the home circle, girls express their political opinions as much as boys.

Relationships between measures of political interest, efficacy, and activity, and dimensions of children's images of authority figures. Inspection of the intercorrelations among the three measures of political socialization (see Table 4-51) indicates a positive relationship between political interest and political activity; this relationship was significant for boys across all three grade levels; for girls, it became significant only at grade eight. The relationship between political activity and political efficacy was not significant for any of the six sex-grade groups. Political interest was significantly associated with political efficacy only for fourth grade boys; for eighth grade girls the correlation between the two measures was negative.

Inspection of the correlations between each of the three measures of political socialization and children's perception of various features of authority figures--both family and non-family--indicates that political interest correlates positively and to an appreciable degree with guilt over rule violation; approximately half of the correlations between the two measures across grade-sex groups were significant. As could be expected, this was more often true for boys than for girls. Political interest also correlated positively with children's perception of the figures' rules as fair, but the association was significant only for one-fourth of the total number of coefficients across grade-sex groups. The finding suggests that the more the child has internalized rules and laws, the more he feels he is a part of the

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*Before 1945, women were not allowed to vote, and their influence was to be restricted to the home. Pope Pius XI warned in his encyclical Casti Connubi (1930) "their place, a royal one to be sure" must be "within their home walls." Encyclical Casti Connubi, La civilta cattolica, 1931, Vol. I, p. 223.

social system and is concerned with it. Liking for authority figures yielded positive as well as negative correlations with political interest; about one-third of the total number of possible coefficients was significant and about one-fourth was positive. There was practically no relationship between children's political interest and their views on the authority figures' power to punish noncompliance; a limited number of correlation coefficients between political interest and beliefs regarding inevitability of punishment following noncompliance was, however, significant (7 out of 36 across all figures and all grade-sex groups) (see Table 4-52).

Children's sense of the political efficacy of their families and the extent to which they reported personal involvement in political activities were rarely in significant association with their ratings of the various features of authority figures (see Table 4-52).

Relationships between peer ratings of classroom behavior and measures of political socialization. Very few of the correlation coefficients between these items were significant (see Table 4-53). The data do not offer a sufficient basis to argue that political interest, sense of political efficacy of the family, and involvement in political activities are important correlates of the quality of behavior rated by peers within the classroom setting.

Summary. Children's participation in the political system appears on the whole rather low. Politics does not seem to appeal to Italian children a great deal: their interest in the country is low; their sense of the political efficacy of their families is also moderate and decreasing with age. Their political activity, however, though very low at the fourth grade level, increases with age, especially from sixth to eighth grade level, testifying to a greater direct participation of the older child in the social system.

Boys appear to be significantly more politically active than girls. This fact probably reflects a traditional habit confining politics to men.

TABLE 4 - 48

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON POLITICAL INTEREST, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.51	3.52	3.67	3.59	3.33	3.44	3.39	3.45	3.57
SIX	2.61	2.45	3.14	2.79	2.19	2.64	2.43	2.33	2.88
EIGHT	2.73	2.73	2.65	2.69	2.66	2.87	2.77	2.70	2.77
TOTALS				3.08			2.85	2.86	3.09

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE. ITEM: "HOW MUCH ARE YOU INTERESTED IN READING OR TALKING ABOUT OUR COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE WHO RUN IT?" FOR EXAMPLE, HOW MUCH DO YOU CARE ABOUT WHAT THEY DO AND HOW OUR COUNTRY IS RUN?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NOT AT ALL; 6 - VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 4 - 49

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON FEELINGS OF POLITICAL EFFICACY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	2.94	2.97	2.92	2.95	3.38	2.49	2.92	3.13	2.73
SIX	2.51	2.54	2.65	2.59	2.41	2.43	2.42	2.47	2.53
EIGHT	2.10	2.22	1.72	1.98	2.18	2.25	2.22	2.20	2.00
TOTALS				2.56			2.51	2.64	2.43

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "COULD YOUR FAMILY HAVE ANY PART IN WHAT HAPPENS IN OUR COUNTRY AND HOW IT IS RUN?"AND "DO THE PEOPLE WHO RUN OUR COUNTRY CARE WHAT YOUR FAMILY THINKS?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 4 - 50

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	0.77	0.58	1.00	0.77	0.61	0.91	0.76	0.59	0.96
SIX	0.80	0.62	0.83	0.73	0.80	0.93	0.87	0.71	0.88
EIGHT	1.16	1.17	1.13	1.15	0.92	1.37	1.16	1.05	1.26
TOTALS				0.87			0.93	0.77	1.03

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SEX. INDEX: NO. OF "YES" RESPONSES FOR 4 ITEMS: "I HAVE READ, TALKED, WORN A BUTTON, DONE OTHER THINGS." INDEX SCALE: 0 - 4.

TABLE 4-51

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THREE MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
			Political Activity			
Political Interest	-.03	.24*	.15	.36*	.58*	.46*
Political Efficacy	.16	.10	.09	.11	.10	.03
			Political Efficacy			
Political Interest	.13	.23*	.01	.14	-.06	.16

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 4-52

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN THREE MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES BY SEX ACROSS ALL GRADES (ITALY)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Wants to Help									
Father								1*	1*
Mother				1*		1*			
Teacher	1	1	2	1		1	1*		1*
Prime Minister				1		1		1*	1*
Policeman	1		1						
Relig. Leader		1	1				1*		1*
Total Signif. Correl.	2	2	4	1*/2	0	1*/2	2*	2*	4*
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36
Likable									
Father		1*	1*					1*	1*
Mother	1*/1		1*/1	1	1*	1*/1			
Teacher	1	1	2						
Policeman	1	2	3				1		1
Prime Minister		1	1						
Total Signif. Correl.	1*/3	1*/4	2*/7	1	1*	1*/1	1	1*	1*/1
Total Possible Correl.	15	15	30	15	15	30	15	15	30

TABLE 4-52 (CONTINUED)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Rules Fair									
Father	1		1					1*	1*
Mother	1	1	2						
Teacher				1*/1		1*/1			
Government	1		1	1		1			
Policeman	1	2	3						
City	2		2					1*	1*
Total Signif. Correl.	6	3	9	1*/2		1*/2		2*	2*
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36
Guilt									
Father	1	2	3	1*		1*			
Mother	1	2	3	1*		1*			
Teacher	1	3	4	1		1			
Religion	1	2	3	1		1		1	1
Government	1	1	2		1	1		1	1
City	2	3	5					1	1
Policeman	2	1	3	1*		1*			
Total Signif. Correl.	9	14	23	3*/2	1	3*/3		3	3
Total Possible Correl.	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42

TABLE 4-52 (CONTINUED)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Power to Punish									
Father									
Mother									
Teacher		1	1					1	1
Policeman									
Prime Minister							1*	1*	2*
Judge								1*	1*
Relig. Leader		1	1						
Total Signif. Correl.		2	2				1*	2*/1	3*/1
Total Possible Correl.	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42
Inevitability of Punishment									
Father		1	1						
Mother	1	2	3						
Teacher		1	1					1*	1*
City		1	1					1*	1*
Government	1		1		1	1		1*	1*
Policeman					1	1			
Total Signif. Correl.	2	5	7		2	2		3*	3*
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36

Note. *Indicates negative correlation.

TABLE 4-53

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (ITALY)

MEASURES OF SOCIALIZATION	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Political Efficacy	4	-.02	.03	-.06	-.10	.10	.14	.10	.06
	6	-.18	-.17	-.30*	-.28*	-.03	.04	.15	.16
	8	-.05	.05	-.10	.01	.02	-.01	.03	.02
Political Interest	4	.21*	.12	.16	.12	-.01	.08	-.01	.05
	6	-.03	-.00	-.10	-.02	-.06	.10	.14	.11
	8	.09	.12	-.02	.19*	.12	.15	.02	.10
Political Activity	4	.03	.04	.04	-.02	-.02	.07	.01	.10
	6	-.04	.21*	-.14	.09	.05	.02	.18	-.04
	8	-.05	-.09	-.11	-.02	.04	.18	-.02	.17

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Participation in Family and Classroom Decision-Making

The items cited in Tables 4-54 and 4-55 were used to assess children's sense of their personal efficacy in decision-making within their families and classroom groups. The means indicate a sense of moderate participation in both social settings which does not vary by grade, sex, or SES.

Children seem to enjoy relatively little power to influence family decisions, probably because of the hierarchical structure of the Italian family which still persists. Apparently, the patriarchal socioeconomic structures of the past century, though almost completely swept off by the industrialization process, have left deep traces in the family structure and functioning which has been strongly influenced by the principles of the Catholic Church.

As to school, children's limited participation in decision-making can be considered a symptom of the lack of democracy within the classroom. Democratization of the school has been delayed in Italy by the fascist dictatorship.* The emphasis on nationalism, as well as

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*The evolution of the school system was warped for 20 years both ideologically--by the authoritatian principles fostered by Giovanni Gentile--and practically--by a number of provisions depriving teachers and pupils of any autonomy. Giovanni Gentile was a philosopher belonging to the Italian idealistic school of thought which, by considering nation and state as universal values, offered theoretical support to the dictatorship. Minister of education, he was the greatest contributor to the fascist school reform that was based on his pedagogical principles supporting authoritarian hierarchical relationships between pupils and teachers, and between teachers and government. The reform deprived the Italian school of all the autonomy that it had conquered gradually through emancipation from the King's and the government's control during the Risorgimento. Among the most undemocratic laws was that of July 1923. The superior Council of Public Education, the highest "executive" school authority whose members were appointed partly by the minister of education, partly by the Parliament, and, to a great extent, by the universities, was reduced to an "advisory" committee with its members all appointed by the King. Another provision in

the politics of dictatorship, cut Italy out, for 20 years, of the new psychological and pedagogical trends which were discovering the importance of the active and democratic participation of children in school. Further support, during Fascism, to the conservative type of education was given by the encyclical* Divini illius magistri fixing the authoritarian principles in the educational process.

The delay in school progress toward democracy accounts for children's dissatisfaction with school. This dissatisfaction appears very early in Italian children. In our sample, it has been emphasized by the remarkable decrease in students' attachment to the teacher and by the consequent drop in the teacher's prestige. Moreover, the results of the PNI instrument indicate that noncompliance toward teachers increases dramatically with age.

Correlates of the child's sense of participation in decision-making processes in the family and the classroom. Data shown in Table 4-56 indicate that for Italian children there is almost no relationship between their sense of personal efficacy within the family setting and their sense of personal efficacy in the classroom setting. Moreover, personal efficacy in the family is unrelated to children's evaluation of the political efficacy of their families, their political interest and their political activity.

A sense of personal efficacy in the classroom correlated positively and significantly with sixth and eighth grade boys' political interest and activity. The association between children's sense of personal efficacy in the classroom and their evaluation of the political efficacy of their families was positive and significant only for fourth graders.

Relationships between peer ratings of behavior and measures of sense of personal efficacy in decision-making in the family and the classroom. The data shown in Table 4-57 indicate that children's sense of personal

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1931 imposed all university teachers to swear their loyalty to fascism. In case of refusal they were to leave their chairs.

*This encyclical was of extreme importance because in the same year Catholicism had become the state religion (Patti Lateranensi, 1929).

efficacy within the family has some impact upon the quality of their behavior in the classroom. Children's perception of the family as politically influential is negatively correlated with compliance in the classroom and positively correlated with noncompliance. It could be inferred that children who see their relatives as more politically involved belong to families which are critical toward the institutions, thus reflecting their attitudes in their school behavior. By contrast, a sense of high efficacy in the classroom setting appears to be a factor associated with the quality of the child's classroom behavior (and/or his reputation among peers). The more efficacious children feel in the decision-making processes of their classrooms, the more likely they are to display cooperative behavior toward both peers and teachers. The relationship was significant for sixth grade boys and for eighth grade boys and girls enjoying a reputation of being compliant with the teacher.*

Summary. Children perceive themselves as very little involved in family and school decision-making. The survival of patriarchal attitudes, once adequate to the past century socioeconomic structures, are in general held responsible for the feeling of hierarchy persisting in the Italian family.

As to school, the moderate participation of children in decision-making can be interpreted as an expression of the lack of democracy of the Italian school whose progress has been highly handicapped during Fascist dictatorship. Both the institutions and the pedagogical thought still bear the marks of this period.

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*This finding indicates that in the older child acceptance of the teacher is strongly related to his democratic and autonomous participation in the school life.

TABLE 4-54

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING IN THE HOME BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTAL BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	3.04	3.19	2.87	3.03	3.28	2.81	3.05	3.24	2.84
Six	2.94	3.16	2.82	2.99	3.11	2.65	2.88	3.13	2.74
Eight	3.02	2.85	3.10	2.98	3.16	2.96	3.06	3.00	3.03
Totals				3.00			3.00	3.13	2.87

Note. Significant Effects: SES by grade. Item: "How often do you help make the decisions in your family?" Item scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 4-55

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PARTICIPATION IN DECISON MAKING IN THE CLASSROOM, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTAL BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	3.18	3.28	3.26	3.27	3.20	2.92	3.06	3.25	3.11
Six	3.09	2.90	2.92	2.91	3.17	3.36	3.27	3.03	3.15
Eight	2.97	2.67	2.82	2.74	3.57	2.88	3.20	3.08	2.85
Totals				3.00			3.18	3.13	3.04

Note. Significant Effects: None. Item: "How often do you help make the decisions in your classroom?" Item Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 4-56

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG VARIOUS MEASURES OF INVOLVEMENT IN AUTHORITY SYSTEMS, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(ITALY)

MEASURES OF PARTICIPATION IN AUTHORITY SYSTEMS	GRADE FOUR GIRLS	GRADE FOUR BOYS	GRADE SIX GIRLS	GRADE SIX BOYS	GRADE EIGHT GIRLS	GRADE EIGHT BOYS
			Family Decision-Making			
Classroom Decision-Making	.11	.08	.11	-.13	.16	.08
Political Efficacy	.17	.19*	.15	.03	-.06	-.00
Political Interest	.10	.02	.35*	-.04	-.12	.11
Political Activity	.18	-.07	.17	.15	-.07	.27*
			Classroom Decision-Making			
Political Efficacy	.22*	.22*	.13	.14	.02	.05
Political Interest	.09	.11	-.04	.20*	-.07	.23*
Political Activity	.11	.15	.14	.29*	-.20*	.23*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 4-57

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SENSE OF PARTICIPATION IN FAMILY AND CLASSROOM DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(ITALY)

SENSE OF PERSONAL PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
In the Family	4	.01	-.08	-.03	-.09	.05	-.01	-.06	.08
	6	.08	-.06	.10	-.09	.04	-.02	.10	-.00
	8	-.18	-.16	-.16	-.18	.11	.19*	.07	.11
In the Classroom	4	.10	-.04	.14	-.01	.06	.05	.00	-.07
	6	.06	.21*	.09	.21*	.03	.09	-.03	.05
	8	.03	.16	.20*	.30*	.04	.12	.14	-.02

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

C. Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom

The Peer Nomination Inventory (PNI) was used to provide measures of children's compliant and noncompliant behavior toward teacher and peers in the classroom as rated by their peers.

Correlations between children's PNI scores and their responses to the YIAPR questionnaire items provided indications about the extent to which children's images of and attitudes toward authority figures influence their overt behavior at school and about the direction of this association.

C1. Compliance and Noncompliance in the Classroom

The most conspicuous features of Italian PNI data can be summarized as follows:

Comparison of the total scores of positive and negative behavior displayed in the classroom indicated that, at the fourth grade level, more children were nominated by their peers for compliant than for noncompliant behavior. With age the difference was cancelled out. Ratings of children's negative behavior increased significantly with age, while ratings of positive behavior tended to decrease with age. The greater capacity of the older child for rule discrimination may account for the finding that, with age, positive and negative behavior often appeared to coexist.

The frequency of negative behavior toward the teacher increased significantly with age; at the eighth grade level, significantly more children were nominated for negative than for positive behavior toward the teacher (see Tables 4-58 and 4-59). The increase of negative behavior toward the teacher may be explained on evolutional grounds, as the outcome of the greater need for self-assertion inherent to the process of self-individuation of the older child; and on cultural grounds, as a symptom of the present crisis of the Italian school system, whereby the teacher has lost his prestige and became the target of attacks aimed at demonstrating the feelings of dissatisfaction of the young with the adult world. The finding suggests that, as far as Italy is concerned, students' worldwide protest and discontent with the system manifests itself as early as the eighth grade level.

There were clear-cut sex differences with respect to scores for noncompliance. Boys received significantly more nominations than girls for negative behavior, especially toward peers. The finding probably reflects biological differences between the two sexes as well as a greater tolerance in our culture toward boys' overt manifestations of aggression. The index of positive behavior toward peers showed an interaction effect between sex and grade, which was tentatively interpreted as a differential way of dealing with new stressful situations. At the sixth grade level, Italian children enter the scuola media, where they are confronted with new teachers and peers. Girls face the new situation with increased compliance, probably because of their stronger needs for dependency and social acceptance, while boys become more assertive and less obliging.

SES differences were significant only as regards positive behavior. Compliant behavior appeared to be more frequent among high SES than among low SES children. In peer-to-peer behavior, the SES difference tends to disappear with age. A more favorable environment and a more nurturing home may account for the greater amount of compliance displayed by the younger high SES children toward their peers. At the eighth grade level, peer group identification as well as a greater change in the high SES pre-adolescents' attitudes toward authority probably account for the change of their scores in peer-to-peer positive scores also.

No interpretation has been given for the SES by sex interaction with regard to positive attitudes toward peers, but further research has been planned.

Relationships between PNI set scores. Inspection of the correlational matrices indicated that the three scores for compliant behavior as well as those for noncompliant behavior were in positive association, respectively. In both instances, all coefficients were highly significant (see Tables 4-60 and 4-61). On the other hand, the correlations between positive and negative PNI scores were consistently negative, often significant but, in general, of lower magnitude (see Table 4-62). In all three instances the magnitude of correlations tended to decrease with increasing age. The findings suggest that among younger children compliance as well as noncompliance are general rather than figure--and/or situation--specific. Therefore, fourth grade children who are seen by their peers as compliant with the teacher are highly likely to be seen as compliant with peers also and vice versa; similarly, fourth grade children who are nominated

for noncompliance with the teacher are also highly likely to be rated for noncompliance with their peers as well. Concomitantly, at this age level, the likelihood that children who are nominated for compliance with either peers or the teacher or both will not be nominated for noncompliance appears to be quite high. However, the data show that, with age, both compliant and noncompliant behavior become less generalized across figures and situations. The greater capacity of older children for role discrimination probably accounts for the fact that compliance (or noncompliance) with peers did not necessarily coexist with compliance (or noncompliance) toward teachers and vice versa. Concomitantly, the likelihood that older children who are nominated for compliant behavior toward peers or teachers or both will not be nominated (by the same or other raters) as noncompliant with either peers or the teacher or both decreases with age.

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TABLE 4-58

COMPARISON OF GRADES, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX ON SCORES FOR COMPLIANT BEHAVIOR (ITALY)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTALS BY SEX TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Total	4	28.78	19.47	21.42	20.45	33.18	33.06	33.12	20.32	27.24	SES, Sex
	6	24.63	22.74	14.92	18.83	37.45	23.39	30.42	30.09	19.16	by Grade
	8	21.95	21.40	21.45	21.43	24.37	20.38	22.48	22.98	20.92	
	Total				20.23			86.67			
Peer-to-Peer	4	25.68	17.60	17.62	17.61	34.08	33.43	33.75	25.84	25.52	SES, Sex
	6	22.25	19.98	12.64	16.31	31.90	24.46	28.18	25.94	18.55	by SES, Sex
	8	19.42	16.78	19.26	18.02	21.00	20.62	20.61	18.89	19.94	by Grade, SES
	Total				17.31			27.51			by Grade
Peer-to-Teacher	4	27.91	21.39	25.14	23.26	32.33	32.78	32.56	26.36	29.96	SES
	6	29.96	25.53	18.92	21.23	43.04	22.34	32.69	34.28	19.62	
	8	24.33	23.07	23.80	24.84	28.24	20.23	24.23	27.15	21.95	
	Total				23.11			29.82			

TABLE 4-59

COMPARISON OF GRADES, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX ON SCORES FOR NONCOMPLIANT BEHAVIOR
(ITALY)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Total	4	16.76	15.49	23.21	19.35	12.02	16.30	14.16	13.76	19.75	Sex, Grade,
	6	16.18	13.30	19.85	16.57	14.37	17.20	15.70	13.84	18.51	(lin.), Curve
	8	22.49	16.87	24.85	20.84	19.71	28.53	24.12	18.29	26.69	
	Total				18.92			17.99			
Peer-to-Peers	4	17.56	18.08	23.63	20.86	12.18	16.35	14.26	15.13	19.99	Sex
	6	19.31	17.04	22.60	19.82	19.49	18.11	18.80	18.26	20.36	
	8	27.38	20.67	26.66	23.65	29.35	32.85	31.10	25.01	29.76	
	Total				21.44			21.38			
Peer-to-Teacher	4	15.96	12.81	22.80	17.81	14.90	16.35	14.12	12.35	19.57	Grade
	6	12.90	9.52	10.98	13.15	9.12	16.18	12.65	9.22	16.58	
	8	17.52	13.05	23.06	18.05	9.88	24.00	16.99	11.47	23.58	
	Total				16.33			14.61			

TABLE 4-60

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMONG RATINGS OF POSITIVE BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

PNI SCORES		TOTAL POSITIVE				PEER TO TEACHER POSITIVE			
SEX		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES	GRADE	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer to peer positive	4	96	96	96	96	84	88	82	86
	6	96	91	94	88	86	72	78	68
	8	87	89	88	94	62	64	62	85
Peer to teacher positive	4	96	98	94	97				
	6	97	94	95	95				
	8	92	92	92	98				

TABLE 4-61

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMONG RATINGS OF NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(ITALY)

PNI SCORES		TOTAL POSITIVE				PEER TO TEACHER POSITIVE			
SEX		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES	GRADE	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer to peer negative	4	92	97	95	96	73	89	84	87
	6	93	86	94	93	82	66	80	76
	8	87	80	91	94	64	53	74	83
Peer to teacher negative	4	94	97	97	97				
	6	97	95	95	94				
	8	93	93	95	97				

TABLE 4-62

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN RATINGS OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (ITALY)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	PEER-TO-PEER NEGATIVE				PEER-TO-TEACHER NEGATIVE				TOTAL NEGATIVE			
SEX:		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES:		LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer to peer positive	4	-.44	-.51	-.18	-.66	-.52	-.61	-.32	-.65	-.52	-.58	-.27	-.68
	6	-.38	-.40	-.38	-.35	-.35	-.51	-.40	-.38	-.38	-.51	-.41	-.39
	8	-.50	-.45	-.25	-.36	-.47	-.32	-.33	-.44	-.53	-.42	-.33	-.42
Peer to teacher positive	4	-.24	-.42	-.27	-.61	-.47	-.56	-.41	-.71	-.38	-.51	-.36	-.68
	6	-.28	-.15	-.24	-.09	-.39	-.60	-.38	-.43	-.36	-.46	-.32	-.28
	8	-.32	-.24	-.17	-.42	-.43	-.44	-.31	=.55	-.43	-.41	-.27	-.51
Total positive	4	-.34	-.47	-.22	-.66	-.51	-.60	-.37	-.71	-.47	-.55	-.32	-.70
	6	-.34	-.29	-.32	-.21	-.39	-.60	-.41	-.44	-.39	-.52	-.38	-.35
	8	-.45	-.37	-.23	-.41	-.50	-.42	-.36	-.53	-.53	-.46	-.33	-.50

C2. Summary of Relationships between Questionnaire Variables and Peer Ratings of Compliant and Noncompliant Classroom Behavior

The study of correlations between YIAPR and PNI scores indicated that there are meaningful relationships between children's attitudes and beliefs about the system and their school behavior. Compliance in school appeared to be associated with children's affectional ties to authority figures, their perception of the figures as endowed with power to punish and moral prestige and, to a lesser degree, with the democratic atmosphere of school life.

The "good" student seems, therefore, to differ from the "bad" one by having, in general, a more favorable perception of authority, referring above all to authority's likeability, willingness to help, power to punish, and fairness of rules and laws. The "bad" student appears to be more critical toward, and less dependent upon all authority. The terms "bad" and "good" as defined by the PNI items do not regard school achievement, but only behaviors denoting acceptance or refusal of common standards of conduct toward teacher and peers within the classroom.

There are meaningful changes with age. Compliance in school becomes less dependent on liking for parents and teachers and more strongly associated with regard for the teacher's willingness to help. While there are in general no significant correlations between expectations of punitive intervention by authority figures and school behavior, at the eighth grade the more children expect to be punished in case of rules' transgression, the more they are likely to be rated as noncompliant in the classroom. It could be inferred that punishment, rather than being an effective means of inducing compliance is probably a stimulus toward rebellion. Children's favorable evaluation of authority rules and laws is associated with their compliance in school, especially at the sixth and eighth grade levels. Moreover, participation in school decision-making is associated with compliance in school only at the eighth grade.

It appears, therefore, that, with age, compliance in school is enhanced less by affective attachment to and dependency upon authority figures and more by the child's critical evaluation of the teacher, in terms of both his attitudes toward the pupils (willingness to help) and his moral prestige (fairness of rules). Furthermore, for older children, acceptance of the teacher's standards

depends on their sense of personal participation in the administration of their classroom's affairs.

These findings reflect a socialization process in which the child's behavior, initially oriented by his needs for dependency upon and affective ties with persons in authority, evolves to a stage in which it varies, depending on his critical appraisal of both the specific situation and the qualities of persons involved in it.

The sex differences observed throughout the study confirm the notion of greater compliance of girls toward the system in general and, in particular, toward the authority figures outside the family circle.

D. Summary and Conclusions

The notion that affective experiences during childhood orient and shape the outcome of the socialization process was consistently supported by the Italian data. The younger child seems to vest parents and the teacher with a great deal of affection. At this age the impact of the teacher as a model of identification appears to be almost as strong as the models provided by parents. This is not surprising when one thinks of the wealth of information, monitoring, and support which the teacher can provide to shape the child's behavior at both the academic and social level. The fourth graders' affection to other authority figures such as the President and policeman is slight; however, at this age children seemed to be highly confident of the support and help they may expect from all authority figures.

From a developmental standpoint the study shows that with increase in age children become more discriminating, directing their affection above all to parents and limiting their expectations of help primarily to parents and the religious leader. Their general emancipation from the other adults is counterbalanced by a greater involvement with peers, testified to by the fact that the perceived helpfulness of friends does not decrease with age, as is the case for all other figures.

In general, even the younger child discriminates between the roles of the authority figures with respect to their power to punish noncompliance. Parents and judge are viewed as endowed with the greatest power to punish while religious leader and friends are attributed the least. However, when it comes to actual punitive intervention, the data show that children expect to be punished usually from all figures. The discrepancy might indicate that children accept the punishment of parents and judge, who are the acknowledged enforcers of law inside and outside the home, respectively, while they appear to feel that punishment from other authority figures may be an abusive interference. This interpretation is also supported by the finding that children in general expect family authority figures to reinforce the disciplinary acts of officials of all other systems (school, community, government) in case of transgressions, while in their view the family's disciplinary acts receive little reinforcement by community and government authority figures and only moderate reinforcement by school authorities. This finding confirms the notion concerning the importance of the family role in enforcing compliance with the system in

general which has been emphasized in the literature and particularly so in studies of deviant social behavior.

Another developmental trend indicated by the data is that as children grow older and acquire a better insight into the roles of the different institutions, their perceptions of and attitudes toward parents are less generalized to other figures: power to punish increases for parents while decreasing for friends. As regards expectations of actual punitive intervention following disobedience, the coercive power of the government becomes more evident, while parents' actual punitive intervention decreases, probably as a result of the greater autonomy enjoyed by older children; expectations of mutual support among figures within the same system increase with age, while expectations for such support across different systems decrease with age.

Italian children define rules and laws either pointing to their coercive aspect (i.e., prohibition) or to their positive social effectiveness in regulating society for the benefit of people. The latter interpretation is more frequently given to law.

In evaluating the relative seriousness of different types of antisocial behavior, the Italian children appeared to consider offenses against persons within the community setting as more serious than offenses against property or the social order. The importance attributed to personal rights, especially within the community (and the concomitant disregard of offenses against property and the social order) might be due to the fact that, up to its unity in 1861, Italy has for centuries suffered the exploitation of foreign domination that has alienated Italians from the community welfare while enhancing the value of personal and individual relationships. This interpretation is supported by the very low status held by the policeman as a consequence of his being the representative of a police-state during foreign domination and more recently during Fascism.

Historical reasons may also account for the results related to children's perception of rule-making within the family. The patriarchal structure surviving in the Italian family is testified to by the fact that, though most children maintain that family rules are set up by father and mother acting together, a good many of them perceive the father alone as the rule-maker within the home, while a very small number of children assign a rule-making function to the mother. With increase in age, perception of the father as the sole rule-maker in

the family decreases, while belief that the whole family participates in making the family rules increases. The finding probably reflects the greater active participation of the older child in the family system. As to rule making within the community, children appear to have a clear perception of the roles of the different figures. The nominations given to the various figures across all grades yielded the following rank order: mayor, President, policeman, parents, religious leader, teacher.

The importance of affectional ties in the socialization process is emphasized by the high correlation between children's evaluation of the fairness of rules of the different figures and the degree of their attachment to the figures concerned. Children's evaluation of the fairness of rules of various figures changes with age in two main directions. First, the high opinion of younger children about the fairness of adults' rules becomes less positive, while belief in the fairness of friends' rules shows an increasing trend. These results give further support to the notion that children's tendency to identify with peers parallels the movement of their emancipation from adults. Second, children's conception of rules becomes more mature and democratic. At the fourth grade level they seem to accept blindly and passively all rules set by adults, while at the eighth grade they appear to realize that rules must be based on democratic acceptance. The ratings of the fairness of teacher's rules, sharply decreasing with age, emphasize the loss of prestige of this controversial figure. Indeed, the teacher who enjoys great consideration and prestige (second only to parents) among the younger children is later belittled and nearly distrusted. The change in children's attitudes could be due to the passage from the scuola elementare (where children are taught by a single teacher --the same for years--toward whom they may develop a great deal of attachment), to the scuola media (where children, being taught by several teachers, often rotating from year to year, have little opportunity for affective involvement). Furthermore, the scuola media suffers from the general authority crisis and tension in the Italian school more than the scuola elementare.

Data concerning children's identification with the social system as assessed through our measure of guilt over undetected rule violation, self-punishment over disobedience known to the concerned figures, and role playing (i.e., children's methods of dealing with peers' transgression of authority rules) indicate that the younger child experiences a great deal of guilt feelings and is highly likely to punish himself when transgressing

authority rules; the younger child also seemed highly willing to play the roles of authority figures when other children break rules. With increase in age, guilt feelings, self-punishment, and willingness to play the roles of authority figures decrease, indicating that children gradually assume critical attitudes toward the adult world.

Guilt feelings and self-punishment, that is, the psychological components that are commonly labelled "conscience," appeared to be highly influenced by children's relationships with parents and the religious leader. Nurturant attitudes on the part of authority figures and their moral prestige among children seem to favor the identification process to the greatest extent. The degree of guilt feelings over transgression of a figures' rules appeared to be associated with the degree of love for, dependency upon, and protectiveness attributed to the figures concerned. The intensity of guilt feelings reported by Italian children over transgression of rules of religion may reflect the fact that they are generally taught very early, particularly through religious practices, about the cathartic value of repentance.

The importance of affective gratification and moral prestige in the socialization process is also supported by the fact that children's aggressive and revengeful reactions in case of unjust requests of authority figures are negatively correlated with the measures of affective attachment to figures, perception of authority figures' rules as fair, and guilt over violation of authority rules. Reactions in case of unfair demands vary according to the figures involved. As regards reactions toward parents and other authority, verbal responses are markedly higher than openly aggressive responses implying revengeful behavior. With respect to teacher, on the other hand, children appear not to feel free to verbally challenge his authority, but rather tend to talk to their peers about the matter. Apparently, the atmosphere of functioning of the Italian school system prevents children from directly questioning or criticizing the teacher's requests, which are thought to be unfair. Perhaps the increase with age of the number of children who are inclined to discuss with their peers unjust requests from all figures is an indication that this type of behavior constitutes an outlet for the tensions underlying their conflicts with authority. The association between critical attitudes toward authority and involvement in peers is testified to also by a number of negative correlations between fairness of authority rules and the "talk to peers" response. Children who are inclined to distrust the fairness of authority rules seem to have little confidence in the efficacy of direct

intervention by the authority and are more inclined to speak about the injustice with friends. Half the number of these correlations refers to items regarding the fairness of teachers' rules.

The prolonged socioeconomic and moral dependency of the young upon the adult world is evident in the questionnaire data which show that children's active participation in the social system is very moderate. In the Italian society the progress of democracy is obstructed by the survival of authoritarian attitudes and hierarchical structures still reflecting the consequences of the recent Facist dictatorship. Both within the family and within the school, children appear to enjoy very little influence on decision-making processes. As to politics, children appear not only to be very little involved, but also to perceive their families as having very little political efficacy. However, the number of children reading and talking about politics increases with age, an indication that the scope of interests of our pre-adolescents widens with age.

The results clearly show the varying relevance of each authority figure as regards their impact upon children's socialization. The fact that parents rank the highest in children's consideration of all dimensions of authority assessed probably indicates that they represent the frame of reference for the evaluation of all other figures. The remarkable stability of parents' ratings throughout the age range covered, compared with the lack of such stability in the ratings of all other adult figures, suggests that parents are the most important figures in the process of identification and the consequent internalization of values and standards of behavior. All other figures seem to benefit initially of the younger child's tendency to generalize to other adults his feelings and attitudes which have their matrix in the parent-child rapport. Later on, the non-parental authority figures will receive consideration equaling that granted to parents only in specific situations congruent with their roles, while in all other cases their ratings will decrease significantly. Thus, in children's evaluation, the religious leader, in his role of minister of God's laws, and the judge, in his function of enforcer of men's laws, are assimilated to parents--the former as regards his perceived helping disposition and his capacity of inducing feelings which are generally thought of as moral conscience and the latter in his perceived power to punish transgressions of laws.

Socialization undergoes significant changes during the years considered. From a general and passive acceptance of all authority, children evolve to more critical and

autonomous attitudes toward the social system. Emancipation from adults (above all from adult figures outside the family) appears to be paralleled by an increasing involvement and identification with peers whose relevance, compared to the other figures, improves with age.

Sex differences are significant and consistent throughout the study, indicating that girls are in general more compliant than boys toward the social system. Girls appear to have a more favorable perception of all authority figures with whom they identify more readily than do boys. Formal authority, above all, is looked up to by girls as endowed with greater prestige. For girls, the identification process is marked by stronger guilt feelings and a higher incidence of self-punishment. This is probably due to the greater protectiveness demonstrated in our culture toward girls. This fact is illustrated by the following statement elicited in the interview study: "Boys play in the open, girls cannot because they would be molested." Girls' stronger acceptance of the system seems, therefore, to be enhanced by their greater dependency needs and their stronger desire for external approval, both of which result in a higher motivation to satisfy social demands.

Boys, on the other hand, appear to have more critical attitudes toward the social system. They resort more frequently to openly aggressive behavior and undergo in general more punishment than girls. They are more politically involved, evidently because politics in our culture is traditionally confined to men.

Though sex differences point clearly to girls' greater compliance, it is noteworthy that most of the differences between the sexes tend to disappear with age, with girls' ratings reaching boys' ratings. The findings could be explained as reflecting cultural influences as well as in developmental terms. In a time in which traditional sex mores are challenged and taboos rejected, the pre-adolescents are granted much more freedom than ever before to mix and interact with the opposite sex in peer group activities. This fact could explain, on cultural grounds, the fact that sex differences disappear with age. On the other hand, the earlier arousal of heterosexual interest in girls than in boys and their resulting desire to attract and please the opposite sex at this age level may explain, on developmental terms, the finding that the levelling out with age of sex differences is essentially due to changes in the attitudes of girls rather than boys.

The results also point to relevant differences along the socioeconomic status variable. Differences between high and low SES children parallel, to a great extent, those between girls and boys. In fact, high SES children appear in general to be more favorably oriented toward the social system, showing greater affective attachment to authority figures (the difference regards above all non-family figures) to whom they also attribute greater power to punish and with whom they seem to identify to a greater extent. The more protective and nurturant milieu of the high SES families probably accounts for the high SES children's greater affective and moral dependency upon authority figures, while the fact that they belong to the ruling class probably favors their greater acceptance of the social system.

For some questionnaire variables the high SES children's ratings drop mainly from sixth to eighth grade while the ratings of low SES children drop especially from fourth to sixth grade. Thus, low SES children appear to be more precocious as regards the emergence of critical attitudes and their affective emancipation from adults. This fact may be due to a greater freedom that the low SES children enjoy earlier in a less-protective environment as well as to the impact of the more critical attitudes of their families toward the system. Low SES children, for instance, play in the street by themselves at an age in which high SES children are chaperoned by adults; they also experience separation from their families more frequently than do high SES children. In case of hospitalization low SES children are separated from their mothers while the high SES child shares his hospital room with his mother. During vacation the former are in general sent to "colonie" (children's communities) while high SES children in general enjoy longer vacations with their parents who can afford this expense. Furthermore, the great majority of low SES children are in Italy expected to start working and contributing to the family living as early as at the age of fifteen. For this reason, the lower SES pre-adolescents are expected to rely on themselves much earlier than are high SES children. At age thirteen, a low SES child is much nearer than his high SES agemates to the time in which he will have to share the responsibilities and burdens of the adults.

Low SES children appeared likely to display a greater amount of aggressive behavior both when confronted with older children breaking rules and in response to unjust actions and commands of the government and policeman. Their greater inclination toward aggressive behavior is consistent with their being less dependent and more critical toward the social system.

Low SES children, compared to those of high SES, also appear to be raised in families in which the father is often the sole rule-maker. This difference is probably due to the fact that low class families are more bound to the patriarchal power structure which prevails among farmers and artisans. Most of the Milanese low SES workers (whose sons or grandsons make up our research group) come from these categories.

Socioeconomic status also determines differences in children's perception of parents' roles in community rule-making. The lower class population of Milan is made up to a great extent by immigrants from underdeveloped agricultural areas of the country. This part of the population is much concerned with community problems and provisions such as housing, schooling, health insurance and social assistance in general. Perhaps the data which reflect a greater involvement in community life for low SES than for high SES parents reflect the greater incidence of such concerns in the former than in the latter SES group.

SES differences generally cancel out with age. This finding could be attributed to children's gradual emancipation from the family. On the other hand, the school, being prevalently public, is attended (up to the age considered) indiscriminately by children of all social status levels, thus providing the opportunity for extended social interaction. Perhaps the basic attitudes of the younger children reflect essentially the social milieus in which they live. However, the similarity which characterizes the attitudes, beliefs, and standards of behavior of the thirteen year olds, regardless of their social class background, may be seen as an indication that these pre-adolescents tend to differentiate themselves from the adult world in general, thus preparing the ground for the strikingly similar ideological positions which today distinguish most of the young as a subculture aiming at radical changes in the established social system.

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AUTHORITY, RULES, AND AGGRESSION

A CROSS-NATIONAL STUDY

OF THE SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN INTO COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS

5. JAPANESE DATA

AKIRA HOSHINO
International Christian University
Mitaka, Tokyo, Japan

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A. Introduction

Japan, though Asian in geographic location and democratic in its form of government, contains many structural features which are consequences of its unique history and social organization.* With the exceptions of the early influence from China, particularly upon its written language, and the policies which were encouraged by the American occupation after World War II, Japan's historical development has been largely self-contained. Its sovereign monarchy, headed by the Emperor (and later by the combination of Shogunate and Emperor) extended for more than 2,000 years, and under this leadership the Japanese people were compelled to be obedient and industrious.

The western ideal of "Government of the people, for the people, and by the people" became widely known only after Japan had begun to welcome contact with the Western world toward the end of the nineteenth century, but it was much later before this ideal became a national conviction. In the meantime, the people continued to follow traditional ways in their expression of needs and feelings and in their behavior toward authority figures. Respect, politeness, and compliance characterized their attitude toward the Emperor, their ancestors, the head of their family, their teachers, and adults in superior statuses. This generalized deference was accompanied by more differentiated attitudes, such as loyalty to the Emperor and filial piety toward parents and ancestors.

The Meiji Reformation in 1868 is mainly remembered for its political reforms and the impetus it gave to economic activity, but it also had implications for the structure of relations to authority. The Tokugawa Shogunate disappeared in the successful efforts of several strong samurai clans to restore the reins of government to the Emperor. These efforts coincided with open demands from several foreign countries that opportunities for international exchange be established. Removed from the secondary status which had been imposed by the Shogun and the feudal system, the Emperor became a more

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*An instructive and concise analysis of these matters for the reader of English is contained in a paper by Chie Nakane, "Towards a Theory of Japanese Social Structure: An Unilateral Society," The Economic Weekly, February, 1965, pp. 197-216.

immediate figure to his people. While the country as a whole was moving decisively toward its version of industrial capitalism, and more tentatively toward a democratic form in its "Taisho Demokurashi" (Democracy in the Taisho Era), the older attitude toward the Emperor was intensified and was gradually absorbed into a structure of "national familism," with the Emperor as its head. This reinforced relationships within individual families, encouraging even more obedience and filial piety to the head of family and sanctioning severely any tendencies toward nonconformity.

A second reformation began abruptly in 1945. The military defeat was so complete and so contrary to what most Japanese people had believed was possible that they were psychologically prepared for a thorough self-examination. The actions of the occupation officials in establishing voting rights for women, in bringing about land reform, and in requiring the separation of Shinto from the state, for example, may have seemed coercive, but these and similar changes occurred through preference as well as through necessity. Though the response to the authority of General MacArthur appeared to some outsiders to be one more instance of the Japanese people's compliant attitude, it was in fact an occasion for them to speak for themselves in many political and social matters and to free themselves from ties to some of the traditional authorities, including those to the Emperor. The Emperor indeed encouraged these pressures for change, for in denying his "divinity" he also declared his "humanity."

Since World War II, Japanese people of all ages have shown a capacity to publicly express political sentiments. Individual criticism and collective demonstrations have become commonplace. The outburst in 1960, in reaction to the allegedly unconstitutional means which the Kishi government employed to secure ratification of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, made plain to the world that the direct line of authority from head of state to ordinary citizen was no longer intact.*

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*It would be a mistake, however, to presume that the traditional structure of authority was entirely swept away after 1945, leaving a vacuum to be filled by the new democracy. As Chie Nakane carefully explains in the paper cited above, there has been, throughout, a comprehensive set of vertical relationships which enclose all people within chains of obligations to those above them and to those below. Though some outward features of these vertical relationships have changed, their force and essential

The question remains whether readiness to oppose authority is confined to the political arena, in the narrow sense, or is more generalized. The findings from the study of children's attitudes, reported below, illuminate one side of this broad question. Other information at hand suggests that this phenomenon is not an isolated one. Student movements--for example, the Zengakuren--have political objectives, but they also attempt to reorganize educational institutions. And vocal opposition to governmental actions on the national level comes both from the minority parties and from some members of the majority.

A recent survey, using a nationwide sample, begins to suggest the breadth and depth of changes in attitudes toward authority.* The Sato (Liberal-Democratic Party) government was supported by 41 percent of the respondents, and definitely not supported by 37 percent. Age composition is quite different in these two groups; while 10 percent of those above 60 said they do not support the government, 40 percent of those in their twenties gave this reply. Furthermore, 10 percent of the sample explained their attitude by asserting that they did not trust the Prime Minister or government, and only 6 percent maintained that they supported the government <u>because</u> of their trust in it and its leader. In view of this mixture of attitudes, and the age difference, it can be anticipated, as reported below, that children's attitudes toward the Prime Minister tend to be indifferent or slightly negative.

In comparison to the Prime Minister, the policeman is given more acceptance and trust, both by children (see below) and their parents. In the <u>Asahi</u> survey, 42 percent reported a "friendly feeling" toward the policeman, while only 15 percent said they felt he was inaccessible. The remainder (43 percent) expressed either neutrality or no particular attitude. Differences by age were consistent with the attitudes toward the Prime Minister. With respect to the specific dimension of trust, 59 percent felt that "the policeman and the police system can be trusted," and 22 percent revealed less than full trust. Subgroup differences in response to this question show

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substance have not. The interested reader is invited to consult Nakane's analysis for a detailed explanation.

*In August 1968 the <u>Asahi</u> newspaper conducted a nationwide opinion poll with 2,534 subjects randomly sampled out of 67,000,000 Japanese voters, on the support of Prime Minister Sato's cabinet and various political parties.

that Tokyo residents had somewhat less confidence in the police than those who lived elsewhere, and that people engaged in professional, technical, and clerical work accorded the police less trust than did those in the agricultural and fishing industries.

As will be shown, children's attitudes toward the policeman are, on the average, moderately positive. It is at least plausible to imagine that they see him in two guises. In their personal experience they know him to be concerned for their safety as he controls traffic and stands as a safeguard against neighborhood crime. As they grow older, however, they become aware of police actions against still other groups of students (e.g., Zengakuren), and this may inspire wariness or suspicion among some.

Change in attitude toward authority was also evident in the post-war classroom. Teachers became less concerned with "discipline" and "teaching what a child should know and do," and placed more emphasis upon friendliness and studying together with children. As a matter of principle they were reluctant to punish or scold, preferring to correct waywardness by gentle persuasion and positive suggestion. For their part, children tended to react to this new treatment with somewhat less respect than their pre-war predecessors had shown. In general, the social position of the teacher is probably less stable than it has been. In the process of creating a strong union and concerning himself with his own living conditions in terms of time and expenses, the teacher has lost something of his image as a "person with a calling."

Far-reaching changes have taken place within the Japanese family. These are most difficult to describe with accuracy and precision, partly because they have not happened uniformly from one family to another (and therefore reveal many variations), and partly because they are still occurring, with no certain end-point yet in view Caudill & Scarr, 1961; DeVos & Mizushima, 1962; Goodman, 1957; Smith & Beardsley, 1962; Dore, 1967). It can be said that the "ie," the traditional kinship unit,was not recognized in the new post-war Constitution, and as a result, the institution of primogeniture, previously weakened by massive migration to the cities, has no legal basis. The authority formerly vested in the head of family has also diminished as young people increasingly seek to plan their adult lives on their own terms. Marriages tend more and more to be arranged by the two principals rather than by their families.

Moreover, in a period of steady and rapid increase in the standard of living, the ideal of "my homism" (a phrase

used by the Japanese themselves) has come within the reach of a growing number of families. It describes an aspiration for one's own house and garden, often including material items such as a car, piano, or appliances. However, it is not merely materialistic, for the objects desired are valued as much for their emotional gratification as for material ownership. "My homism" is indeed important for many who find their work monotonous, their mobility blocked, or their chance for changing their place of work nonexistent. In these circumstances "my homism" symbolizes the place where they live and can find meaning in life, and where one's own unfulfilled aspirations can often be passed on to one's children.

If the father, as head of family, can no longer routinely expect behavior which is strict and politely proper from his children--if indeed he finds that in their adolescence they may even turn upon him with criticism--then it may be that the family is moving toward a new distribution of role responsibilities. During the period that it is intact, the family is still the locus of mutual dependencies, and, particularly through the mother, it still inculcates the traditional virtues.

As children grow, both sex and age differences become more significant. Even with the introduction of coeducation in junior high school and the widespread acceptance, in principle, of the ideal of equality between the sexes, girls are still likely to receive differential treatment. Their orderliness and obedience are expected to be exemplary (sanctions for nonconformity in these respects are often severe), and, in general, they are less free than their brothers from parental restrictions. If they enter the labor market, as many do both before and after marriage, they find that opportunities are less plentiful and, on the whole, less attractive for them than for males.

Beginning in primary school the age-grading of the school system is accompanied by similar patterns of group formation in play activities. While the usual (and approximate) criteria of intellectual and emotional development no doubt encourage segregation by age, there is a social factor operating as well. The slightly older or younger child might be tolerated in a play group, but he would not ordinarily be welcome and would probably be encouraged to seek out his own age-mates as he reached the age of ten or eleven. Age-grading continues through the nine years of compulsory education and senior high school, and can even be discerned to some degree on college campuses. Such experience may well be a kind of anticipatory socialization for the occupational world where seniority is an important determinant of career development, more so than it is in other industrial societies.

Outside the family and the school there may be no other personages who ordinarily exert very much influence upon the growing child's orientation to his world. The case of the Prime Minister has already been discussed; he does not appear to be the functional equivalent of the President as viewed by the American child. At least until now neither he nor his office is seen to be invested with the primary virtues. Similarly, religious figures probably have less effective access to children than they traditionally enjoyed because adults (with the possible exception of the lower-middle class where new sects have found many adherents) in the cities are often inclined to be indifferent toward religious observances outside the home (Dore, 1958).

These introductory observations are not offered as hypotheses for the survey of children's attitudes. They are, instead, intended to make some of the findings understandable in the light of Japan's recent history.

B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System

This section and those which follow in this chapter present findings about the attitudes of Japanese school children toward authority and compliance. Each subsection contains a report on the answers to a separate series of questions. The interpretations of these answers give emphasis both to the magnitudes of the responses themselves and to any variations which can be discerned between children (1) of different grades (four, six, and eight), (2) of different sexes, and (3) of different social status groups (high and low SES).

B1. The Child's Image of Authority Figures

a. Affective Attachment (Expressive and Instrumental)

Perhaps the most basic question which might be asked about someone's orientation toward a particular authority figure is whether that authoritative figure is mainly regarded as a means to an end or as an end in himself. The first two questions to be considered here recognize these two different attitudes, for one question asked to what extent the child liked each authority figure (the expressive or end-in-itself aspect), while the other asked to what extent the child saw each authority figure as being helpful (the instrumental or means-to-an-end aspect).

Figures 5-1 and 5-2 show the mean scores by school grade for "liking" and "helpfulness," respectively. It is plain in Figure 5-1 that Japanese children in our sample have a much greater liking for their parents than for others, that their attachment is least to their Prime Minister, and that teacher and policeman receive intermediate amounts of positive feeling. It is also apparent that the degree of liking accorded to each figure decreases from fourth through sixth to eighth grade. The rate of decline is not the same in each case, but there is only one case of change in rank order between grades. Liking for father is greater than liking for others in the fourth grade, but liking diminishes more rapidly for him than it does for mother, so that by the sixth grade the mother is best liked, on the average, and the father second.*

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*The language of this paragraph, and of many others to come, makes a tacit assumption which is not strictly warranted by

The mean scores for the "helpfulness" question reveal quite a different, and much less clear-cut, pattern. Prime Minister is still at or near the bottom of the rank order for each grade, but policeman receives the highest average score in all cases, and the differentials between the other figures are not great, either within grades or between grades. The uniform trend of decreasingly favorable responses with progression in grade, noted in the first question, is not repeated here. Even though there is a steady decrease for Prime Minister, and (though less marked) for policeman and for father, there is no such pattern at all for mother, for religious leader, for friends, and for teacher.

With the exception of Prime Minister, the other authority figures do not differ widely in their perceived "helpfulness" to Japanese children, but the situation is different in the case of "likability" (Figure 5-1), for there the differences are greater.

The different patterns displayed in these two figures do not imply that "liking" and "helpfulness" are independent variables. In fact they are consistently, if not very strongly, related, as Table 5-1 shows. Only six coefficients out of thirty fall short of statistical significance (.05 level). Therefore, in all grades and for all authority figures there is a consistently moderate tendency for children who like them to consider them as helpful, or for those who see figures as helpful to like them, etc. The word "moderate" is stressed in view of the fact that the largest coefficient is .45.

It might be expected that the relations between these two variables would decrease with age on the premise that socialization tends to separate one's instrumental attitude from his expressive one toward the same object. Table 5-1 bears out this expectation, but not very emphatically. There is a discernible, though by no means uniform, tendency for the eighth grade coefficients to be lower than the comparable figures for fourth graders. Nothing very

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the data--that between-grade differences can be construed as being due to differences in experience or socialization. While there is no reason to believe that this assumption is not empirically correct, its validity could only be established by a panel study. Though the language containing this assumption is used, because it is so awkward to avoid it, the author does retain an attitude of caution toward the assumption.

conclusive can be drawn from this comparison, but there is somewhat firmer ground when the same reasoning is applied to the case of the policeman. Four of the six nonsignificant coefficients refer to him, and for boys there is a regular decline in correlation from fourth through sixth to eighth grade. This suggests that by the time boys reach adolescence they judge the policeman's likability independently from their opinion about his instrumental importance to them. The same trend is not duplicated by girls, however; the high (.40) coefficient for sixth grade girls does not lend itself at all to ready explanation.

To probe in some depth into the findings discussed so far, it is appropriate to turn to a series of analyses of variance. There is one analysis for each authority figure for each question, and in some cases there are analyses of two or more authority figures combined, with the object of ascertaining which of the sampling variables, grade level, sex, and SES can be said to account for a portion of the variance observed in mean scores.*

Because it would exhaust the reader's patience to present a comprehensive discussion of every one of the large number of tables of means, only those uniformities and differences which are quite emphatic, or seem to be theoretically significant, have been selected for comment.

In general the comparisons of means demonstrate that, when there are differences, girls are more favorable than boys, fourth graders more favorable than eighth graders, and high status students more favorable than low status students. There are, however, some departures from these generalizations, and they will be noted.

With respect to the "helpfulness" question, only SES seems to be an important differentiator of children's attitudes toward their parents. At all grade levels, high status children saw parents as more helpful than did low status children. However, the magnitude of the difference is not large. (The scores combining responses to

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*The analyses of variance were done by computer, but only for some of the tables. Therefore, some of the differences observed and discussed in the following paragraphs are "differences" which were detected by visual examination only and not confirmed by calculation. The reader will be able to make his own visual examination and to compare his interpretation with that given in the text.

father and mother were for the lower SES group 4.17, 4.17, and 4.00 at grades four, six, and eight, respectively; the corresponding scores for the high SES group were 4.37, 4.39, and 4.25.) When means for father and mother are inspected separately (see Tables 5-2 and 5-3), the SES difference is plainly present in both, but a previously concealed set of differences associated with grade level now emerges. In the case of father there is a decline with grade in every subgroup by status and sex, but this is not true for mother. Here girls show an opposite trend--their mean scores rise with age. Boys, on the other hand, follow a curvilinear path; it is in the sixth grade that their perception of mother as being helpful reaches a maximum.

It is tempting to weave a small theory around these oddly different arrays of findings, but the temptation will be resisted because the sizes of the differences are really quite small. In particular, an explanation constructed around the notion that the mother has become the "dominant helper" for girls in comparison to the father must be resisted, for despite the contrasting trends, in eighth grade there is no difference between the girls' perceived helpfulness of mother and of father.

Though the analysis of variance showed no significant differences among subgroups in attitudes toward the helpfulness of the teacher, there were two contrasting trends between the two SES groups. With age, the high status students' regard for the teacher's helpfulness declined; means for the low status group followed the opposite age trend (for the low SES group, the means at grades four, six, and eight were 3.52, 3.77, and 3.87, respectively; the corresponding means for the high SES group were 4.12, 3.96, and 3.72). Therefore, though high status boys and girls in the fourth grade appeared to see the teacher as being quite a lot more helpful than did their low status counterparts, by the eighth grade, low status boys and girls demonstrated a higher regard than their high status counterparts.

Why is this so? The data at hand do not permit a confident explanation, but it is plausible to imagine that, first, the teacher gradually becomes a less important figure for the higher status child. The need to pass a succession of examinations to gain entrance into the most prestigious high schools and universities inspires many mothers to take a personal hand in the educational achievements of their children. They surround them with books, introduce them to libraries, press them to do their home-

work, and even spend many hours tutoring.* But this single-minded attention is not so easily provided by the lower class mother. She is more likely to be at work herself when her school children are at home, less likely to have the wherewithal to supplement the school's educational materials, and less likely, perhaps, to have the knowledge and information which would facilitate a child's learning. Thus the lower status child may well find that his teacher is the principal figure upon whom he must depend for assistance. This interpretation does not explain why the lower class child finds the teacher to be "more helpful when asked" than does the upper status child, but the kind of help sought by and given to the lower class child may be of sufficiently greater importance to have produced the differences described above.

Table 5-4 summarizes children's responses concerning the helpfulness of the Prime Minister, the policeman, and the religious leader,** and it indicates the three variables--grade, SES, and sex--which produced significant differences in the general directions mentioned above. Inspection of the means for each of these three authority figures showed that the differences observed for the index or summary score were also, for the most part, true of each figure viewed individually. Certainly there is an emphatic decline with grade in the perceived helpfulness of the Prime Minister; he may seem nearly irrelevant to the needs of eighth graders. Only the religious leader manifests a pattern clearly contrary to the generality for girls, as they grew older, appeared to regard him as being not less, but more helpful than those in the lower grades. Boys did not show the same age trends, however; in fact, the findings for boys are quite different between the two SES groups. What can be said, on the basis of data shown

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*In the upper and the middle social status, the most involved person is sometimes the mother, besides the child himself. The word "kyoiku mama" (education-mama) has often been used to describe the mother who concentrates her efforts to keep up with or even to keep one step ahead of her child's academic and personal developments (Vogel, Ezra F., 1963).

**The questions about religious leaders in the Japanese questionnaire specified Buddhist priests or Christian pastors, excluding Shinto priests who are not active in daily religious works in the Western sense. Separate questions which were asked about Shinto priests are not reported upon in this chapter.

in Table 5-5, is that girls see religious leaders as being very much more helpful than do boys (except for the high status fourth graders); this coincides with the results of a study done by Hoshino, et al. (1964). This earlier study reported that girls in the seventh and ninth grades in several Christian schools held more positive attitudes than did boys toward religion in general and Christianity in particular.

As for friends, neither SES nor grade produced significant differences, but sex did. Across all grades, girls appeared to have a higher regard for friends' helpfulness than did boys. (Girls' means at grades four, six, and eight were 4.16, 4.10, and 4.17, respectively; the corresponding means for boys were 3.92, 3.79, and 3.75.)

The differences which were observed in the answers to the "liking" question followed, with no exceptions, the generalizations which associate the more favorable attitudes with girls, high status, and lower grade level. All three of these sampling factors significantly affected children's reported liking for parents (see Table 5-6), two (grade and SES) affected the liking expressed for the teacher (see Table 5-7), and one (grade) differentiated liking for other authority figures, i.e., the Prime Minister and policeman (see Table 5-8 and Figure 5-1).

All of the findings so far, as various as they are in detail, lend a good deal of support to a general outline of the process of socialization as one which gradually disengages the child from his sources of emotional gratification (liking for parents and for teacher), and also (though this is less emphatic) from his dependence upon the readiness of other people to help him make his way. Furthermore, there is little to suggest, save perhaps in the case of orientations toward the teacher, that this socializing pathway is very different for girls than for boys (though in some instances girls disengage rather more slowly), or for low status children as compared to those of high status (though in a few cases low status children are more engaged).

Relationship between attachment to figures and classroom behavior. When the Japanese children's liking for the various authority figures is correlated with their peers' judgments about their positive and negative behavior in the classroom, only 25 out of a possible 120 coefficients reach statistical significance (cf. Table 5-9). But even though the relationship is not strong and general, there are several noteworthy patterns.

In the first place, there are many more significant relationships for girls (16) than there are for boys (6).

Also, the relationships for girls are distributed rather evenly over the grades (with a maximum in the eighth grade), but five of the six for boys occur in the fourth grade. A further difference between the sexes concerns the salience of their liking for their parents. In the fourth grade, boys' liking for both their fathers and mothers relates significantly, if not strongly, to their positive behavior toward their peers, but in the subsequent grades these coefficients become nonsignificant. With girls this pattern of change is reversed. In the fourth grade neither coefficient is significant, but each increases with grade and both are significant in the eighth grade. Apparently a child's attachment to his parents becomes decreasingly salient to his positive behavior toward his classmates as he grows older if he is a boy, but for girls the salience increases.

A simple and direct hypothesis relating to these data would state that a child's liking for the teacher would be expressed in positive or negative behavior (as the case may be) toward the teacher. This hypothesis may be "tested" in twelve instances in Table 5-9, six for positive behavior and six for negative. Only four of these twelve coefficients are significant, with three of these appearing in the fourth grade.

One moderate concentration of significant relationships may be seen in the column for girls' negative behavior toward the teacher, particularly with respect to their liking for father, mother, and teacher. Curiously, and in contrast to the finding for girls' positive behavior toward peers (discussed above), their liking (or better, their disliking) for their parents becomes progressively less salient to their negative behavior toward the teacher.

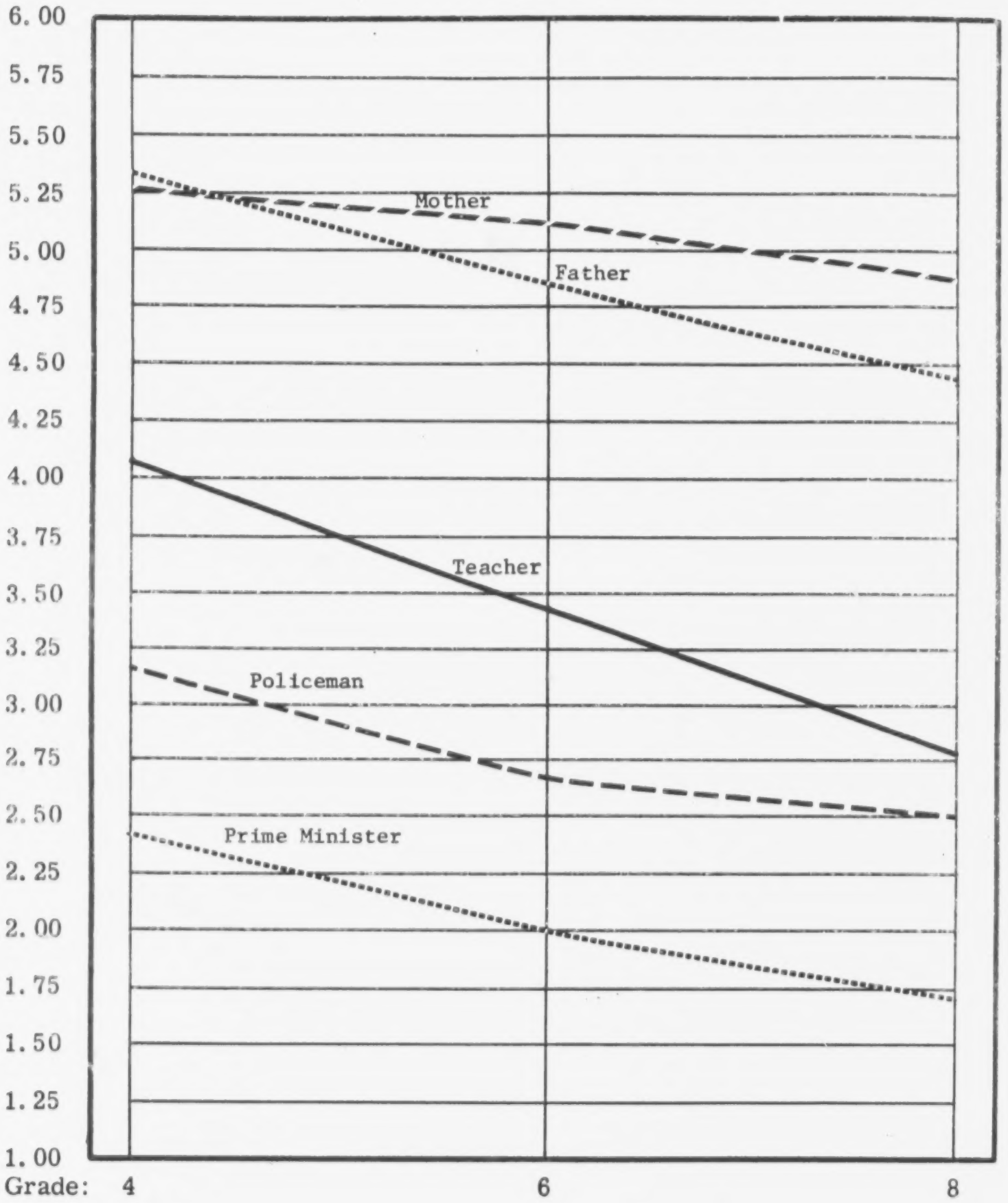
The proportion of significant coefficients in Table 5-10 (between helpfulness of authority figures and classroom behavior) is so small (11 out of 144) as to invite the question whether these are simply "chance" findings. In view of this possibility, the discussion of this table will be limited to one observation: fourth grade boys who say that the Prime Minister is helpful tend to be nominated for their negative behavior toward the teacher, while eighth grade boys who say that the Prime Minister is not so helpful tend to receive these nominations.

A comparison of Table 5-9 with Table 5-10 does permit the tentative conclusion that the "liking" variable is more salient to classroom behavior than is the "helpful" variable.

Summary. The Japanese school children in this study indicate greater liking for their parents than they do for any of the other authority figures. They express least liking for the Prime Minister. They perceive the policeman to be the most helpful of the authority figures, while the Prime Minister tends to be seen as least helpful. Their liking for each of the authority figures decreases with grade level, while their perception of the helpfulness of these figures declines for the father, policeman, and Prime Minister, but not for mother, religious leader, friends, and teacher.

These attitudes of liking and perceived helpfulness were related in several instances to the sampling variables. Children from high SES backgrounds showed significantly more liking for their parents and their teachers than did low SES children, and they saw their parents and other authorities (Prime Minister, policeman, and religious leader) as being more helpful. Girls reported significantly more liking for their parents than did boys and more confidence in the helpfulness of their friends and other authorities. The higher the grade level, the lower the degree of liking for parents, teacher, Prime Minister, and policeman, and the less the perceived helpfulness of the Prime Minister, policeman, and religious leader.

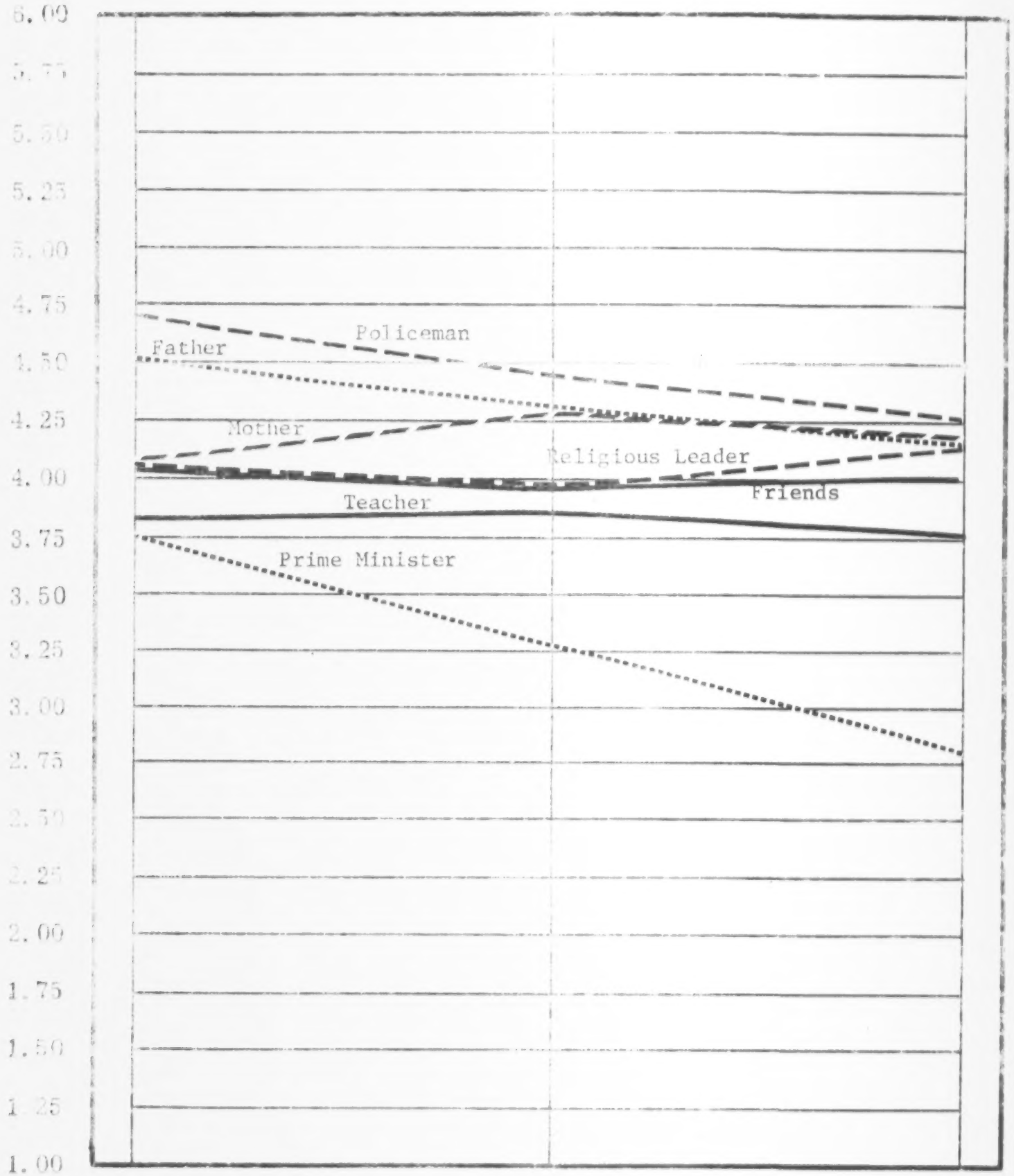
FIGURE 5-1
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT
TO AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE
(JAPAN)



Item: Do you like (figure)?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

FIGURE 5-2
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE
(JAPAN)



Item: Does (figure) want to help you when you need it?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 5-1

CORRELATION BETWEEN LIKING FOR AUTHORITY FIGURES AND PERCEPTION OF THEM AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(JAPAN)

FIGURES	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	.32*	.33*	.18	.35*	.36*	.33*
Mother	.24*	.32*	.25*	.20*	.20*	.25*
Teacher	.40*	.45*	.34*	.37*	.21*	.30*
Policeman	.15	.29*	.40*	.14	.19*	.03
Prime Minister	.29*	.45*	.37*	.37*	.27*	.28*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 5-2

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF FATHER AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE (SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX)
(JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	4.51	4.57	4.31	4.44	4.66	4.48	4.58	4.62	4.39
Six	4.33	4.30	4.12	4.21	4.42	4.47	4.44	4.36	4.29
Eight	4.17	4.10	4.06	4.08	4.34	4.14	4.24	4.23	4.10
Totals	4.34			4.25			4.42	4.41	4.27

Note. Significant Effects: (Parents) SES. Item: "Does your father want to help you when you need it?" Item Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 5 - 3

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF MOTHER AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.10	4.10	3.84	3.97	4.16	4.28	4.22	4.13	4.06
SIX	4.27	4.16	4.21	4.19	4.37	4.36	4.37	4.27	4.28
EIGHT	4.20	4.27	3.92	4.09	4.49	4.12	4.30	4.39	4.02
TOTALS	4.19			4.08			4.29	4.26	4.12

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (PARENTS) SES. ITEM: "DOES YOUR MOTHER WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 5 - 4

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF SEVERAL AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.00	3.87	3.74	3.81	4.17	4.19	4.18	4.03	3.97
SIX	3.72	3.91	3.50	3.71	3.77	3.67	3.72	3.84	3.58
EIGHT	3.58	3.60	3.45	3.51	3.80	3.49	3.65	3.71	3.47
TOTALS				3.68			3.85	3.86	3.67

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SES, SEX. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 3 ITEMS: "DOES THE PRIME MINISTER (POLICEMAN, RELIGIOUS LEADER) WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 5 - 5

COMPARISON OF MEANS OF VIEW OF RELIGIOUS LEADER AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.05	4.00	3.29	3.66	4.38	4.48	4.43	4.19	3.90
SIX	3.96	4.37	3.50	4.11	4.22	3.22	3.72	4.32	3.35
EIGHT	4.17	4.56	3.33	4.07	4.95	3.57	4.21	4.83	3.52
TOTALS				3.86			4.23	4.39	3.68

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) GRADE, SES, SEX. ITEM: "DOES THE RELIGIOUS LEADER WANT TO HELP YOU WHEN YOU NEED IT?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 5-6

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO PARENTS
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	5.25	5.32	4.61	4.97	5.55	5.47	5.52	5.45	5.05
SIX	4.98	5.04	4.97	5.01	5.00	4.91	4.96	5.02	4.94
EIGHT	4.59	4.70	4.06	4.38	5.09	4.54	4.81	4.91	4.30
TOTALS				4.79			5.10	5.13	4.76

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SES, SEX. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "DO YOU LIKE YOUR FATHER (MOTHER)?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 5-7

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO TEACHER, BY GRADE,
SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.10	3.75	3.44	3.60	4.82	4.29	4.56	4.30	3.88
SIX	3.41	3.30	3.49	3.40	3.24	3.60	3.42	3.27	3.54
EIGHT	2.80	2.27	3.48	2.91	2.86	3.28	3.07	2.60	2.98
TOTALS	3.45			3.19			3.71	3.44	3.46

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SES, ITEM: "DO YOU LIKE YOUR TEACHERS?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 5-8

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES,
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	2.95	2.81	3.11	2.96	2.93	2.96	2.94	2.87	3.03
SIX	2.55	2.75	2.52	2.64	2.59	2.31	2.45	2.67	2.42
EIGHT	2.39	2.30	2.31	2.31	2.56	2.38	2.47	2.44	2.34
TOTALS				2.64			2.63	2.67	2.60

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "DO YOU LIKE POLICEMEN (THE PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN)?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 5-9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTACHMENT TO AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.06	.21*	.11	.11	-.08	-.14	-.24*	-.08
	6	.24*	.16	.05	.11	-.24*	-.09	-.10	-.03
	8	.30*	.02	.13	.15	-.07	.13	-.05	-.02
Mother	4	.11	.21*	.15	.15	-.07	-.05	-.23*	-.15
	6	.14	.18	.01	.17	-.11	-.02	-.20*	-.09
	8	.27*	.08	.13	.14	.01	.14	-.03	-.04
Teacher	4	.25*	.19*	.24*	.15	-.17	-.17	-.26*	-.26*
	6	.13	-.23*	.01	-.03	-.27*	-.06	-.08	.14
	8	.06	-.02	.08	.05	-.17	-.03	-.22*	-.16
Policeman	4	.25*	.13	.15	.14	.05	.00	.01	.03
	6	.09	-.06	.05	-.07	.07	-.08	-.11	-.08
	8	.32*	.08	.21*	-.07	-.06	-.04	-.01	-.00
Prime Minister	4	.22	.08	.16	.06	.09	.22*	.13	.20
	6	..24*	.04	.16	.02	.01	-.11	.01	.07
	8	.22*	-.01	.24*	-.09	-.11	-.02	-.27*	-.07

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 5-10

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	-.07	.09	-.03	.03	.02	.05	-.02	.06
	6	-.01	-.09	.02	-.01	-.14	-.20*	-.22*	-.16
	8	.16	.03	.05	-.11	.08	-.08	.08	-.14
Mother	4	.01	.07	.11	.09	.20*	.15	.09	.06
	6	.01	.08	.03	.06	-.08	-.09	-.23*	-.12
	8	.16	.05	.06	.05	-.04	-.07	.02	-.15
Teacher	4	.16	.13	.09	.17	-.04	-.01	-.18	-.18
	6	-.09	.03	-.08	-.13	.02	-.19*	-.08	-.03
	8	.09	.07	.12	-.21*	-.03	.01	-.11	-.02
Policeman	4	.10	.06	.06	.10	.02	.01	.01	-.03
	6	.06	-.20*	.17	.10	.17	-.03	-.06	-.04
	8	.17	.05	.31*	-.08	-.08	-.06	-.14	-.11
Prime Minister	4	.08	.05	.07	.07	-.03	.27*	-.04	.38*
	6	-.09	-.11	-.07	.14	-.04	-.01	.01	.10
	8	.03	-.09	.10	-.26*	.03	-.01	-.10	-.28*
Religious Leader	4	-.10	.10	-.05	.06	-.08	-.01	.04	-.03
	6	-.20*	-.02	.08	.08	.19*	.34*	-.09	.02
	8	.15	.12	.12	-.18	.24*	-.30*	.16	-.33*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Perception of the Power of Authority Figures to Punish Noncompliance

Sharp differences in the relative power of authority figures to punish noncompliant behavior are apparent in Figure 5-3 (particularly in the fourth grade). Parents, judge, and teacher were perceived to have the greatest punitive power, the Prime Minister, religious leader, and friends the least; the policeman fell between these two clusters. These clusters remain through the sixth and eighth grades, though the teacher's perceived power declined with grade almost to the point of converging at the eighth grade with that of the policeman, whose potency increased as children grew older. Within the topmost cluster the means of the judge and both parents rose from grade four to six and then the latter declined, while the judge's mean remained stable from grade six to eight. At the other end of the scale the religious leader's mean rose slightly and then fell, the friends' mean rose steadily across the grades, while that of the Prime Minister steadily decreased so that in both the sixth and eighth grades he occupied the lowest rank position.

The large differences among judge, policeman, and Prime Minister indicate children's growing awareness of certain realistic features of the legal system. The judge's function is more directly a punitive one than are those of the other two; the Prime Minister (who is regarded more as a political leader than as an executive of the state) is quite removed from this activity. The low ranking of the Prime Minister, considered together with his similarly low (and declining) rating on the "liking" and "helpful" variables, suggests both a growing psychological distance between him and children and their lack of knowledge of, or experience with, his exercise of punitive power.

Underlying this general pattern of emphatic differences among authority figures are several differences in perception between the two SES groups. Across all grades, high status children almost uniformly rated both parents' punitive power higher than did low status children. (The low status children's means at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 4.31, 4.73, and 4.60, respectively, for father, and 4.51, 4.72, and 4.67, respectively, for mother; the corresponding means of high status children were 4.56, 4.81, and 4.56 for father, and 4.52, 4.92, and 4.52 for mother.) Tests of significance performed on the scores combining responses to both parents revealed that the SES difference was statistically significant (see Table 5-11). This is consistent with the previous findings which showed that basic attitudes of attachment to parents and

evaluations of their helpfulness are stronger among high status children. It is possible that families with somewhat stronger expressive and instrumental ties also provide parents with more leverage to control their children.

There is, however, one significant exception to this generalization about SES difference. High status boys in the eighth grade demonstrated a lower estimation of their fathers' and their mothers' punitive power than did low status boys in the same grade. Moreover, this was a considerably lower estimation than that held by sixth grade boys, and was also lower than that of every other subgroup (see Table 5-11). This may be an indication of the boys' increased sense of independence from strict parental control, substantiating the changes mentioned in the Introduction from the pre-war pattern of paternal dominance. If this is so, this departure from tradition is more marked in upper status families.

Though school grade was a significant source of variance in the perceptions of the teacher's power to punish, the general tendency for this power to decrease through the grades is contradicted among lower status boys, where an increase can be noted (see Table 5-12). There is basis here to speculate that low status boys move through a rather different socializing process with respect to certain extra-familial authorities. Table 5-13 shows that while high status boys and girls manifest a decreasing evaluation of the combined power of Prime Minister, policeman, judge, and religious leader, low status boys again show the opposite trend. Tables 5-14 through 5-17 reveal that it is the policeman and the judge, rather than the other two, whose power is steadily more appreciated by lower status boys. In consequence of these different trends within the two status groups, the high SES children generally tend to have higher respect for non-family and non-school authority figures in the fourth grade, but in the eighth grade the lower SES children tend to have higher regard for their power (see Table 5-13).

This pattern is not present in children's ratings of their friends' punitive power, however. Low status children rated their friends' power to punish usually lower than high status children. (The low status children's means at grades four, six, and eight were 2.33, 2.27, and 2.32, respectively; the corresponding means of high status children were 2.29, 2.93, and 2.88.) These data also show the low status children's means to exhibit little change from grade to grade. Friends seemingly become more salient for high status children. By the eighth grade, these children credit friends with more power than they accord to either the Prime Minister or the religious leader.

Relationship between perception of figures' power to punish and classroom behavior. As Table 5-18 makes plain, there is no general relationship between children's statements about the power of authorities and their own behavior in the classroom (as judged by their peers), but there is a particular and altogether striking one. The positive behavior of boys toward their teachers is uncorrelated with their judgments about punitive power in the fourth grade, but in the sixth grade four coefficients (for father, mother, teacher, and policeman) are significant and positive; at the eighth grade the relationship becomes negative; for two figures, mother and judge, these negative correlations are significant. It is as though regard for the punitive power of several authorities is rather irrelevant to one's conduct toward the teacher in the lowest grade, but two years later as children become more sensitive to this characteristic of authority, the more they apprehend it, the more responsive they are to the teacher's wishes. (It would be worthwhile to know whether this positive behavior is unreflective or self-directed.) Two years later, at grade eight, those whose estimates of power are lowest tend to be more conforming toward the teacher.

Several observations are in order about these reversals from grade to grade. First, the fact that the correlative relationships appear across several of the authority figures, and are stronger with parents than they are for the teacher, suggests the operation of a general factor of "respect for authority" which has a bearing upon the regulation of behavior, even if this bearing is sometimes negative.

Secondly, it is possible that the reversal between the sixth and eighth grades is associated with the different trends between status groups, as discussed above. (The data would have to be correlated within sex and status groups to ascertain whether this is true.) This is not entirely likely, however, for the two Japanese SES groups were, by and large, segregated by school. Therefore,proportionately about as many within each status group were nominated for their positive behavior toward the teacher.

Thirdly, an alternative hypothesis is available. Perception of power is often associated with ambivalence, and ambivalent tensions are sometimes reduced by "safe" but visible expressions of hostility. When strain produced by the discrepancy in power between the generations begins to be felt in early adolescence by boys who wish to be more independent, it can be drained off by behavior which

is formally compliant* but which carries overtones of resistance. A study reported by F. Kisaki (1966) suggests that such overtones may be present. Kisaki collected more than 2,000 nicknames used by students as terms of reference (but not necessarily of address) for their teachers, and classified these by school and by sex of the user. While positive nicknames were more prevalent in all schools, the incidence of negative names among boys increased abruptly from elementary school to middle (or junior) high school, and while there was no sex difference in elementary school, middle school boys reported such names more often than did girls by a ratio of about 4:1.

A few examples from the Kisaki report convey the flavor. One teacher was known as "NHK" among some in his class, this being innocuous enough on its face for it stands for Nippon Hoso Kyokai (the quite respected Japanese Broadcasting Corporation). However, users of this monogram construed it to mean Niyake Hentai Kechi ("a stingy person with a knowing smile who is suspected of entertaining indecent intentions toward female students"). Another was referred to as "sen mittsu" (literally, three out of a thousand, or the alleged ratio of truths to untruths which issue from his mouth). "Jieitai" was applied to another; this is a pun on "jigaheta" ("one who writes Japanese characters badly") and "Jietai" (the not altogether popular Japanese Self Defense Force). Such an appellation as "handbag" suggests the creativeness behind the selection of some of these nicknames. "Handbag" ("handobakku") is one of those English words which have been absorbed into the Japanese vocabulary. A handbag, or purse, is sometimes called "motenai," a word which designates any object which some people (men in this instance) are unable to possess. But "motenai" also means "a person who is not liked by someone" (male students in this instance).

Such behavior, and the considerable imagination necessary to it, suggests the presence of a motive. This motive could be strongest among boys who are most aware of the power of authority figures to punish them, who could therefore find some gratification through

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*The correlation coefficients for boys' negative behavior toward the teacher are not consistent with those under discussion. For the most part they are not significant, but the -.22 coefficient for mother's perceived power should be positive if it is a result of the same factors which account for the figures for positive behavior.

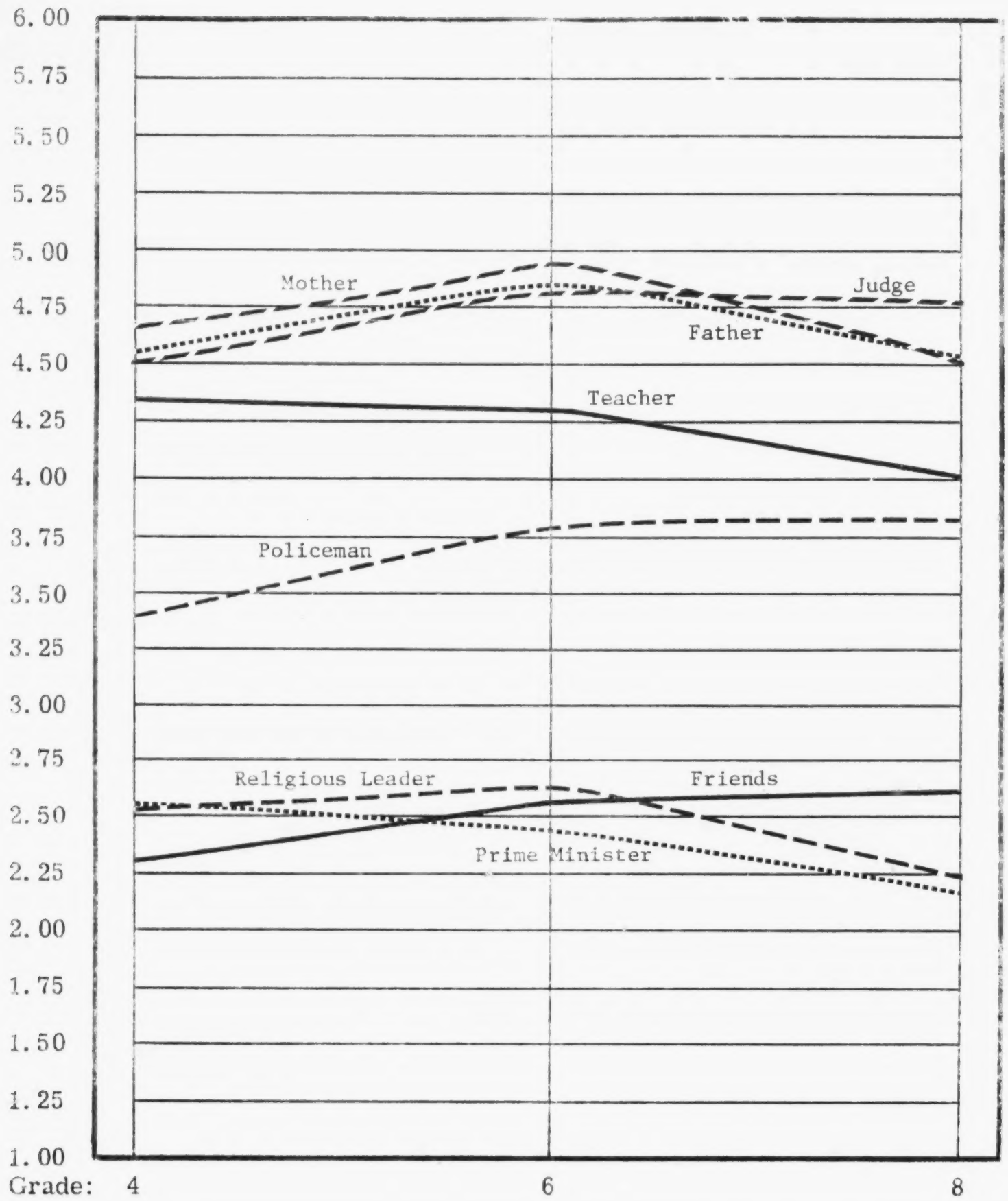
indulgence in using nicknames. To be consistent with the findings, these boys would also be less than prominent in their positive responses to the teacher's expectations, but they would not be openly defiant (otherwise the eighth grade correlations for negative behavior toward the teacher would be high and positive).

Table 5-19 makes evident that Japanese children's fear of punishment by various figures is not identical with their perceptions of the figures' power to inflict it. Father's punishment is most feared and by a substantial margin (except for fourth graders who rank the Prime Minister first; being distant and rather unknown to them, he may also seem rather awesome). Mother, whose punitive power is little different from father's, is less feared than policeman in all grades, and less than teacher in sixth and eighth grades. The religious leader is relatively harmless. Percentages for "friends" do not appear in this table, but they are quite low.

Summary. Children in the sample perceived clear differences among the authority figures with respect to their power to punish noncompliance. Parents, judge, and teacher were considered to have the greatest share of this power; Prime Minister, religious leader, and friends were accorded least power; the policeman was intermediate between these two groups.

The SES variable was a significant source of variance in children's estimations of their parents' power to punish. High status children perceived this power to be greater than did lower status children. Grade level affected perceptions of the teacher's power, with the finding that the teacher's power declines with increasing grade level. There were no significant differences between boys' and girls' responses.

FIGURE 5-3
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH, BY GRADE
(JAPAN)



Item: Does (figure) have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 5 - 11

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF PARENTS' POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.55	4.27	4.43	4.35	4.70	4.77	4.73	4.50	4.60
SIX	4.86	4.67	4.70	4.69	5.03	5.06	5.05	4.85	4.88
EIGHT	4.43	4.32	4.56	4.45	4.65	4.18	4.42	4.50	4.37
TOTALS				4.50			4.73	4.62	4.61

NOTE. SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES, CURV. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "DOES YOUR FATHER (MOTHER) HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 5 - 12

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF TEACHER'S POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.36	4.17	4.09	4.13	4.69	4.49	4.59	4.42	4.29
SIX	4.32	4.02	4.30	4.16	4.39	4.59	4.49	4.20	4.44
EIGHT	4.00	3.92	4.40	4.18	4.02	3.69	3.86	3.98	4.02
TOTALS	4.23			4.16			4.30	4.21	4.25

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE. ITEM: "DO TEACHERS HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 5 - 13

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF SEVERAL AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.35	3.15	3.00	3.07	3.66	3.54	3.60	3.41	3.27
SIX	3.55	3.53	3.62	3.57	3.61	3.45	3.53	3.57	3.54
EIGHT	3.44	3.50	3.78	3.65	3.36	3.12	3.24	3.43	3.45
TOTALS				3.43			3.46	3.47	3.42

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES BY GRADE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 4 ITEMS: "DOES THE PRIME MINISTER (POLICEMAN, JUDGE, RELIGIOUS LEADER) HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 5-14

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF POLICEMAN'S POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.38	3.2[illegible]	3.44	3.[illegible]	3.28	3.52	3.40	3.28	3.48
SIX	3.86	4.[illegible]	3.80	3.[illegible]	3.82	3.81	3.81	3.92	3.81
EIGHT	3.68	3.58	4.56	4.[illegible]	3.70	3.66	3.68	3.65	4.[illegible]
TOTALS	3.70			3.78			3.63	3.62	3.7[illegible]

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) SES BY GRADE. ITEM: "DO POLICEMEN HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO [illegible]?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 5-15

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF JUDGE'S POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.50	4.35	4.20	4.27	4.81	4.63	4.72	4.59	4.41
SIX	4.45	4.7[illegible]	5.19	4.[illegible]	4.71	4.73	4.72	4.75	4.[illegible]
EIGHT	4.77	4.80	5.47	5.[illegible]	4.62	4.23	4.42	4.70	4.[illegible]
TOTALS	4.72			4.[illegible]			4.62	4.69	4.[illegible]

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) SES BY GRADE. ITEM: "DOES A JUDGE HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO [illegible]?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 5-16

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF PRIME MINISTER'S POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	2.61	2.29	1.[illegible]	2.[illegible]	3.51	3.06	3.31	2.88	2.[illegible]
SIX	2.42	2.47	2.[illegible]	2.[illegible]	2.84	2.15	2.40	2.64	2.[illegible]
EIGHT	2.16	2.48	1.[illegible]	2.16	2.29	2.06	2.16	2.36	1.[illegible]
TOTALS				2.1[illegible]			2.60	2.64	2.1[illegible]

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) SES BY GRADE. ITEM: "DOES THE PRIME MINISTER OF JAPAN HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH A PERSON WHEN HE DOES WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 5 - 17

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF RELIGIOUS LEADER'S POWER TO PUNISH NON-COMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	2.32	2.37	2.03	2.19	3.09	2.71	2.89	2.70	2.34
SIX	2.64	2.47	2.65	2.56	2.78	2.67	2.73	2.61	2.68
EIGHT	2.24	2.05	2.11	2.05	2.43	2.23	2.33	2.29	2.19
TOTALS				2.32			2.63	2.55	2.41

N.S.L.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER ACTIVITY FIGURES) SES BY GRADE. ITEM: "DOES THE RELIGIOUS LEADER HAVE THE POWER TO PUNISH YOU WHEN YOU DO WRONG?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 5-18

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PERCEPTION OF THE POWER OF AUTHORITY FIGURES TO PUNISH NONCOMPLIANCE AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.04	-.00	.02	-.04	.04	-.05	-.08	-.03
	6	.02	.03	.07	.23*	.00	-.12	-.08	-.03
	8	.02	-.14	.02	-.19	.00	-.04	-.06	-.09
Mother	4	.18	-.06	.13	-.03	.10	.05	-.02	-.01
	6	-.06	.03	-.01	.20*	.05	.02	-.05	.08
	8	.14	-.03	.02	-.19*	.04	-.18	.03	-.22*
Teacher	4	.09	.07	.13	.07	-.09	-.07	-.18	-.08
	6	-.01	.04	.01	.19*	-.05	-.05	-.04	.07
	8	.15	.06	.16	-.13	-.11	-.12	-.16	-.14
Policeman	4	.04	.09	.03	.13	-.08	.12	-.19*	.07
	6	-.05	.09	.06	.28*	.15	.06	.02	.13
	8	-.02	.26*	.15	-.04	-.11	-.10	-.00	-.09
Prime Minister	4	.19	.19	.18	.13	-.19	-.12	-.17	-.13
	6	.02	.06	-.05	.12	-.11	-.04	.15	-.06
	8	-.10	-.08	.02	-.17	-.01	.17	-.01	.08
Judge	4	.07	.14	.06	.18	.01	-.04	-.12	-.12
	6	.09	.21*	.03	.18	-.04	.01	-.12	-.10
	8	.07	-.04	.09	-.24*	-.23*	.02	-.26*	-.06
Religious Leader	4	.08	.06	.02	-.02	-.09	-.09	-.06	-.17
	6	.04	-.17	.16	-.04	-.14	-.05	.08	.20
	8	.24	-.04	.18	-.13	-.11	-.03	-.07	-.30*
Friends	4	-.07	.01	.10	-.00	-.03	.08	-.05	.03
	6	-.06	-.10	.08	-.04	-.08	-.08	.05	.14
	8	.10	.11	.08	.07	-.14	-.02	-.19*	-.07

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 5-19

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON AUTHORITY FIGURES WHOSE PUNISHMENT FEARED THE MOST BY GRADE SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(JAPAN)

FIGURES	GRADE FOUR					GRADE SIX					GRADE EIGHT				
	SOCIAL STATUS			SEX		SOCIAL STATUS			SEX		SOCIAL STATUS			SEX	
	TOTALS	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	20	22	18	20	20	34	37	30	35	32	39	28	50	44	34
Mother	12	14	10	15	9	12	15	9	14	10	9	11	7	9	9
Teacher	8	8	8	5	12	21	14	28	20	22	19	25	13	20	18
Policeman	13	10	16	8	18	14	21	7	12	16	16	20	12	11	20
Religious Leader	1	1	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	1	3	4	2	4	2
Prime Minister	33	26	41	40	27	11	11	12	12	11	3	5	1	1	5

Note. Item: "Whose punishment do you fear the most?" Friends and anyone else omitted.

c. Children's View of the Consequences of Noncompliance--Inevitability of Punishment

Children's expectations of punishment for disobedience vary depending on the authority figures· some are seen as more lenient (or less likely to detect noncompliance) than others (see Figure 5-4). The teacher's punishment is most certain, even though on the average it appears somewhat less likely than "almost always." Mother's punishment is next most frequent except in eighth grade where it falls below that of policeman. Father and policeman are both expected "usually" to punish fourth grade violators, but as children grow older, their expectations of punishment by the father fall somewhat, while those concerning punishment by the policeman rise. Punishment from city authorities and from national government officials is expected relatively less often.

Even though the rank orders vary somewhat between the relative power of authority figures to punish (where teacher is below both father and mother) and the inevitability of their punishment (where teacher is ranked highest), the two variables are nevertheless highly and consistently correlated (see Table 5-20). For every figure and every grade except two, the more power is attributed to an authority figure, the more likely it is that this figure will punish violations of his rules. The exceptions are the policeman for fourth grade girls and eighth graders. Could it be that some children accord him power but either believe him to be more lenient (than do younger children) or suppose that their noncompliance may not be discovered?

Social status consistently differentiated responses on this variable; belief that punishment inevitably follows disobedience of all authority figures was stronger among high status than low status children (see Tables 5-21 through 5-23). Grade in school also affected judgments about the likelihood of parental punishment (see Table 5-21); as children grew older their belief in the inevitability of parental punishment declined. The decline is not large in absolute terms, and it is virtually absent among girls. Lower status girls, in fact, show a different, curvilinear age trend; it is in the sixth grade that their expectations for punishment from both mother and father are highest. For boys this decline of belief in the inevitability of parental punishment fits the hypothesis of gradual disengagement from parental control which has been mentioned previously.

Neither sex nor grade in school accounts for any of the (quite small) variations in the beliefs about the

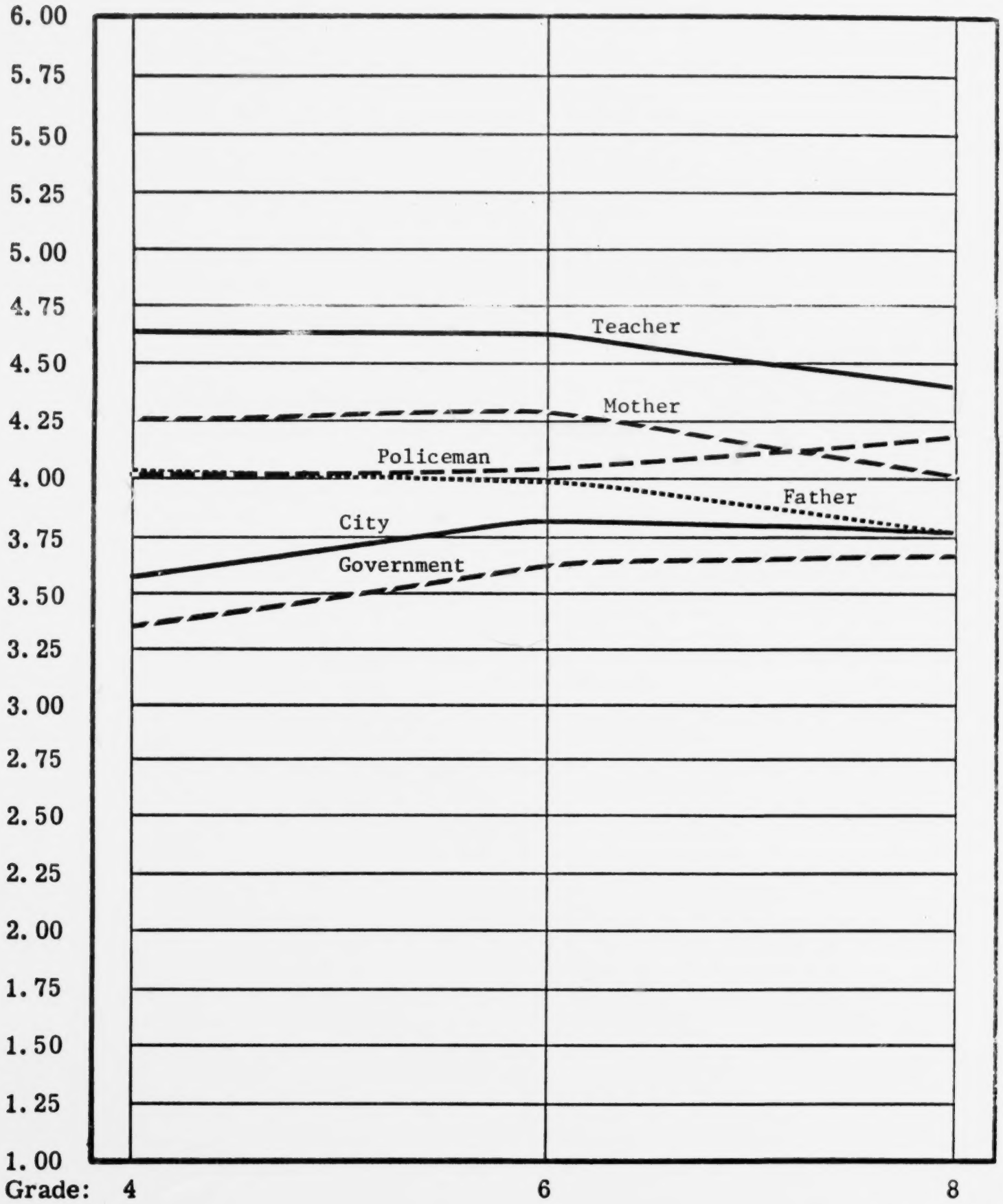
inevitability of punishment by the teacher (see Table 5-22) or the other non-family and non-school authority figures (see Table 5-23).

Relationship between belief in the inevitability of punishment and classroom behavior. The proportion of significant correlation coefficients to the total shown in Table 5-24 is small (12 out of 144) and for the most part these few are scattered over the table with no clear pattern, so that any effort to suggest interpretations for their possible meanings is probably not warranted.

Summary. The teacher is the authority figure whom these Japanese children believe will most likely punish a disobedient child. In the general rank order of perceived punitiveness, mother is second to teacher and is followed by father, policeman, city authorities, and national government officials.

Upper and lower SES children differed significantly in their answers to these questions. The former saw every authority figure as being more likely to punish than did the latter. Grade in school was also a significant source of difference--the higher the grade, the lower the perceived likelihood of punishment from parents.

FIGURE 5-4
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT
FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH AUTHORITY FIGURES' RULES, BY GRADE
(JAPAN)



Item: If you do not obey the laws or rules of (figure), does he punish you?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 5-20

CORRELATION BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH AND BELIEF IN INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUP (JAPAN)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	.41*	.45*	.43*	.27*	.45*	.23*
Mother	.39*	.46*	.35*	.45*	.39*	.32*
Teacher	.42*	.42*	.44*	.43*	.39*	.20*
Policeman	.21	.41*	.25*	.24*	.09	.15

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 5 - 21

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH PARENTS' RULES BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

DE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
R	4.10	3.84	4.08	3.96	4.10	4.40	4.24	3.97	4.24
	4.11	4.18	3.88	4.03	4.09	4.30	4.19	4.14	4.08
HT	3.84	3.67	3.72	3.69	4.06	3.88	3.97	3.88	3.80
ALS				3.90			4.14	4.00	4.04

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SES. INDEX BASED ON BINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "IF YOU DO NOT OBEY YOUR FATHER'S (MOTHER'S) ES, DOES HE (SHE) PUNISH YOU?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 5 - 22

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH TEACHER'S RULES BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

DE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
R	4.65	4.49	4.74	4.61	4.54	4.82	4.68	4.51	4.78
	4.65	4.54	4.52	4.53	4.70	4.88	4.79	4.62	4.69
HT	4.39	4.40	4.37	4.38	4.55	4.27	4.41	4.48	4.32
ALS				4.51			4.62	4.54	4.60

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: NONE. ITEM: "IF YOU DO NOT OBEY YOUR CHER'S RULES, DOES YOUR TEACHER PUNISH YOU?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; ALWAYS.

TABLE 5 - 23

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH THE RULES OF SEVERAL AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

CE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
R	3.63	3.41	3.59	3.50	3.77	3.74	3.75	3.60	3.67
	3.78	3.67	3.61	3.64	3.96	3.87	3.92	3.82	3.73
-T	3.81	3.68	3.58	3.62	3.89	4.07	3.98	3.79	3.82
ALS				3.59			3.88	3.73	3.74

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 3 MS: "IF YOU DO NOT OBEY POLICEMEN'S (CITY'S, GOVERNMENT'S) ORDERS LES OR LAWS), DO THEY PUNISH YOU (ARE YOU PUNISHED BY CITY OFFICIALS, ERNMENT OFFICIALS)?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 5-24

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF IN INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOR DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND SYSTEMS AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS

(JAPAN)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.11	.11	.03	.19*	.12	.08	.03	.00
	6	.03	-.24*	.10	.07	.05	-.02	-.03	-.02
	8	.08	-.07	.19	.04	.07	.17	-.01	-.09
Mother	4	-.05	.09	-.09	.11	.29*	.07	.15	.04
	6	.03	.08	.03	.06	.03	.00	.01	-.04
	8	.05	-.07	-.01	-.03	-.13	.00	.09	-.23*
Teacher	4	-.05	.00	-.09	.03	-.01	.06	-.05	.06
	6	.06	-.18	-.03	-.04	.06	-.12	-.04	.01
	8	.08	.01	.14	.04	.01	.05	.04	-.22*
City	4	.08	.07	.03	.07	-.13	.09	-.27*	.09
	6	-.06	.15	.12	.19	-.12	-.14	-.06	-.02
	8	-.03	.06	.20	.13	-.25*	.18	-.37*	-.07
Government	4	.01	-.13	-.01	-.11	-.04	.10	-.01	-.07
	6	.08	.19	.10	.29*	-.03	.20	-.08	.05
	8	-.18	-.09	-.10	.10	.14	.27*	.05	.06
Policeman	4	.02	.09	-.02	.09	.12	.01	.06	.01
	6	.05	.12	.03	.11	-.08	-.15	-.12	.02
	8	.04	.04	.16	.12	-.22*	.20	-.22*	-.08

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

d. Inter-system Support for Sanctions against Noncompliance

Table 5-25 displays an overview of the Japanese children's beliefs regarding inter-system reinforcement of sanctions against noncompliance. It indicates which authority figures tend to punish the violations of other authorities' rules. Parents are clearly the principal sources of reinforcement for each other's and other figures' sanctions. However, they are not perceived as being extremely likely to reinforce the teacher's, the policeman's, or the government officials' sanctions of noncompliance. Other family members are apparently much less concerned with such violations than are parents.

The perceived readiness of parents to support the policeman and the city more than the teacher and the government, and the rather low level of perceived support of the policeman by the judge, may have a single explanation. The policeman, as was noted in the Introduction, is known first and perhaps mainly to children as a traffic controller and therefore as a protector of children. Traffic is dense in metropolitan Japan, and streets are often narrow and without sidewalks. The safety of children is such a matter of common concern that, among the rules which are likely to be disobeyed, those for pedestrians (e.g., "cross only at the zebra stripes") are likely to be most prominent. But it is just such rules as these which would not be salient for a judge; he would seldom have the opportunity to reinforce the policeman's punishment.

Secondarily, there is a discernible cluster of "public officials" who tend to reinforce each other's discipline as revealed in the percentages for teacher to policeman, teacher to city, teacher to government, principal to teacher, policeman to government, and judge to government. But these figures are only moderately high, being for the most part between 50 and 75 percent. Among the remaining figures, friends are regarded as moderately inclined to support the teacher, while the religious leader and "anyone else" (save for municipal and national laws) are perceived as marginal participants in the system of mutual support among authority figures.

Overall, this table conveys an impression of a good deal of disinclination for one authority to reinforce the discipline of another, relative to what would be true in many other countries. The reason for this may be imbedded in the Japanese social structure. As Nakane has analyzed contemporary Japanese society, it is primarily composed of

several vertical structures (e.g., the "ie" or family system, the school, the place of work), each being somewhat segregated from the others.* They are not, of course, autonomous, but neither are there frequent instances where authorities in one sphere will seek to influence those in another. These vertical structures tend to evoke attitudes of loyalty from their members, as Nakane has pointed out. It may be reasonable to hypothesize that the other side of the coin is a disposition to consider that authorities in other social systems are adequate and do not need reinforcement. This is still a relative disposition, however, and it requires the qualification that certain kinds of misbehavior by children, of the sort which would reflect derogatorily upon the character of their families, would almost always be dealt with severely by parents.

Figures 5-5 through 5-9 present these findings graphically and also reveal a rather general pattern of curvilinear change with grade. In most instances, belief in inter-system reinforcement increases between the fourth and sixth grades and declines in the eighth, once more suggesting a possible disengagement from control, and a growing self-dependence, for children in the junior high school.

All three variables, SES, sex, and grade level, are related to beliefs about various parts of the reinforcement system; Table 5-26 summarizes the significant effects. The two subtables for Other Family Members show that their perceived support reaches a maximum in the sixth grade, but is not affected by SES or sex. Friends' reinforcement of the school's rules falls into the same curvilinear pattern. Friends also reinforce the discipline of other non-school authorities, though here the curvilinear trend disappears and is replaced by differences between the two social status groups. In the fourth grade the friends of lower status children are seen as the most frequent reinforcers of non-school rules, but this is reversed in the sixth and eighth grades. In both of the subtables for friends there is a similar and pronounced increase, between fourth and sixth grades, in the upper status children's views regarding the likelihood of friends being reinforcers of the discipline of authority figures.

Beliefs about parents' roles in the punishment of their children who violate non-parental rules, show that

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*C. Nakane, op. cit.

girls are more likely to see them as reinforcers than are boys, and that there tend to be very large differences between the two SES groups; this is especially striking in the eighth grade. Much fewer low status than high status children appeared to expect their parents to punish them for noncompliance with the rules of the teacher, the policeman, etc.

An insight into an attitude which possibly accounts for this finding is offered in a study by Hiroshi Wagatsuma, et al. (1968). In personality tests given to fifty-five lower status families in Tokyo, statements were made which suggest a resentful attitude toward the punitive actions of officials. Parents of children who had become delinquent said, for example, "Why did the police catch our child when many other worse children were not caught?" or "Our child was punished because he was honest and confessed everything; the honest person is always punished." Even though these parents also punished their delinquent children, Wagatsuma hypothesizes that lower status parents often hold a negative, resisting attitude toward formal authorities, and in doing so, give tacit encouragement to their children to engage in delinquent acts.

Such an attitude may also be generalized to the school, and may underlie the SES difference reported in Table 5-26, which indicates that belief in the total family's support of the teacher's disciplinary acts was more frequent among high status than low status children.

When parents are viewed not as reinforcers but as recipients of support from other authorities in disciplining their children, there is still an SES difference, but it is in the opposite direction. Extra-familial support for parents' rules is more often reported by low than by high status children (see Table 5-26). Also, this belief declined with age for all subgroups. The significance of these differences is, however, mitigated somewhat by the fact that this expectation was generally infrequent in all subgroups.

Belief in the mutual support among public officials was also more frequent among high status than low status children (see Table 5-26). Though neither grade nor sex showed a significant effect in the analysis of variance, boys in every comparison had a higher mean score than did girls, and there was a trend of curvilinear change with grade, especially for the lower status group, but a steady upward trend in the high status group.

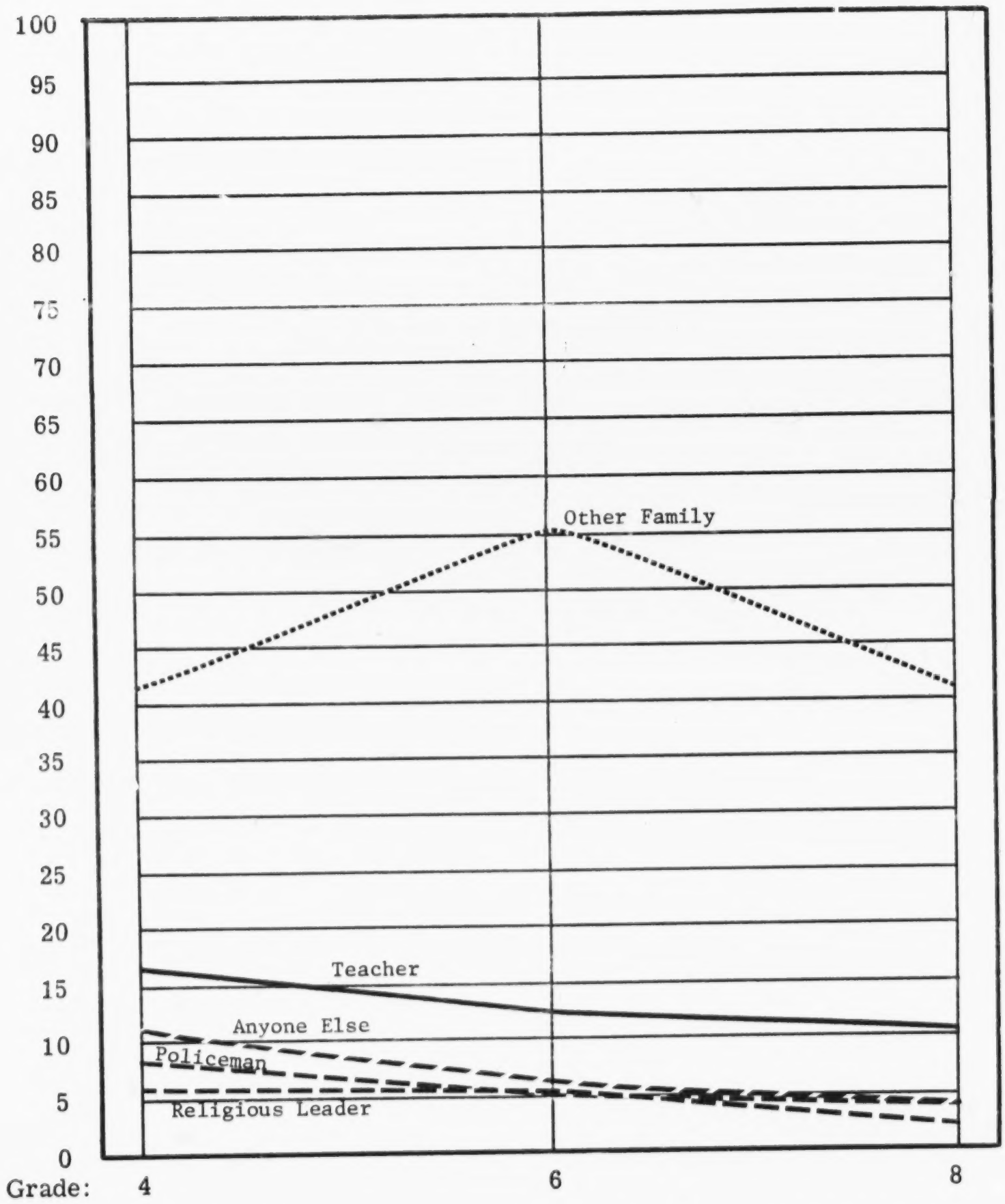
Relationship between beliefs about inter-system support and classroom behavior. The classroom behavior of Japanese children is not strongly related to their conceptions of the reinforcement system, but Table 5-27 nevertheless contains some intriguing patterns. Significant correlations appear only in the fourth and eighth grades. Most of the significant coefficients for fourth graders connect their beliefs about inter-system support to their negative behavior toward the teacher. Perhaps the obvious explanation is also the right one: children of this age are most likely to become acquainted with punishment reinforcers by breaking rules and getting punished.

The same explanation is not apropos for an eighth grade pattern. In several comparisons, girls at this level who report belief in inter-system reinforcement are also likely to be nominated for their positive behavior toward their teachers. It has been suggested by Hatano (1953) that girls in this early adolescent period often experience anxieties and insecurities which they react to by becoming more dependent and more reliant upon direction from their parents, among others. Deliberate conformity is consistent with this reaction, and might well be expressed in positive behavior toward the teacher.

Summary. When these Japanese children were asked to what extent each of the several authority figures would punish violations of each of the other authority figures' rules, their aggregated answers revealed a general system of reinforcement of sanctions in which parents are the principal reinforcers, particularly for each other, secondly for the policeman and the city, and also for the teacher and the national government. A second group of reinforcers, not as strong as the first, was composed of the teacher, principal, policeman, and judge. Friends and religious leader were perceived to be less prominent participants in the system.

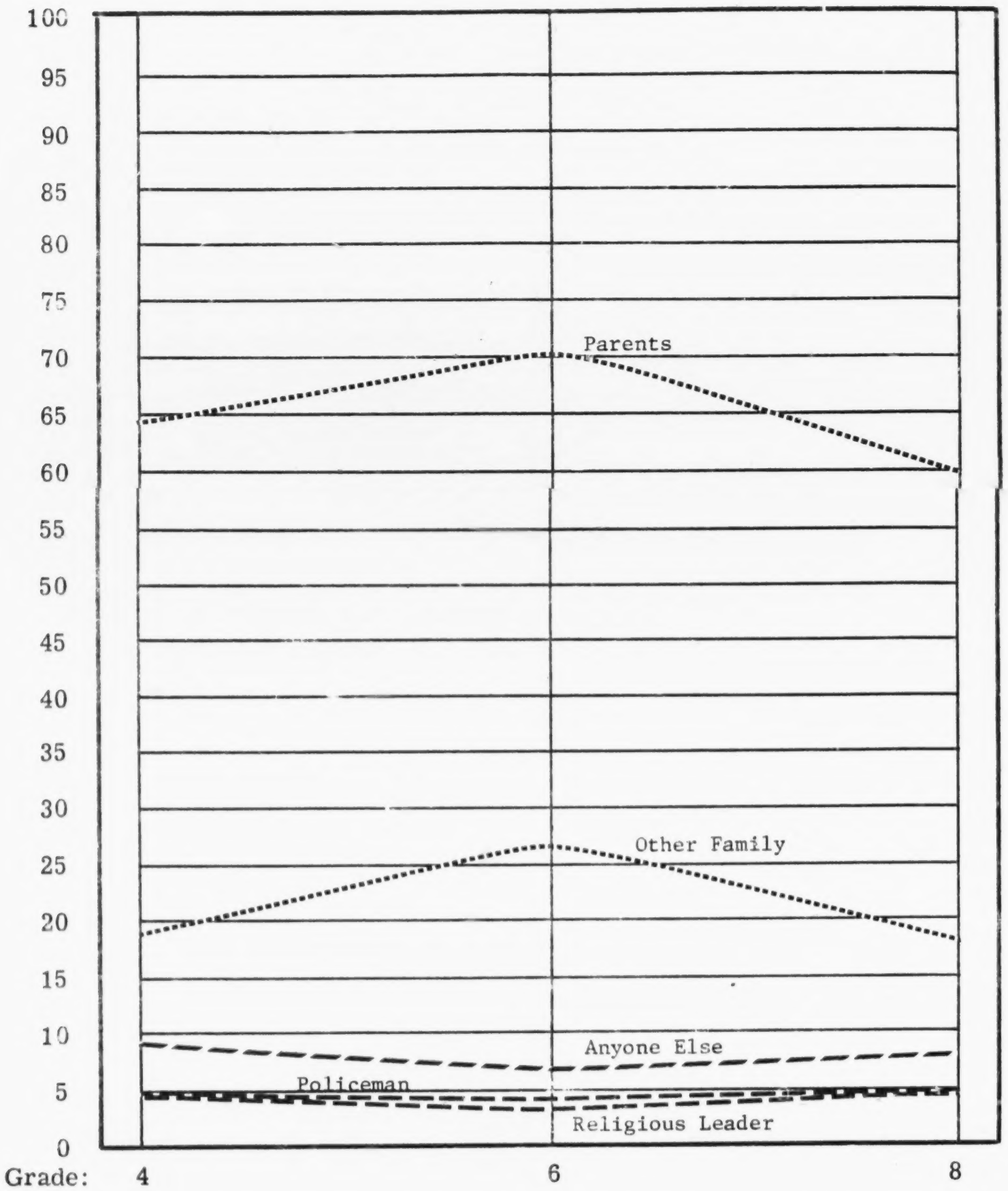
Among the various effects associated with the three sampling variables there was a general tendency for the belief in the likelihood of reinforcement to be greater among sixth graders than it was for either fourth or eighth graders.

FIGURE 5-5
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF PARENTS, BY GRADE
(JAPAN)



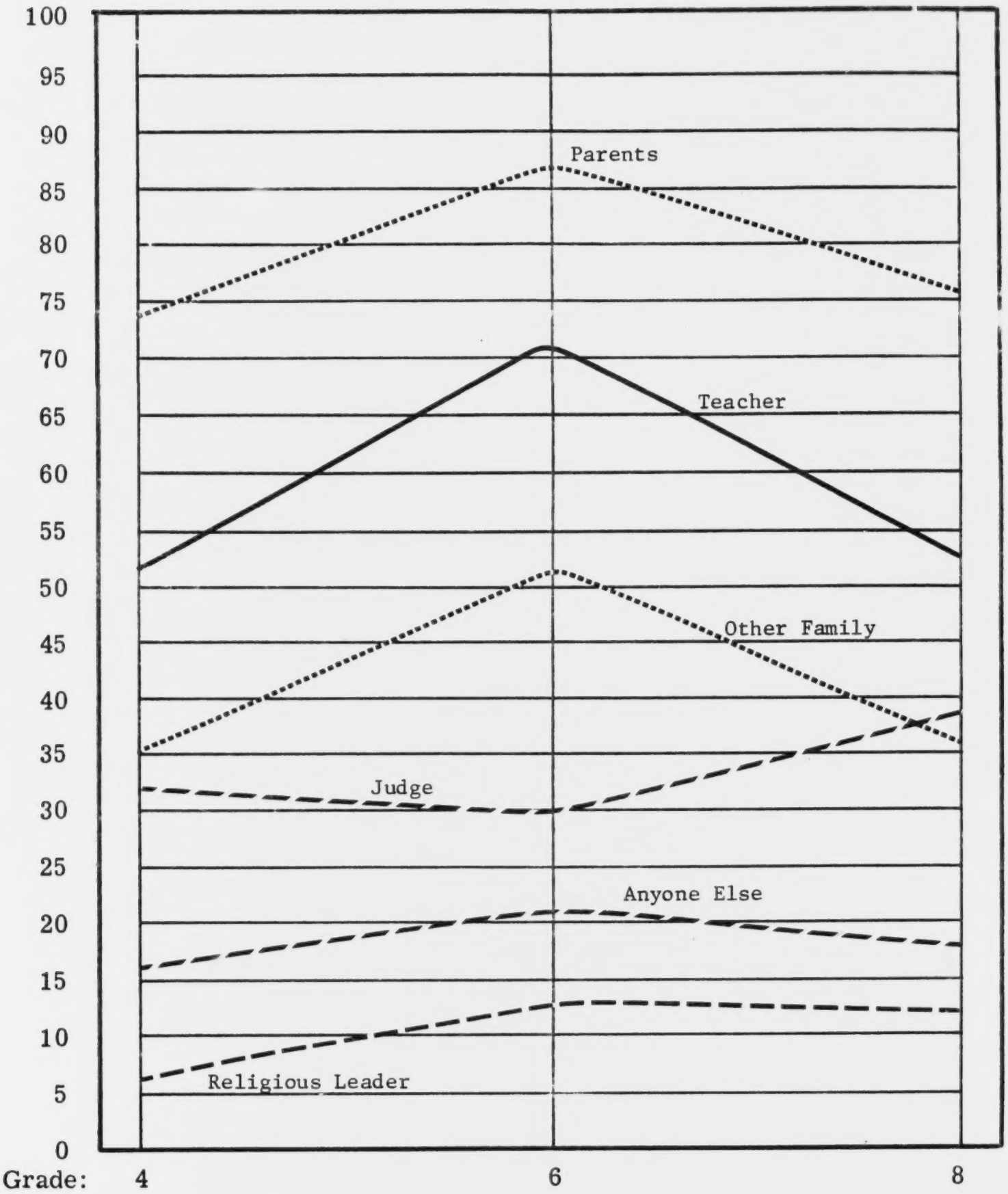
Item: Index based on combination of 2 items: "Besides your father (mother), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your father's (mother's) rules?"

FIGURE 5-6
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE TEACHER, BY GRADE
(JAPAN)



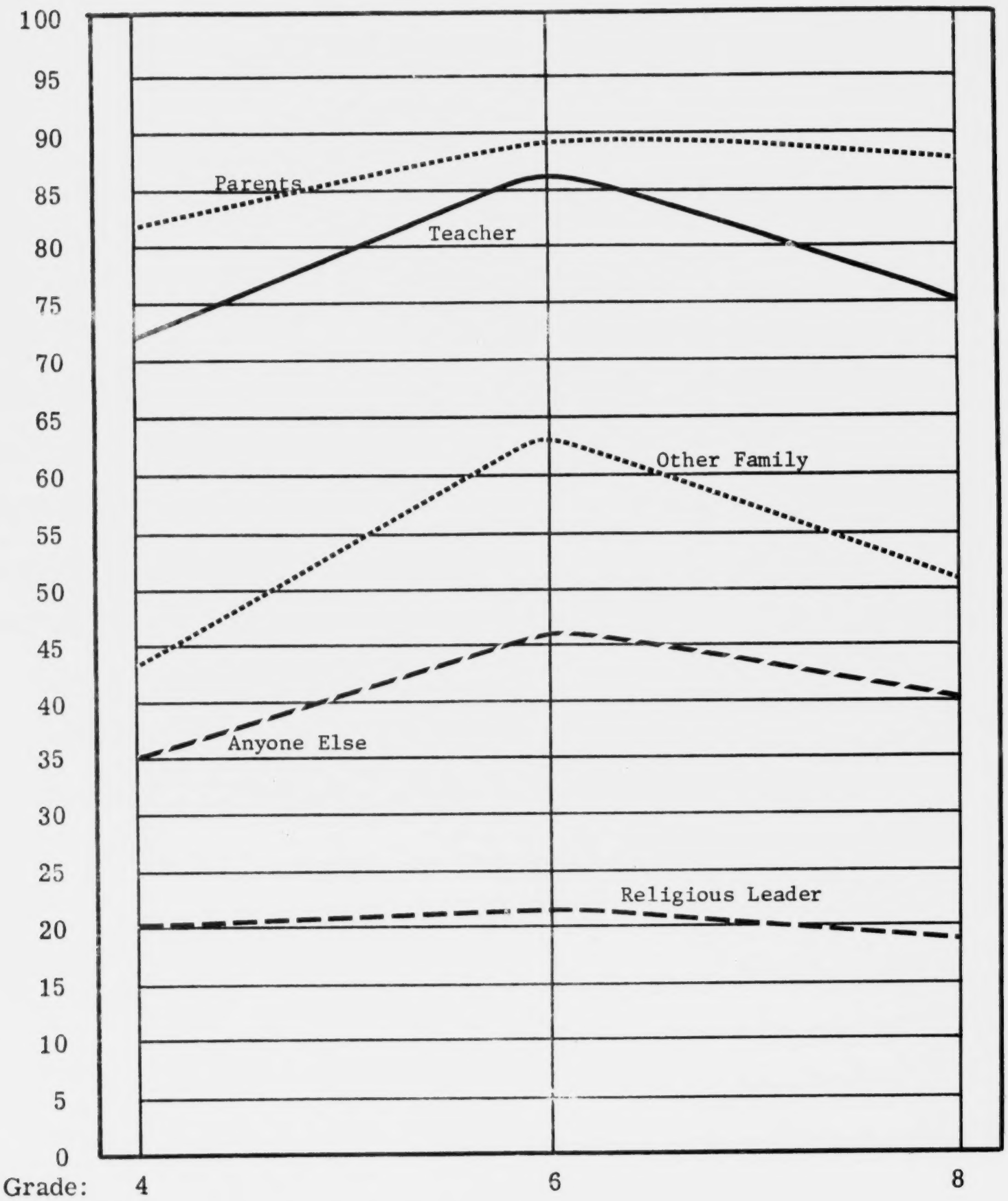
Item: "Besides your teacher, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your teacher's rules?"

FIGURE 5-7
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE POLICEMAN, BY GRADE
(JAPAN)



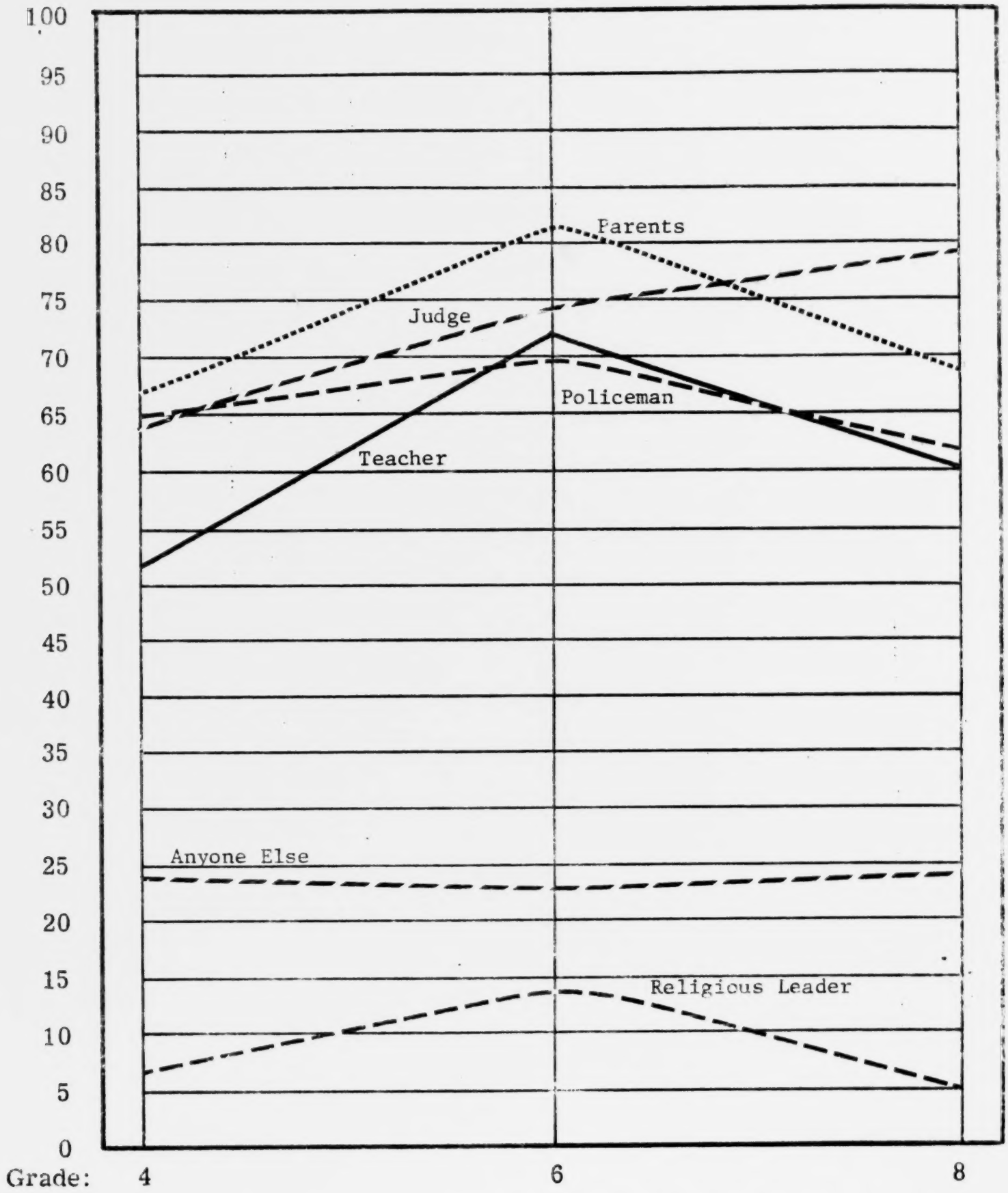
Item: "Besides policemen, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey policemen's orders?"

FIGURE 5-8
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CITY, BY GRADE
(JAPAN)



Item: "Besides city officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the city's laws or rules?"

FIGURE 5-9
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE THE DISCIPLINE OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, BY GRADE
(JAPAN)



Item: "Besides government officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the laws or rules of Japan?"

TABLE 5-25

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON EXPECTATION THAT PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WILL BE REINFORCED BY OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES
(PERCENTAGE OF YES RESPONSE)
(JAPAN)

FIGURE ALSO PUNISHING	SYSTEM OR FIGURE WHO IS DISOBEYED																	
	MOTHER			FATHER			TEACHER			POLICEMAN			CITY			GOVERNMENT		
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8
Mother				87	93	87	66	75	64	73	89	76	82	90	88	66	81	69
Father	80	92	86				63	66	56	75	85	76	82	90	88	68	82	69
Other Family	43	57	45	39	54	37	19	27	18	35	51	36	43	63	51			
Teacher	14	10	10	19	15	11				52	71	53	72	82	75	52	72	60
Principal							61	70	62									
Policeman	6	3	2	11	7	6	5	4	5							65	70	62
Judge										32	30	38				64	74	79
Religious Leader	5	4	3	7	7	2	5	3	5	7	13	12	20	21	19	7	14	15
Friends	3	6	4	6	7	5	28	49	40	9	24	26	12	29	37	10	26	24
Anyone Else	12	6	5	10	6	4	9	7	8	16	21	18	35	46	40	24	23	24

Note. Item: "Besides your mother (father, teacher, policeman, city officials, government officials) who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your (mother's, teacher's, etc.) rules (laws, orders)?" Alternatives: Mother, Father, Other adult relatives, Teacher, Principal, Policeman, Judge, Religious Leader, Friends, Anyone else.

TABLE 5-26

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE, BY TOTAL GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS		
Parents for Non-family Authority Figures	4	5.25	4.39	6.06	5.48	5.00	0-8	SES,Sex
	6	5.76	5.52	6.01	5.88	5.63		
	8	4.99	3.81	6.09	5.50	4.52		
	Total		4.60	6.05	5.63	5.04		
Other Family Members for Parents	4	.70	.68	.72	.72	.68	0-2	Grade (Curvlin.)
	6	.94	.85	1.03	.92	.97		
	8	.67	.59	.76	.70	.65		
	Total		.71	.84	.78	.76		
Other Family Members for Non-family Authority Figures	4	.76	.82	.71	.74	.79	0-3	Grade (Curvlin.)
	6	1.12	.96	1.27	1.04	1.20		
	8	.80	.65	.95	.86	.74		
	Total		.81	.98	.88	.91		
Total Family for School	4	1.32	1.11	1.52	1.41	1.23	0-3	SES
	6	1.45	1.36	1.54	1.42	1.48		
	8	1.20	.86	1.51	1.36	1.05		
	Total		1.12	1.52	1.40	1.25		

TABLE 5-26 (CONTINUED)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Non-family Authority Figures for Parents	4	.52	.77	.29	.56	.48	0-6	Grade,SES
	6	.38	.51	.25	.32	.45		
	8	.29	.26	.31	.13	.43		
	Total		.52	.29	.34	.45		
Non-family Authority Figures for School	4	.13	.18	.07	.12	.13	0-3	None
	6	.10	.15	.06	.09	.12		
	8	.14	.10	.18	.08	.20		
	Total		.14	.11	.09	.15		
Non-family Authority for Non-family Authority	4	3.36	3.10	3.61	3.27	3.46	0-12	SES
	6	4.04	3.94	4.14	3.75	4.35		
	8	3.80	2.97	4.57	3.69	3.89		
	Total		3.35	4.10	3.57	3.90		
Anyone Else for all Authority Figures	4	.73	.97	.49	.62	.85	0-6	Sex
	6	.70	.67	.73	.54	.86		
	8	.69	.54	.83	.60	.77		
	Total		.73	.68	.58	.82		
Friends for School	4	.25	.24	.25	.25	.24	0-1	Grade (Curvlin.)
	6	.40	.34	.47	.36	.44		
	8	.34	.27	.41	.31	.37		
	Total		.28	.37	.31	.35		

TABLE 5-26 (CONTINUED)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Friends for all Authority Figures (Except School)	4	.34	.47	.21	.33	.35	0-5	SES by Grade
	6	.75	.59	.91	.64	.86		
	8	.73	.49	.97	.75	.71		
	Total		.52	.70	.57	.64		

Note. Item: "Besides your mother (father, teacher, policeman, city official, government officials) who else might scold or punish you, when you do not obey your (mother's,father's, etc.) rules (laws, orders)?" Alternatives: Mother, Father, Other Adult Relatives, Teacher, Principal, Policeman, Judge, Religious Leader, Friends. Index: Number of "Yes" responses for appropriate alternatives of reinforcing figures by number of supported figures or systems, grouped as mentioned in each index label.

TABLE 5-27

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

WHO ELSE WOULD PUNISH?	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Parents for Parents	4	.01	.27*	.03	.25*	.04	.00	-.06	-.11
	6	.08	.01	.15	.02	.12	-.03	.06	.02
	8	-.02	-.01	-.06	.07	.27*	-.00	.29*	-.17
Parents for Non-family Authority	4	.03	.20*	-.02	.18	-.02	-.04	-.08	-.06
	6	.08	-.04	-.02	-.08	-.10	-.07	.01	.14
	8	.18	.01	.24*	-.00	.17	.30*	.11	.04
Other Family for Parents	4	.05	-.02	.10	.05	-.05	.05	.14	.04
	6	.02	-.03	-.00	-.00	-.17	-.09	-.15	-.00
	8	.17	.07	.19*	.14	-.01	.07	-.08	-.10
Other Family for Non-Family Authority	4	.01	-.11	.02	-.11	.08	.28*	.26*	.24*
	6	.10	.04	-.03	.02	-.06	-.17	.05	.06
	8	.19*	.10	.26*	.07	-.04	.05	-.09	-.10
Total Family for School	4	.00	.12	-.12	.03	-.00	-.03	.07	.00
	6	-.01	-.06	-.12	-.04	-.14	-.06	.02	.02
	8	.13	-.08	.27*	.01	.07	.36*	.04	.10

TABLE 5-27 (CONTINUED)

WHO ELSE WOULD PUNISH?	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Non-family Authority for Parents	4	-.03	-.12	-.09	-.13	.01	.12	.24*	.19*
	6	.09	.08	.03	-.10	.15	-.01	.11	.03
	8	-.13	-.14	-.21*	-.13	.16	.21*	.11	.04
Non-family Authority for School	4	-.02	-.11	-.04	-.11	.11	.12	.21*	.20*
	6	.08	.15	.07	-.11	.03	-.04	-.01	.05
	8	-.03	-.07	.07	-.17	.05	.01	-.07	-.10
Non-family Authority for Non-family Authority	4	-.05	.01	-.07	.05	-.05	.09	.09	.03
	6	.07	.10	.06	.05	-.08	.01	-.02	.16
	8	.16	-.05	.25*	-.01	-.07	.18	-.15	-.11
Anyone Else for All	4	-.16	-.04	-.22*	.03	.10	.02	.34*	-.01
	6	.08	-.06	.12	-.09	-.06	-.14	-.02	-.01
	8	.10	.05	.23*	.02	-.17	.05	-.20*	-.12
Friends for School	4	-.10	-.10	-.18	-.05	.08	-.06	.13	-.12
	6	-.09	.09	-.04	-.04	.12	-.17	.03	-.04
	8	.05	.20	-.03	.12	.00	.02	-.14	-.09
Friends for All Except School	4	-.08	-.26*	-.17	-.22*	.12	-.06	.34*	.10
	6	-.18	.02	-.05	-.12	.02	-.10	-.06	.12
	8	.11	.16	.10	.07	-.04	.06	-.17	-.04

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

B2. The Child's Conception of Rules and Laws

a. The Nature of Rules and Laws

Children's ideas about rules and laws may some of their impressions about human nature and about the nature of the society in which they live. To ask them such a question as "What is a rule?" is to invite them to indicate what they understand as the functions of a rule, and their answer will ordinarily refer to one or more human need, or to social requirements, or to both. The question mentioned above was one of several which were asked of forty-four Japanese school children* in individual interviews. Several of the sections below contain discussions of the children's responses to some of the interview questions.

Definition of rules and laws. There is no unanimity in this sample concerning the principal meaning of a rule. Twelve of the children answered this question with quite general answers, saying for example that a rule is "what has been decided" or "what is carried by many of us." When asked for examples they were likely to mention "school rules," sometimes citing a specific one. Most of the other children gave answers which emphasized either the directive and purposive characteristics of rules (20 responses) or their restrictive and prohibitive aspects (19 responses). A few children (9) mentioned the negative consequences which may follow the breaking of a rule, but most did not cite this aspect.** In view of the dispersion of answers over these several meanings, it is evident that within this sample the conception of "rules" is not narrow and uniform.

A somewhat similar distribution of ideas was evident in the responses to the question, "What is a law?" Seventeen children made quite general statements, thirteen gave answers of the directive and purposive kind, and twelve stressed restrictive and prohibitive features. Only six referred to negative consequences of violations of laws, and all of these mentioned that the violator may be punished.

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*A description of the sample of interviewed children by grade, sex, and SES is presented in Part A of this report.

**To this question and others, some children gave answers which were coded in more than one category.

The most frequent answers to the question, "What is the difference between a rule and a law?" stressed that a law is made by a government (20 responses), and that a rule is more specific to places or circumstances (15 responses). That a law is more general and has a wide range of application was pointed out less often (8 responses). Also, a few responses (8) mentioned the kinds of people ("school children," "us") or institutions ("local government," "small business") that make rules, and two specified that laws are written. There does not appear to be anything which is unique to the Japanese culture in these answers.

Functions of rules. In answering the interview questions which asked to describe what would happen if there were no rules at all, and if there were no laws in the country, children evoked two main types of consequences: (1) twenty-five used phrases which described the chaotic state of affairs which would result, and (2) twenty-two mentioned that crimes would be more frequent. There were ten responses which referred to the increased expression of personal desires ("selfish people," "quarrels," "not going to work," "no attempt to defend one's own country"), five which anticipated that war would be a consequence, five which could not imagine what life would be like without rules and laws, and one which mentioned damage to property.

When the question focused on "What would happen if there were no rules at home?" most children (30) replied by describing a scene of general disorder, using such words as "mess," "homelessness," "discord," and "loss of solidarity." Three also observed that they would not like to stay at home under such circumstances, and no one thought they would enjoy it. Nine suggested that duties or obligations would not be met--including in some instances the likelihood that parents would not work. One child thought there would be greater chance of personal injury.

The most frequent responses to the questions under review point to changes in the character of a social collectivity, and always in the direction of great, if not complete, disorganization. Almost as frequent for the first two questions, though not for the last, are references to individual propensities to behave in socially inappropriate ways once people have been released from the restraint of rules and laws. Probably not very much significance should be assigned to this rather slight preference to reply by saying what would happen to a totality, rather than to mention how different individuals would

probably conduct themselves. The two types of answers are not incompatible; a child who mentions one may well have the other in mind.

Hierarchy of rules and laws. Japanese children regard the stealing of property as a very much graver offense than either verbal of physical aggression against persons, or transgression against the rules or order of social systems (Figure 5-10). It makes virtually no difference who is victimized by the theft (see Table 5-23): this is manifestly behavior which they do not condone.

It may not be accurate to generalize from the specific instance of stealing to the total category of "offenses against property." Damage to property or the negligence in its care, for example, might be seen quite differently. But stealing is among those acts which are not matters of individual waywardness but reflect upon the character of one's family and perhaps of one's school. A psychiatrist, Dr. Kokichi Higuchi, in discussing the psychology of delinquents, has pointed out that parents (or school authorities) often take strong measures in punishing someone who steals, in order "to give a good lesson" ("korashimeru") (1963). They do not seek motives, for regardless of the reason for it, stealing brings shame upon the family name or dishonor upon the school, for "stealing is abominable conduct according to the provision of the criminal law." A well-known Japanese expression is used in such circumstances: "Oya no kao ni doro o nu ru" ("Mud is smeared on the parents' face").

The perceived relative seriousness of stealing declined somewhat with grade level, at least enough to permit an increase in the perceived seriousness of one of the other two offenses--that against persons (see Tables 5-28 through 5-30). There is no grade difference with respect to offenses against the social order, but lower status children do mention this significantly oftener than do higher status children.

One question in the interview was intended to probe further into children's views about the relative seriousness of offenses by having them tell whether it is worst to hit someone, to take something from him, or to say bad things about him. When this question was translated into Japanese the specific instruction to the interviewer to ask for the worst act was lost, and in consequence, the children's answers were unusable.

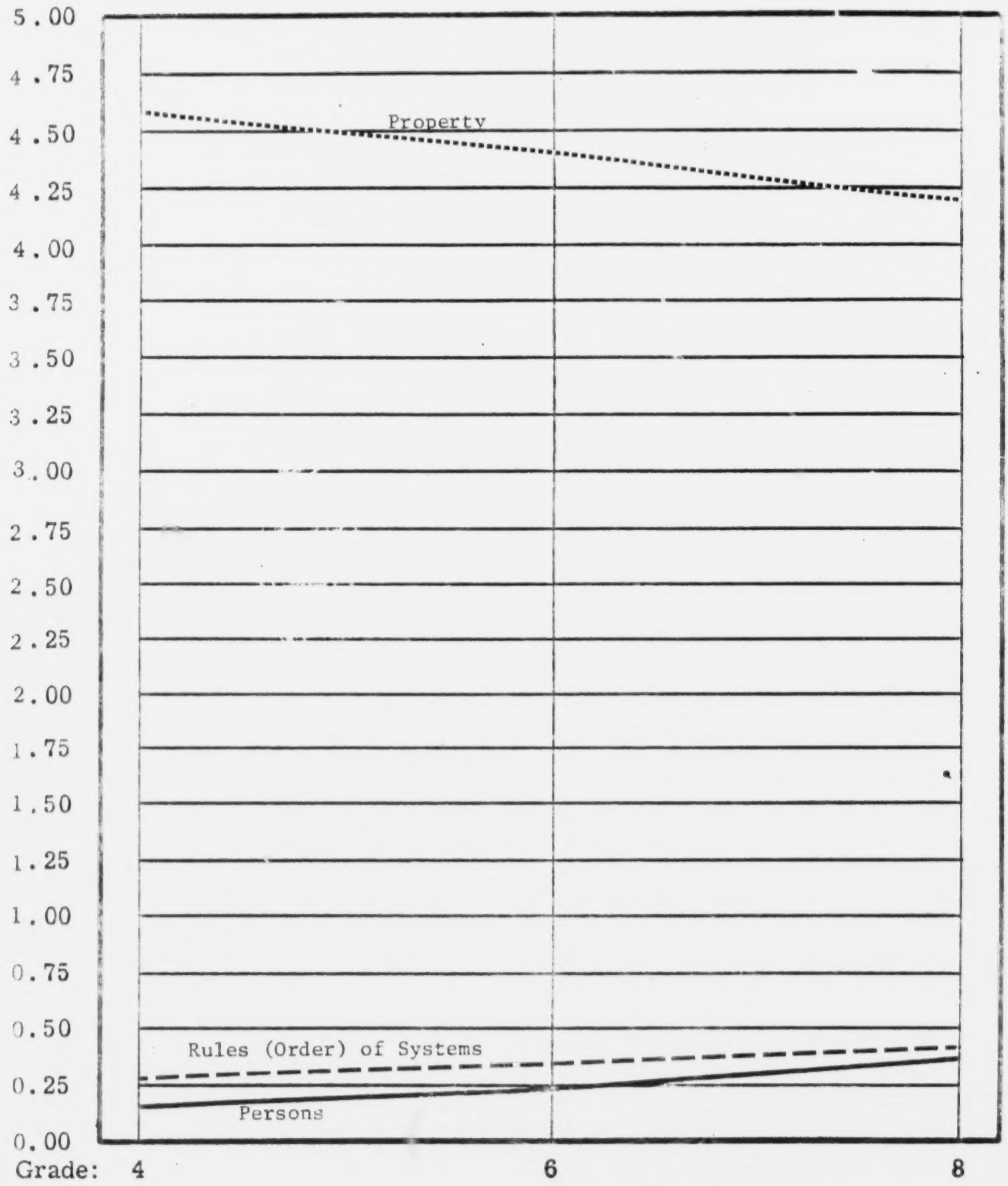
Relationship of perception of the seriousness of property, person, and social order transgressions to classroom behavior. Table 5-31 contains very few significant correlation coefficients, but two of them, together with two which fall just short of significance, suggest that eighth grade students who choose anti-person acts as the worst are likely to be cited by their peers for their positive behavior toward peers and toward teacher. A kind of "other-directed" sensitivity may operate here and be somewhat effective as a behavior regulator.

Summary. These Japanese children recognize that rules have either or both of two aspects, a purposive and a restraining one; their conceptions of laws also tend to refer to one or both of these features. Most of them say that laws and rules are different, and they describe the difference by referring to their different sources or to their different scopes of application.

Their beliefs about the specific functions of rules, as revealed in their imaginary accounts of what life would be like without rules and laws, are mostly classifiable according to whether they envisioned a condition of general social disorder and breakdown, or whether they described individual acts of deviance.

In the general hierarchy of seriousness of types of anti-social behavior, offenses against property (or at least the specific offense of stealing) are perceived to be graver than either offenses against persons or against the rules or order of social systems. A heavy majority of the children in this sample selected stealing as the worst offense.

FIGURE 5-10
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEWS OF WHICH IS WORST:
OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS, AGAINST PROPERTY,
OR AGAINST THE RULES (ORDER) OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS BY GRADE
(JAPAN)



Item: Which is worst?

TABLE 5-28

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PERSONS OR THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	96	91	100	95	96
	6	90	86	94	93	88
	8	85	77	92	85	85
	Total		85	95	91	90
Community	4	86	78	94	83	88
	6	90	90	89	93	86
	8	83	86	80	83	83
	Total		85	88	86	86
Family	4	97	96	97	97	96
	6	92	89	94	92	91
	8	84	86	83	87	82
	Total		90	91	92	90
Peers	4	88	83	92	89	86
	6	87	85	88	88	85
	8	82	82	83	83	82
	Total		83	88	87	84
Religion	4	91	89	94	94	89
	6	83	82	84	85	81
	8	86	87	86	90	83
	Total		86	88	90	84

Note. Significant Effects: (Property) None. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To take or steal something in the school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: Number of choices of offenses against property as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 5-29

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PROPERTY AND THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

SYSTEM	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	1	1	0	1	0
	6	1	2	0	0	2
	8	1	1	0	0	1
	Total		1	0	0	1
Community	4	1	1	1	1	1
	6	3	3	3	2	4
	8	9	6	12	10	9
	Total		3	5	4	5
Family	4	2	3	1	2	2
	6	7	11	4	7	8
	8	11	10	12	7	15
	Total		8	6	5	8
Peers	4	10	11	8	7	13
	6	8	6	10	8	8
	8	13	16	10	14	12
	Total		11	9	10	11
Religion	4	2	4	1	2	3
	6	4	5	3	2	6
	8	4	6	2	1	7
	Total		5	2	2	5

Note. Significant Effects: (Persons) Grade.
Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To fight with, insult, or say something against a person in the school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: Number of choices of offenses against person as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 5-30

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PROPERTY OR PERSONS, ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

SYSTEM	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	4	8	0	4	4
	6	9	12	6	7	10
	8	15	22	8	15	14
	Total		11	5	9	9
Community	4	13	21	6	16	11
	6	8	8	8	5	10
	8	8	8	8	7	8
	Total		12	7	9	10
Family	4	1	1	2	1	2
	6	1	0	2	1	1
	8	4	4	5	6	3
	Total		2	3	3	2
Peers	4	3	6	0	5	1
	6	6	9	2	4	8
	8	4	2	7	3	6
	Total		6	3	4	5
Religion	4	6	7	6	5	8
	6	14	14	13	14	13
	8	10	7	12	9	11
	Total		9	10	9	11

Note. Significant Effects: None. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To disturb, break, disobey, refuse to follow or say something against the rules (order) of school, community, family, peer group, religious group. Index: Number of choices of offenses against the system rules (order), as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 5-31

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDICES OF PERCEPTION OF THE RELATIVE SERIOUSNESS OF THREE TYPES OF OFFENSES AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

WHICH IS WORST INDICES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS
Anti-Person Acts	4	-.03	.04	-.05	.06	.16	.03	.02	.00
	6	-.09	.13	-.15	.13	.02	.07	-.05	-.03
	8	.20*	.16	.15	.27*	.01	.04	.01	-.02
Anti-Property Acts	4	.10	.02	.07	.06	-.11	-.07	-.09	-.21*
	6	.18	-.10	.12	.01	-.04	-.10	.02	.00
	8	.00	-.15	.00	-.19*	.06	.06	.09	.09
Anti-System Acts	4	-.10	-.10	-.05	-.14	.04	.13	.10	.31*
	6	-.15	.02	-.03	-.16	.04	.07	.02	.03
	8	-.17	.02	-.13	.00	-.08	-.08	-.12	-.07

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Origin of Rules and Laws

Rule-making in the family. In the Japanese language there is no word or phrase containing the precise meaning of "family rule" as this would be understood in Inglish. The phrase "Iē no kimari" which was used in the Japanese version of the questionnaire most closely approaches the idea, but as the family itself has been undergoing many changes in structure and function since World War II,* so also has the meaning of such phrases as this one. The changes may not have ceased yet, and it is not clear that the meaning of "Iē no kimari" is yet settled and exact. It is possible that some people still include "family tradition and custom" within its scope. Another informed opinion holds that the idea of "informal agreement" is already implied by "Iē no kimari" (which would bias children's reports about who makes the rules in their families in favor either of "father and mother together" or "whole family") but an informal survey indicates that this implication is not universally understood.

Another special circumstance may have affected children's answers to this question. As the family has changed an image has emerged describing the ideal democratized family. Setsuko Hani (1967), a well-known Japanese educator, puts it this way:

> The present family cannot be governed by the big voice of the so-called "father in chief of the family." Instead, it is important to have "family conferences" . . . because it is important to secure the freedom of speech of each member and to reach common decisions. The chairman for the conference will be either the mother or one of the children, in turn, in order to promote the exchange of talk and to strengthen mutual trust.

It is possible that the strikingly high percentages of children who say that the "whole family" makes family rules may reflect an ideal which has not been completely realized (see Table 5-32).

Finally, there is some reason to believe, again from an informal survey of opinions, that "Iē no kimari" applies to a more limited range of activities than it probably does in the United States. It quite clearly includes rules concerning who is to do which household duties and chores,

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*For a concise report about the nature and extent of these changes, see Takashi Koyama, et al. (1965).

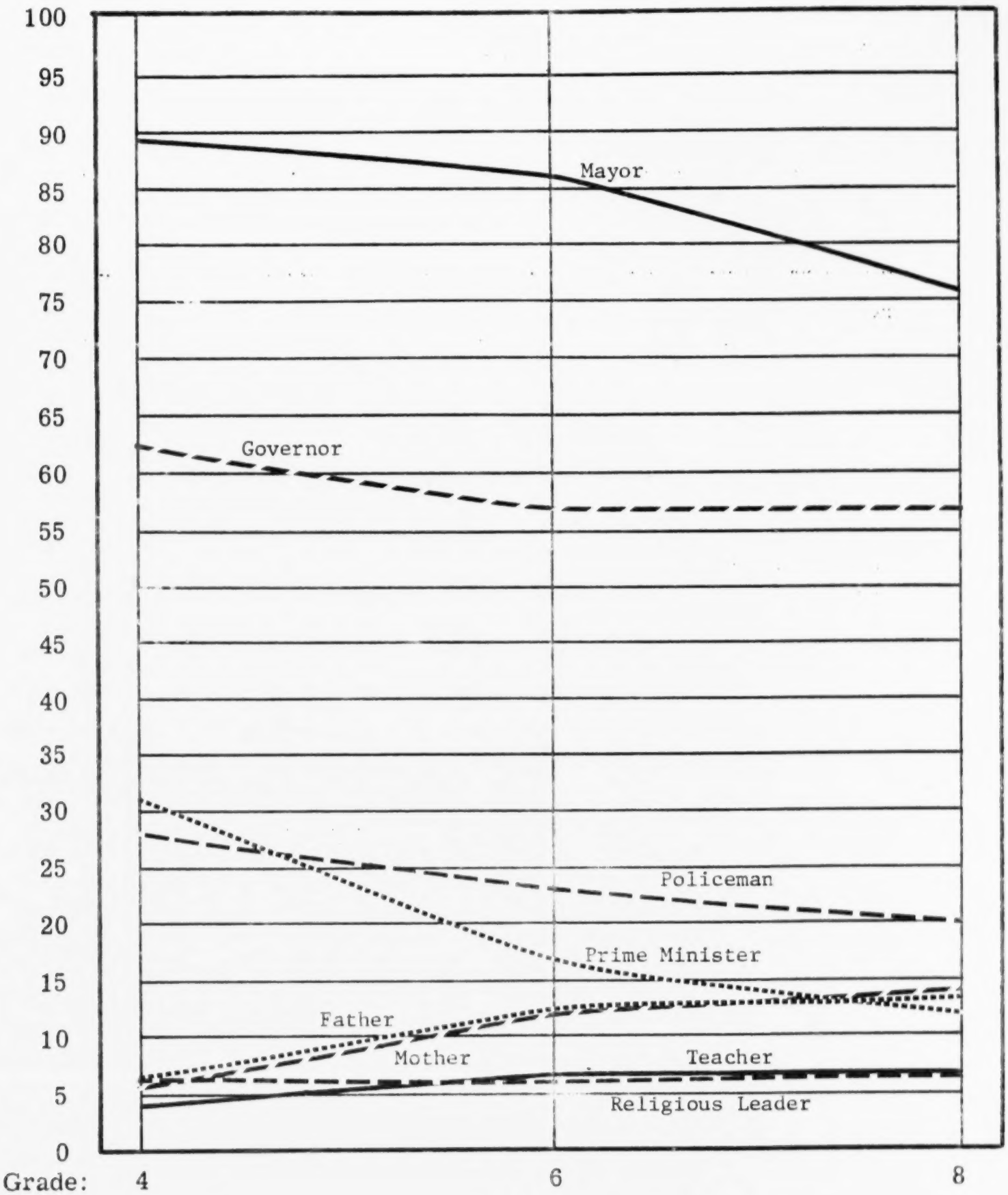
but whether it includes much else--for example, use of TV, or expectations concerning when a child will come home from school or go to bed--is much less clear.

In view of the probable variability of meaning and application of this Japanese phrase, the findings concerning the makers of family rules should be regarded with caution.

Rule-making in the neighborhood. The question "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live?" (see Figure 5-11 and Table 5-33) was free of these sources of possible ambiguity, and therefore the children's responses can be viewed with more confidence. Because the "mayor" and "governor" are the same person in the central part of Tokyo (where one government serves both the central city and most of the prefectures, the term "Kucho" ("chief of ward") was substituted for "mayor," and children in all grades mention him most frequently as a community rule-maker. Governor (also mayor) was named by more than half in each grade, while the Prime Minister, who was third in the rank order among fourth grade children, falls below the policeman and both parents for eighth graders.

Summary. Most of the children in this Japanese sample reported that when rules are made within their families, the whole family participates in the decision. The next most frequent response was "father and mother together." In only a very few families did children say that either parent makes the family rules alone. The predominant maker of community laws and rules was percevied to be the chief of the urban ward in which the children lived.

FIGURE 5-11
PERCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
IN RULE AND LAW-MAKING, BY GRADE
(JAPAN)



Item: "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live--like your neighborhood?"

TABLE 5-32

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN MAKING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	11	18	5	8	15
	6	7	10	5	2	13
	8	7	8	7	5	9
	Total					
Mother	4	6	9	3	5	7
	6	5	7	3	5	5
	8	8	10	7	4	12
	Total					
Father and Mother Together	4	20	20	20	22	18
	6	26	27	26	30	22
	8	15	11	19	17	13
	Total					
Whole Family	4	63	53	73	66	60
	6	62	57	67	64	60
	8	70	72	68	74	65
	Total					

Item: "Who usually makes the rules in your family?"
Item scale: Percentage choice of one alternative.

TABLE 5-33

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES IN RULE-AND LAW-MAKING IN THE COMMUNITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Mother	4	6	7	4	3	9
	6	13	22	3	8	17
	8	14	17	12	17	12
	Total					
Father	4	6	7	5	5	8
	6	12	20	4	10	14
	8	13	15	11	16	10
	Total					
Teacher	4	4	5	3	3	5
	6	7	10	3	5	8
	8	8	7	8	10	5
	Total					
Policeman	4	28	21	35	31	25
	6	23	23	24	32	15
	8	20	16	23	21	18
	Total					
Mayor	4	89	84	95	91	88
	6	86	87	85	91	81
	8	76	79	73	87	64
	Total					
Governor	4	63	59	66	65	60
	6	57	60	54	53	61
	8	57	53	61	64	50
	Total					
Prime Minister	4	31	25	37	35	27
	6	16	16	16	20	12
	8	12	11	13	11	14
	Total					
Religious Leader	4	6	11	2	8	5
	6	6	8	3	6	6
	8	7	4	10	7	7

Note. "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live, like your neighborhood?" Alternatives: "Yes", "No", "Don't know". Item scale: Percentage responding "yes" to each of the figures listed.

c. Justice of Rules or Laws

A fair rule is one which "does not discriminate between people." This idea, phrased in one way or another, was expressed by half (22) of the interviewed children. Seven others felt that all rules are fair, four believed that a rule is fair if it is accepted by all in the group to which it applies, and two thought that a fair rule is one which is administered by someone who is trusted (for example, school authorities). Three said they did not know what a fair rule is, and the remainder (6) either gave no answer or gave an answer which was not applicable to the question.

When they considered the fairness of rules of specific authority figures, these Japanese children saw only small differences from one figure to another with the exception of their friends, whose rules were markedly and consistently rated as less fair than the rules of authority figures (see Figure 5-12). Within the cluster of six authority figures, the rules of the teacher and the policeman were the fairest for fourth graders, and mother's rules were perceived as fairest by both sixth and eighth graders, while the laws and rules of the government of Japan were ranked last in all three grades. However, the range of means from first to sixth rank is narrow in all grades.

There were systematic differences among the subgroups (see Tables 5-34 through 5-37). Girls rated the fairness of all figures higher than did boys. Ratings for all rules except those of friends declined with increasing grade, suggesting that children become more critical of the justice of rules of authority figures as they grow older. This decline of mean scores by grade does mask a status group difference, for low status children in the sixth grade tended to give more favorable answers than did low status children in fourth and eighth grades, while the means of high status children showed the dominant trend of linear decline across the grades. Although in most instances higher status children did demonstrate a higher regard for the justice of rules of all figures considered than did lower status children, there were exceptions in the eighth grade for the teacher and for other non-family authorities (policeman, city, and national government).

Relationship between estimates of the fairness of rules and other dimensions of authority figures. The subjective factors which are related to children's beliefs about the fairness of rules of authority figures may be evaluated on the basis of correlations between beliefs about the justice of rules and each of the four positive or punitive variables (helpfulness, likability, power to punish,

and inevitability of punishment; see Table 5-38). None of these four is consistently associated with rule fairness, but the differential distribution of significant coefficients suggests that authorities who are "willing to help" (18 significant coefficients out of 30) and who are well-liked (21 significant coefficients out of 30) are rather more likely to be seen as administering rules which children perceive as being just than are authorities who possess much punitive power (14 significant coefficients) or who are certain to punish infractions (11 significant coefficients). On the whole, these associations show no change in incidence from grade to grade, for there are 21, 22, and 20 significant relationships at grades four, six, and eight, respectively. However, this gross finding conceals two important changes: (1) power to punish shows an increasing number of associations with perception of rules as fair from fourth through sixth to eighth grade; and (2) inevitability of punishmnet shows no substantial difference in fourth and sixth grades, but the number of significant coefficients drops to one in eighth grade. At the same time, willingness to help and affective attachment have virtually equal numbers of significant correlations with fairness of rules across all grades, and no substantial changes from grade to grade are apparent. These results indicate that a constant and moderately general instrumental component--helpfulness--and a similarly constant and moderately general expressive component--likability--are connected with children's beliefs about rule fairness. Also, with increasing age, there is a convergence between these beliefs and perceptions of the authority figures' punitive power, but a divergence with perceptions of the certainty that the authority will exercise that power punitively. These correlations say nothing, of course, about causal direction; very likely the relationships work both ways. They do say, however, that in this segment of Japanese children's socialization, rule fairness is not judged independently of, and apart from, perceptions of personal and behavioral qualities of the person administering the rules.

Relationship between perception of authority figures' rules as fair and classroom behavior. When children's beliefs about the fairness of rules are correlated to peer ratings of their behavior in the classroom (see Table 5-39), about one-fourth of the resulting coefficients reach statistical significance. With only a very few exceptions, the correlations are in the expected directions, i.e., a belief that someone's rules are fair is associated with positive behavior toward peers and teachers, and a belief that someone's rules are unfair is linked to negative behavior toward the same people.

The distribution of significant coefficients falls into patterns which show little similarity from grade to grade. Therefore, they may be important indicators of different phases of socialization. Also there are more differences than similarities between boys and girls of the same grade, suggesting that sexual differentiation occurs early and continues. There are about twice as many relationships in the fourth grade as in either of the other two. Because most of the relationships in this grade concern the fairness of rules from non-familial sources (especially those of the city, the teacher, the government, and the policeman), and since they are linked both to positive and to negative behavior in the school, it is possible to surmise that children of this age tend to be polarized into two categories: (1) those who find that the web of rules outside the family is acceptable and fair, and who tend to comply with expectations for exemplary behavior from their teachers and their peers, and (2) those who are impressed by the lack of fairness of some rules which they find outside the family, and who accompany this belief with conduct which earns them negative nominations from their peers.

In the sixth grade one pattern indicates that girls who are nominated for their negative conduct toward peers perceive the rules of their fathers, mothers, teachers, and friends as unfair. Boys in the same grade who behave negatively toward their peers and toward their teachers also tend to say, in both instances, that their fathers' rules are unfair.

The patterns in the eighth grade show connections between girls' positive conduct and their beliefs that certain rules are fair, and between boys' negative conduct and their beliefs that certain rules are unfair. The rules of friends are more significant at this age, and the linkage of beliefs about the fairness of friends' rules with observations about behavior suggests that attitudes may be affected by one's social acceptance or rejection within friendship groups. The fact that boys, who are nominated for negative behavior both toward peers and toward the teacher, also believe that the teacher's rules are not fair is consistent with the eighth grade phenomenon, mentioned above, of applying uncomplimentary nicknames to some teachers.

This entire table will receive closer scrutiny in further analyses, but one other feature may be noted here. There are four significant correlations with father's rules and four with mother's rules. Three of the first four concern boys' beliefs, and all of the second four are related to girls' beliefs. Hence the familiar notion that

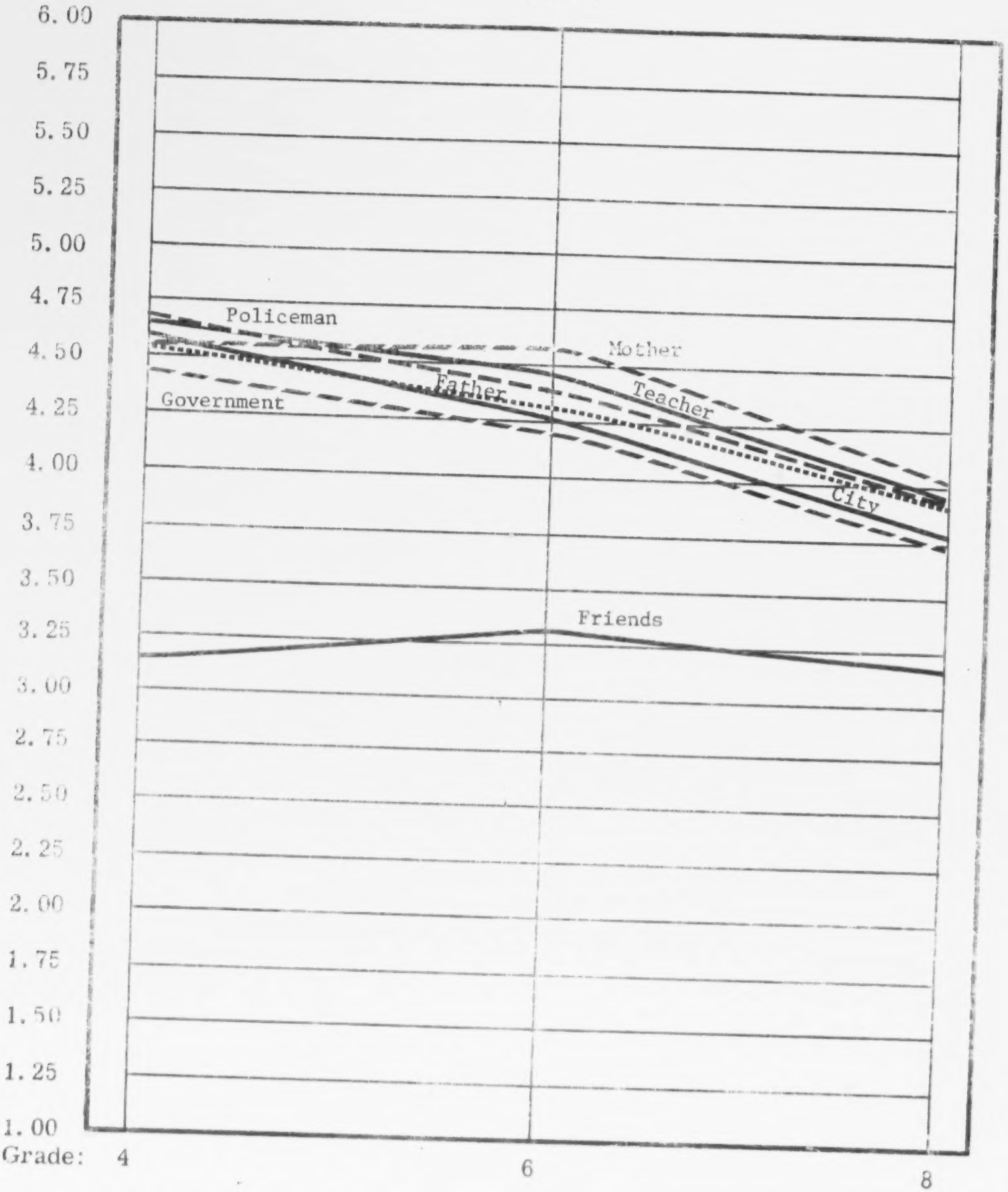
a boy's behavior is allied to his father's authority, and a girl's to her mother's, receives some support by these findings.

Summary. The principal conception of a fair rule among the children in this sample is that of a rule which applies in the same way to all people for whom it is intended. Fair rules are universalistic rather than particularistic.

Though these children did not discriminate sharply between the authority figures in their judgments of the fairness of the figures' rules, with increasing grade they did give lower ratings of fairness for all figures' rules except for those of friends. From available data it is not possib e to determine whether these children become more critical of rules as they grow older, or whether the rules are indeed less fair for older children, though it is more plausible to suppose that the former inference is correct.

Evidence was presented which suggested that the children's estimates of rule fairness are not strongly associated with their perceptions of other attributes of authority figures, including their helpfulness, likability, power to punish rule-breakers and the likelihood of their inflicting punishment when there is an occasion for it. Among these four attributes the first two--helpfulness and likability--were more frequently correlated significantly with rule fairness than were the latter two.

FIGURE 5-12
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE
OF FIGURES' RULES, BY GRADE
(JAPAN)



Item: "How many of (figure's) rules are fair?"

Scale: 1 - None; 6 - All.

TABLE 5 - 37

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE OF FRIENDS' RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	B
FOUR	3.16	3.00	2.76	2.88	3.58	3.31	3.45	3.29	3
SIX	3.32	3.24	3.17	3.21	3.64	3.26	3.44	3.42	3.
EIGHT	3.19	3.14	2.98	3.05	3.54	3.06	3.29	3.37	3.
TOTALS				3.04			3.39	3.36	3.

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES, SEX. ITEM: "HOW MANY OF THE RULES OF YOUR FRIENDS ARE FAIR?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NONE; 6 - ALL.

TABLE 5 - 34

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE OF PARENTS' RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.50	4.14	3.88	4.01	5.01	4.92	4.97	4.59	4.41
SIX	4.29	4.23	4.04	4.14	4.53	4.39	4.46	4.38	4.21
EIGHT	3.89	3.92	3.57	3.73	4.10	3.98	4.04	4.02	3.77
TOTALS				3.97			4.49	4.34	4.13

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SES, SEX. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "HOW MANY OF YOUR FATHER'S (MOTHER'S) RULES ARE FAIR?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NONE, 6 -, ALL.

TABLE 5 - 35

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE OF TEACHER'S RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.67	4.24	3.88	4.06	5.37	5.16	5.27	4.82	4.51
SIX	4.45	4.45	4.25	4.35	4.67	4.46	4.57	4.55	4.35
EIGHT	3.94	4.00	4.11	4.06	3.92	3.76	3.84	3.96	3.93
TOTALS				4.16			4.56	4.46	4.27

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SEX, SES BY GRADE. ITEM: "HOW MANY OF YOUR TEACHER'S RULES ARE FAIR?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NONE; 6 - ALL.

TABLE 5 - 36

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE OF POLICEMAN'S, CITY'S, AND GOVERNMENT'S RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.50	4.19	3.99	4.09	4.93	4.83	4.88	4.57	4.42
SIX	4.20	4.26	4.05	4.15	4.36	4.13	4.25	4.31	4.09
EIGHT	3.78	3.86	3.83	3.84	3.83	3.63	3.73	3.84	3.73
TOTALS				4.03			4.29	4.25	4.08

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SEX, SES BY GRADE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 3 ITEMS: "HOW MANY OF THE POLICEMAN'S (CITY'S, GOVERNMENT'S) RULES ARE FAIR?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NONE; 6 - ALL.

TABLE 5-38

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF POSITIVE AND PUNITIVE DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND BELIEF IN THE JUSTICE OF THEIR RULES BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

JUSTICE OF RULES WITH:	AUTHORITY FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
		GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Willingness to Help	Father	.29*	.19*	.31*	.43*	.29*	.43*
	Mother	.20*	.31*	.26*	.15	.12	.21*
	Teacher	.16	.34*	.10	.28*	.35*	.35*
	Policeman	.32*	.44*	.06	.38*	.20	.13
	Government-Prime Min.	.17	.31*	.07	.21	.24	.21
Affective Attachment	Father	.41*	.51*	.29*	.43*	.37*	.23*
	Mother	.19*	.54*	.31*	.44*	.15	.52*
	Teacher	.32*	.41*	.20*	.44*	.46*	.31*
	Policeman	.13	.08	-.02	.23*	-.06	.27*
	Government-Prime Min.	.13	.28*	.02	.07	.27*	.17
Power to Punish Noncompliance	Father	.01	.21*	.16	.33*	.33*	.46*
	Mother	.06	.15	.28*	.34*	.31*	.25*
	Teacher	.02	.13	.09	.22*	.46*	.26*
	Policeman	.16	.03	.17	.27*	.13	.14
	Government-Prime Min.	.26*	.21	.01	.08	.09	.30*
Inevitability of Punishment	Father	.11	.27*	.02	.27*	.15	.06
	Mother	.19*	.32*	.21*	.21*	.25*	.00
	Teacher	.03	.03	.32*	.11	.07	.15
	Policeman	.18	.24*	.24*	.05	.04	-.00
	Government-Prime Min.	.23	-.11	.13	.01	.14	.09

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 5-39

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF IN THE JUSTICE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.00	.20*	-.04	.10	-.05	-.15	-.15	-.16
	6	.12	-.13	.12	.09	-.21*	-.19*	-.17	-.26*
	8	.18	-.04	.17	-.14	.04	-.17	.14	-.20
Mother	4	.22*	.18	.12	.07	-.13	-.10	-.27*	-.12
	6	.13	-.03	.08	-.16	-.27*	-.08	-.16	-.11
	8	.15	.06	.24*	.09	.12	.12	.10	-.04
Teacher	4	.15	.30*	.00	.25*	-.13	-.18	-.23*	-.30*
	6	.18	-.10	-.02	-.24*	-.27*	-.18	-.15	.09
	8	.06	.04	.08	-.15	-.07	-.29*	-.08	-.27*
Government	4	.25*	.05	.28*	.11	-.13	.11	-.33*	-.15
	6	.11	.08	.17	.10	-.12	-.10	-.05	.19*
	8	.18	.05	.25*	-.07	-.09	-.20*	-.12	-.26*
Policeman	4	.27*	.23*	.12	.16	-.07	-.13	-.20*	-.12
	6	.03	-.18	-.06	-.20*	-.07	-.29*	-.17	.03
	8	.22*	.02	.20*	.00	-.04	.01	.07	-.18
City	4	.28*	.31*	.24*	.31*	-.28*	-.03	-.45*	-.10
	6	.16	-.02	.04	-.02	-.10	-.27*	.02	-.02
	8	.11	.04	.14	-.10	-.07	-.13	-.04	-.14
Friends	4	.06	.30*	.02	.21	-.14	-.08	-.11	-.09
	6	-.03	-.13	.14	-.06	-.28*	-.14	-.17	.03
	8	.26*	.12	.25*	.07	-.02	-.19*	-.05	-.15

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

d. The Enforcement of Rules

Rule-enforcers in the family. The children's observations about rule-enforcers in their families are very similar to those about rule-makers (see Table 5-40). The same qualifications which were entered there in the discussion of the meaning of "Ie no kimari" apply to these findings also.

Conditions which permit one person to enforce rules and require another to obey. The interviews with school children suggest that they expect their conduct to be appraised by most of the people with whom they come in contact. Not only were the visible authority figures usually cited as those who "can make you follow a rule or law," but also grandparents and other children (including the "class representative") were cited. Neighbors were also included by some, and most children felt that "any adult" could make them follow rules. This apparent universality was qualified in their responses to the question: "Who can't make you follow the rules?" where "a baby," "a child," "a friend," "an ordinary white collar," and "a stranger" were variously mentioned.

Answers to other interview questions amplify the children's conception of rule-enforcement. Their explanations of why one or another person could exact compliance from them emphasize not only the legitimacy of that person's intervention (for example, "it is the teacher's function" to correct a child's behavior in a store), but also an internalization of the moral basis for rules ("if the teacher could not correct the child, the wrong thing will prevail"). The act of enforcement, as reported in the interviews, is "soft" rather than "hard." In every instance (home, school, and community) the children most often cited some form of verbal admonishment (advice, instruction, scolding) as the means used. When "punishment" was mentioned, it tended to be mildly coercive (for example, withholding of a meal or snack, or "being placed on the teacher's black list") rather than directly physical.

Summary. Most of the Japanese children in the questionnaire sample stated that the "whole family" participated when family rules were to be enforced. Outside the family, any established authority figure is usually recognized (according to the children in the interview sample) as someone who can enforce rules, and many mentioned that any adult could do this, though others limited the population of rule-enforcers somewhat. The justifications given for rule-enforcement emphasized either that particular people were obligated to do this, or that enforcement is morally required.

TABLE 5-40

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN ENFORCING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	11	17	6	10	13
	6	7	13	0	4	9
	8	5	4	7	4	7
	Total					
Mother	4	21	21	21	22	20
	6	15	19	10	18	11
	8	16	16	15	14	17
	Total					
Father and Mother Together	4	29	31	26	35	22
	6	19	23	15	22	16
	8	18	23	14	20	17
	Total					
Whole Family	4	39	31	47	34	45
	6	60	45	74	57	63
	8	61	57	64	62	59
	Total					

Item. "Who sees that the rules of your family are obeyed or enforced?"
Item scale: Percentage choice of one alternative.

B3. The Child's Internalization of Norms

a. Subjective Response to Noncompliance

If Japan is a "shame" culture, as many have argued, it may still be one in which "guilt" is significant, as the findings to be discussed in this section show. When Japanese children were asked whether they "feel bad" after breaking the rules of the various authority figures, on the average their answers fell within a range from "some" to "very much" (see Figure 5-13). Fourth graders did not differentiate strongly among the figures: the range of means is greater for eighth graders and greatest for sixth graders. Also, the rank order among figures is not stable from grade to grade. Government is first in the fourth grade, but it subsequently falls to third and then to fourth place. Father is, sequentially, second, first, and second in the rank order, and mother is third, second, and third. However, across all grades there is virtually no difference in the degree of guilt felt after violating the rules of father, mother, and government.

For most figures the guilt feeling decreases from grade to grade, but for friends it remains relatively constant. Consequently "friends" moves up in the rank order from fifth (tied with city) to fourth to first in the eighth grade. The breaking of religious rules produces guilt feelings of least intensity in all grades, with a very abrupt drop between fourth and sixth grade. The teacher is intermediate (fourth, fifth, and fifth), while the city (tied for fifth, sixth, and seventh) and the policeman (seventh, seventh, and sixth) are always in the lower half of the rank orders.

Social status is the variable which most consistently shows significant differences in responses to this question (see Tables 5-41 through 5-44). Upper status children report more guilt than lower status children in all of the subgroup comparisons for each authority figure. It may be that internalization of rules is more complete among upper status children.

Internalization also tends to be more complete among girls than boys. Sex is a statistically significant source of response variation for parents (see Table 5-41), teacher (see Table 5-42), and friends (see Table 5-44). In all instances (including the policeman, city, government, and religion) there is a marked and sometimes very pronounced difference between the sexes in the eighth grade.

Grade had a significant effect on the reported intensity of guilt feelings for violations of each figure's rules, save those of friends, but the effect was not evenly linear for every individual figure. In general the decline in guilt feelings appeared to be greater between sixth and eighth grade than between fourth and sixth. Religion is an exception to this, for between sixth and eighth grade there was a slight increase (see Figure 5-13). With respect to religion, Buddhism and Shintoism do not contain extensive moral or ethical codes for the guidance of conduct in the secular world. With respect to the other rules, it is possible that the movement from elementary to middle school (i.e., junior high school) introduces the child to a subculture in which he is more on his own, and less dependent on other authorities, and therefore somewhat less affected by their efforts to constrain his conduct.

Self-punishment for noncompliance. Subjective estimates of the degree of "feeling bad" is one indicator of guilt, but an internalized disposition to punish the self when one has broken a rule is perhaps a better one, in that it more exactly describes the inner experience of someone who is said to feel guilty. Merely to "feel bad," even "very, very bad," need not have a reflexive connotation of self-responsibility. When the percentages of children who answered "I" or "me" to the question, "Besides (figure), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey (figure's) rules?" are examined more closely, the pattern of their answers presents a somewhat different picture than did the answers to the questions which have just been discussed. Table 5-45 shows the percentages of students in each grade who included the self among those who would punish them for noncompliance. Therefore, data in this table are not directly comparable to those shown in Figure 5-13. Nevertheless, the large increases between fourth and sixth grades, in the numbers of children reporting that they would punish themselves, does not correspond at all to the age trends in Figure 5-13, which indicated that the intensity of guilt feelings for rule violation declined with age. There is more correspondence among the two measures for the sixth and eighth graders, where there is a downward tendency in both the reported intensity of guilt feelings for undetected rule violation and the percentages of Ss affirming that they would punish themselves for noncompliance known to others.

In this writer's experience and observation (there are no known studies on this point), sixth graders in Japanese schools occupy a special position. Being the oldest and in the highest grade of the elementary school, the sixth graders are made conscious of their roles as models for younger children to emulate. On such public

occasions as the annual "undokai" (athletic meet), they are more likely than others to have a prominent part in the ceremonies which are intermingled with the competitions. It is conceivable that this special position inspires a self-image which is at least temporarily important and which is compromised when one behaves in a way which does not set a good example, i.e., when one breaks a rule.

If this special position has such an effect, it is more pronounced among higher than lower status children (though still present in the latter), for as Table 5-45 shows, the percentage increase from fourth to sixth grade is much larger for higher status children, for each authority figure. This explanation does not, however, illuminate the curious finding that self-punishment most frequently follows violation of the city's rules in the sixth grade (see Table 5-45), and that among all rules, only those of the city are not associated with a decline in the frequency of Ss reporting self-punishment between sixth and eighth grade. Consistent with the patterns discussed in the previous question, girls are more prone toward self-punishment than boys in all grades; the sex difference is especially large in the eighth grade (see Table 5-45). Higher status children are more self-punitive than lower status children in all grades with but one reversal (violations of teacher's rules by fourth graders).

Relationship between guilt and other variables of the study. Because a sense of guilt can be effective in the control of behavior, it is important to attempt to trace this sense to its sources. Tables 5-46 and 5-47 provide preliminary information for this quest. They present five matrices of correlation coefficients, in which guilt (as ascertained through the question "When you break your [figure] rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?") is correlated to (1) liking for authority figures, (2) perception of authority figures as helpful, (3) perception of rules of authority figures as fair, (4) power of authority figure to punish, and (5) likelihood that authority figure will punish disobedience.

The grossest hypothesis which can be drawn from these matrices states that guilt is more closely associated with the degree of liking for the figure than with any of the other four variables, for 23 out of the 24 coefficients in the "liking" matrix are statistically significant, while only about half of the coefficients in each of the remaining matrices reach this level. This hypothesis might be modified if partial correlation analyses were done for all of these variables; it is possible that one or a combination of the other variables would turn out to be more highly related to "liking" when the inter-correlations

among the five are controlled. Still, on the evidence of the findings at hand, "liking" seems to be the strongest single predictor of guilt feeling, in general. This suggests a second hypothesis: a natural force (liking), emanating from the normal ebb and flow of interaction, is more important for the regulation of individual behavior than are several artificial, i.e., contrived, forces such as the design of a "fair" set of rules, the differential allocation of power to authorities, and the certainty or uncertainty that punishment follows noncompliance. Even this tentative hypothesis should be interpreted with caution, for it says not only that a well-liked authority is more likely to inspire guilt than a powerful authority or one whose rules are fair, etc., but also that an unliked authority is less likely to do so.

Furthermore, the gross generalization can be qualified when more detailed comparisons are made between the matrices. Boys' guilt correlates somewhat more highly, in every grade, with the perceived fairness of their fathers' rules than it does with their liking for their fathers (this is not true of girls, either with their mothers or their fathers), and in the eighth grade, two other variables (helpfulness and power to punish) also show higher coefficients than does "liking" (this is also not true for girls). These data suggest that, insofar as guilt is concerned, a boy's instrumental orientation toward his father is as important as (or perhaps more important than) his expressive orientation (as this is indexed by the "liking" question), while a girl's expressive orientation is relatively more significant. On the other hand, inspection of the comparable coefficients for boys with their teachers does not lead to the same conclusion. There, the magnitudes of the five coefficients are very nearly equal for fourth snd sixth graders, but in the eighth grade the coefficient for "liking" is highest (.49) and power (of the teacher) to punish is second (.39). Thus the previous discussion (see section B1b) which argued that eighth grade boys may be subject to some ambivalence toward the teacher's authority is supplemented here by the finding that "guilt feeling" may also be a part of this configuration.

Relationship between guilt and belief that discipline by one authority figure will be reinforced by others. When children say that they feel bad after disobeying the rule of one or another authority figure, it is appropriate to inquire whether the extent of this feeling is related to their expectations that figures other than the one whose rule was violated will punish them. Table 5-48 summarizes correlations between guilt over noncompliance and expectations of external sanctions; of a total 432 correlation

coefficients between these two sets of variables, 166 were statistically significant. Three of these are negative, while the remainder support the hypothesis that the more guilty a child feels, the greater is his belief that discipline from the authority figure in question will be reinforced by someone else.

The significant correlations are not evenly distributed over this table. They are concentrated most conspicuously in the rows referring to beliefs that parents reinforce non-family authority figures and that the total family reinforces the school. In these rows, beliefs about external sanctions are most frequently associated with feelings of guilt from violations of rules of the teacher, the city, the police, and the government. In these data, as in the others, it is not possible to make a confident determination about causal direction between the variables, but one hint is available. The row identified as "Would punish self" contains the third largest number of significant coefficients, and their pattern of distribution across the authority figures is very similar to the patterns in the two rows previously discussed. Teacher, government, city, and police contain the largest numbers of significant coefficients, followed next by father and mother. Religious leaders and friends are in the two lowest positions in the frequency rank order in all three instances. This correspondence suggests that the inclination to punish the self varies in strength with both the feeling of guilt and the expectation of external sanction. If readiness to punish the self is properly interpreted as an indicator of a previously internalized norm, then there is ground for the tentative conclusion that the feeling of guilt is not simply prompted by the recognition that one is likely to be punished within the family (and particularly by one's parents). Both the variability in guilt and in disposition toward self-punishment can be more plausibly attributed to the variability of effectiveness of the previous years of socialization within the family. From this table it would appear that this socialization has been particularly directed toward the implantation of norms of conduct which are appropriate toward such authority figures as the teacher and the policeman, and toward such institutions as the city and the national government. Socialization has possibly been less concerned with instilling norms which are pertinent to behavior toward friends and religious leaders.

What are more difficult to unravel and to interpret are the numbers of significant coefficients between guilt feeling for breaking either father's or mother's rules and expectations of external sanctions. First, there are no

large differences between the numbers of significant coefficients for father and for mother. The correlation between degree of expressed guilt and expectations of external sanctions are apparently similar for both. Second, the numbers of significant coefficients for father or for mother are usually not the highest in each row, nor are they usually the lowest. Apparently the association between guilt feeling and the "strength" of any external reinforcement system is not quite so close when the guilt is a consequence of disobedience to either parent as it is when guilt follows the breaking of the rules of some other authority figure(s). Even in the two instances in which one parent is reinforcing the discipline of the other, the association is only moderate (three significant coefficients for each) in comparison to the nine cells in the table where there are either five or six significant coefficients.

One explanation for the general distribution of significant coefficients over the table begins with the premise that when a Japanese child says that he feels bad about his disobedience he may mean that he feels guilt or feels shame or both. As has been mentioned above in the discussion of the seriousness of stealing, major transgressions by Japanese individuals reflect not so much upon the transgressors themselves as they do upon their families. Hence, it is reasonable to discover that the reinforcements which are most frequently associated with bad feelings over rule-breaking are those rooted in the family, and that the authority figures most frequently included in the significant relationships between the two variables are those whose rules, when flagrantly violated, are most likely to bring shame upon the family. The teacher, policeman, city, and national government are all authority figures or institutions who administer rules which govern conduct generally visible (or at least visible to many others, in the case of the teacher). Conduct which is radically abusive of these rules is precisely the sort which may cast a shadow upon the character of one's family.

On the other hand, disobedience to father's or mother's rules may or may not be known outside the family. In many cases it would be contained entirely within the family, and it is probably true that conduct which insults the general sense of propriety of the larger community would not be regarded by children as conduct governed by father's rules or mother's rules. The relatively infrequent inclusion of religious leaders in the association between the two variables may be a consequence of the very limited scope of their authority over Japanese children's behavior. The similarly small number of significant correlations involving "friends" may be due to the lower

likelihood that violations of their rules would be construed by anyone as being of a kind which would bring shame to the violators' families.

Relationship between guilt and classroom behavior. It would simplify the construction of theory if it could be shown that guilt feeling correlated highly with actual behavior, but Table 5-49 demonstrates that the phenomena are more complicated. The straightforward hypothesis that "the more guilt, the more conforming behavior" is supported for boys and girls in the fourth grade. The distribution of significant coefficients for this age group shows that all authority figures (except the religious leader and the index for self-punishment) are involved. Children who say they feel bad after breaking their rules also tend to be nominated for their good behavior both toward the teacher and toward their peers. The counterpart to this pattern, however, is largely missing, for there are only six significant correlations with fourth graders' negative behavior. Five of these connect the absence of guilt feeling with a tendency (the magnitude of all of these coefficients is low) for a boy to be cited for his aggressive behavior toward the teacher. In general, there are many fewer significant relationships with negative behavior, permitting the argument that while a strong feeling of guilt is highly conducive to compliant behavior, a weak one is not necessarily associated to defiant behavior.

Curiously, the relations among these variables disappear almost entirely in the sixth grade. The three significant coefficients for this group are about the number which would be expected by chance. The number of significant correlations increases sharply in the eighth grade, and all of them concern girls. Eighth grade girls who say they feel quite bad when they break anyone's rules are also somewhat likely to be mentioned by their classmates for their exemplary conduct toward peers or toward the teacher, or both. This pattern extends also to self-punitiveness; here it becomes important to know whether a propensity to punish one's self is or is not an indicator of a firmer, more enduring internalization of norms, for this variable showed only one significant correlation for fourth graders and sixth graders.

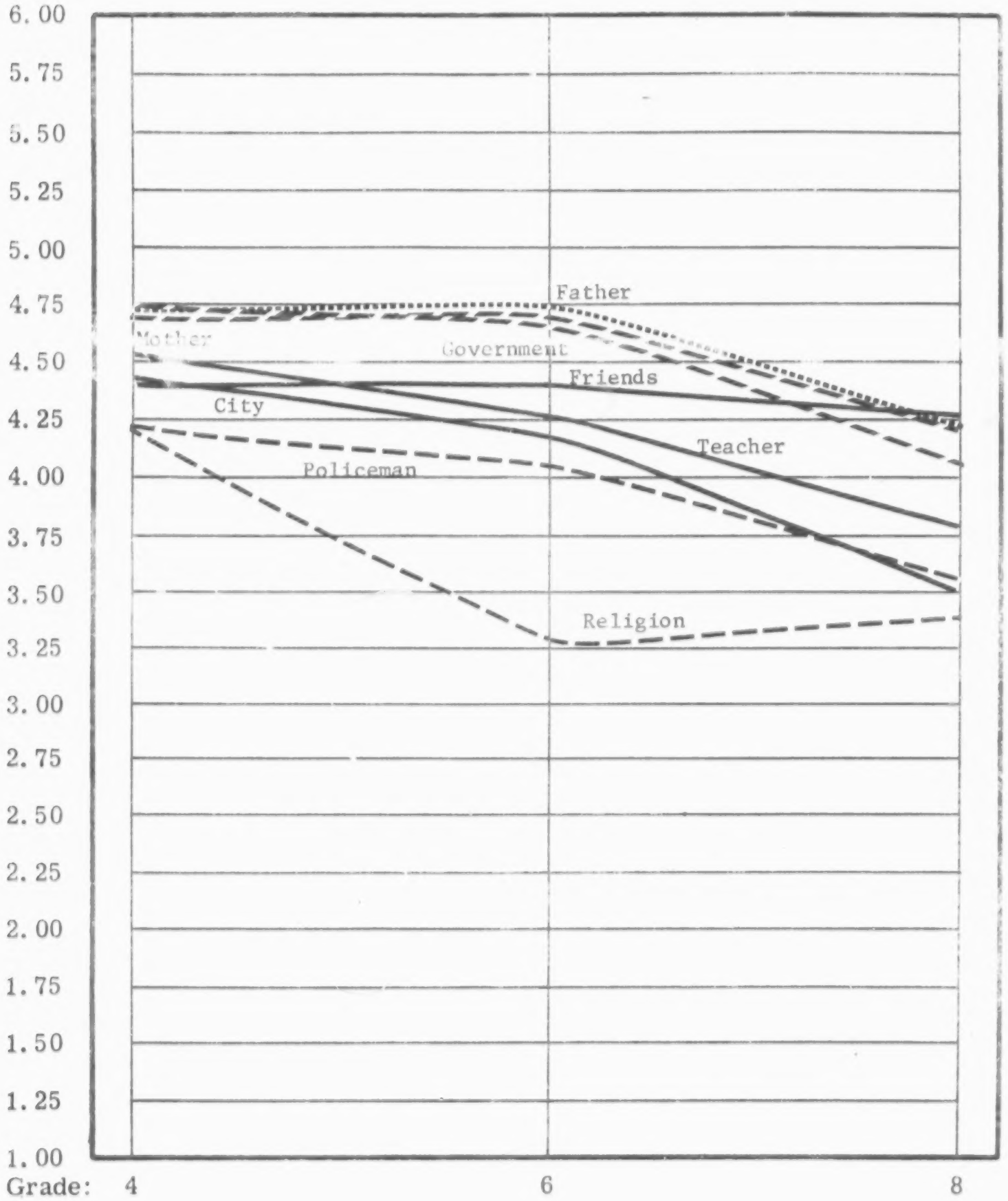
Summary. The intensity of guilt feelings reported by the Japanese school children in this study following violation of rules of authority figures decreased with age for almost every figure; it was greater for girls and upper status children than for boys and lower status children.

The intensity of guilt was almost always significantly and positively related to children's affective attachment to the disobeyed figure; it was less frequently related to the perceived helpfulness of that authority figure, the estimate of the fairness of his rules, his perceived power to punish, and the judged probability that he will punish a violator of his rules.

On the average the children rated the degree of their "feeling bad" as being higher after breaking the rules of their parents and the laws of the government than after violating the rules of the teacher, the policeman, and the city. The degree of "feeling bad" was most frequently correlated with expectations that the discipline of the authority figure whose rules were broken would be reinforced by some other authority figure when (1) the figure whose rules were violated was the teacher, the policeman, the city, or the government, and (2) the source expected to administer the additional punishment was either the child's parents or his total family.

The likelihood that a child would punish himself after detected violation of the rules of authority figures showed similar variations by sampling factors as did the measure of guilt for undetected noncompliance. Girls were more self-punitive than boys, and high status children tended to be more self-punitive than low status children. However, readiness to punish the self did not decrease steadily from fourth to eighth grade; it rose between fourth and sixth grade, then declined between sixth and eighth grade.

FIGURE 5-13
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH FIGURE'S RULES, BY GRADE (JAPAN)



Item: When you break (figure's) rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

TABLE 5 - 41

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH PARENTS' RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.67	4.45	4.32	4.38	5.02	4.88	4.95	4.74	4.50
SIX	4.70	4.76	4.33	4.55	4.92	4.79	4.86	4.84	4.55
EIGHT	4.15	4.24	3.57	3.87	4.62	4.19	4.41	4.45	3.88
TOTALS				4.28			4.74	4.68	4.34

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SES, SEX. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "WHEN YOU BREAK YOUR FATHER'S (MOTHER'S) RULES AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 5 - 42

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS, FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH TEACHER'S RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.55	4.22	4.04	4.13	5.04	4.84	4.94	4.64	4.45
SIX	4.26	4.09	3.92	4.01	4.53	4.53	4.53	4.30	4.22
EIGHT	3.82	3.97	3.46	3.69	4.15	3.71	3.93	4.08	3.59
TOTALS				3.96			4.47	4.36	4.09

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SES, SEX. ITEM: "WHEN YOU BREAK TEACHERS' RULES AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 5 - 43

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH THE RULES OF SEVERAL AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.25	3.98	3.90	3.94	4.55	4.52	4.54	4.28	4.22
SIX	3.97	3.99	3.87	3.93	4.05	3.97	4.01	4.02	3.92
EIGHT	3.61	3.60	3.29	3.43	4.00	3.56	3.78	3.82	3.43
TOTALS				3.78			4.12	4.04	3.85

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: GRADE, SES. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 3 ITEMS: "WHEN YOU BREAK POLICEMEN'S ORDERS (CITY'S RULES OR LAWS, GOVERNMENT'S RULES OR LAWS) AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 5 - 44

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH FRIENDS' RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.40	4.48	3.92	4.20	4.61	4.56	4.58	4.55	4.24
SIX	4.42	4.39	3.85	4.13	4.84	4.62	4.73	4.61	4.21
EIGHT	4.27	4.13	3.89	4.00	4.65	4.36	4.50	4.42	4.14
TOTALS				4.11			4.60	4.53	4.20

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES, SEX. ITEM: "WHEN YOU BREAK YOUR FRIENDS' RULES AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 5-45

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF Ss REPORTING PUNISHMENT OF SELF FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WITH RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

FIGURES	GRADE FOUR					GRADE SIX					GRADE EIGHT				
		SOCIAL STATUS		SEX			SOCIAL STATUS		SEX			SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	49	45	52	53	44	72	57	88	78	67	60	47	73	67	53
Mother	47	45	50	51	44	72	58	87	76	68	57	43	72	69	45
Teacher	54	55	53	53	55	73	54	91	76	69	57	42	72	72	42
Policeman	47	46	48	50	44	68	54	82	73	64	55	38	72	63	47
City	50	47	53	57	43	76	59	92	82	70	76	64	88	79	73
Government	48	46	50	51	45	68	51	85	71	66	55	41	70	67	44

Note. Significant Effects: (Punish-Self Index) Sex. Item: "Besides (figure), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey (figure's) rules?" Alternative: "I (me). Index: Number of "Yes" responses across 6 figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, city, government). Index scale: 0-6.

TABLE 5-46

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, LIKABLE, AND JUST, AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Guilt with: Affiliation (liking for Authority Figures)						
Father	.41*	.33*	.30*	.26*	.45*	.30*
Mother	.37*	.40*	.32*	.52*	.51*	.38*
Teacher	.36*	.26*	.34*	.32*	.48*	.49*
Policeman	.26*	.33*	.21	.29*	.42*	.46*
Prime Minister	.38*	.28*	.15	-.10	.23*	.20*
Guilt with: Perception of Authority Figures as helpful						
Father	.18	.29*	.02	.15	.10	.36*
Mother	.09	.06	.12	.00	.03	.41*
Teacher	.26*	.21*	.27*	.14	.41*	.30*
Policeman	.19	.41*	.18	.13	.40*	.34*
Feligious Leader	.24	.07	.54*	.76*	.42	.67*
Prime Minister	.35*	.34*	-.12	.06	-.06	.28*
Friends	.29*	.28*	.30*	.24*	.32*	.32*
Guilt with: Perception of Rules of Author. Figures as fair						
Father	.36*	.38*	.12	.36*	.22*	.42*
Mother	.34*	.28*	.10	.42*	.37*	.27*
Teacher	.31*	.37*	.28*	.34*	.34*	.26*
Policeman	.29*	.55*	.26*	.33*	.15	.21*
City	.39*	.45*	.15	.17	.31*	.18
Government	.48*	.27*	.15	.26*	.24*	.24*
Friends	.13	.45*	.43*	.36*	.23*	.40*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 5-47

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF PUNITIVE DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Guilt with: Power of Figure to Punish						
Father	.09	.23*	.28*	.13	.12	.43*
Mother	.28*	.07	.10	.22*	.25*	.26*
Teacher	.16	.25*	.27*	.31*	.46*	.39*
Policeman	.18	.22*	-.01	-.02	.14	.20
Religious Leader	.04	.11	.22	-.04	.44*	.36*
Prime Minister	.24*	.08	-.07	.09	-.03	.30*
Judge	.40*	.28*	.00	.18	.45*	.04
Friends	.07	.04	-.04	.17	.27*	.30*
Guilt with: Likelihood that Figure Will Punish Disobedience						
Father	.29*	.23*	.29*	.16	.33*	.25*
Mother	.09	.23*	.25*	.30*	.07	.34*
Teacher	.20	.18	.26*	.29*	.18	.07
Policeman	.27*	.39*	.21	.13	.33*	.19
Government	.50*	.11	.36*	.15	.29*	.19
City	.21	.37*	.25*	.30*	.46*	.29*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 5-48

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF INTERNALIZATION OF RULES AND NORMS OF COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS: BELIEF THAT DISCIPLINE BY ONE AUTHORITY FIGURE WILL BE REINFORCED BY OTHERS AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT MEASURES (ACROSS DIFFERENT FIGURES)	GUILT OVER DISOBEDIENCE TO FIGURES (NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS)								TOTAL SIGNIF. CORREL.	TOTAL POSSIBL CORREL.
	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	RELIG. LEADER	GOVT.	CITY	POLICE	FRIENDS		
Would punish self	4	3	5	1	4	4	4	2	27	48
Parents for parents	3	3	4	2	3	3	1	1	20	48
Parents for non-family authority figures	4	4	6	3	6	6	6	3	38	48
Other family for parents	2	2	2	0	1	1	2	2	12	48
Other family for non-family figures	2	1	2	0	1	1	3	1	11	48
Total family for school	3	4	5	2	3	5	5	2	29	48
Non-family figures for parents			1*/1	0/1		1	1		1*/4	48

TABLE 5-49

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GUILT AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.27*	.25*	.19*	.24*	.07	-.14	-.06	-.23*
	6	.07	-.03	-.08	.14	-.04	-.03	-.09	.02
	8	.20	.00	.22*	.00	-.13	.02	-.20	-.10
Mother	4	.31	.27*	.23*	.28*	-.08	-.15	-.13	-.22*
	6	.04	-.01	-.12	.12	-.06	.00	-.06	-.05
	8	.32*	-.05	.29*	.04	.00	-.04	-.08	-.16
Teacher	4	.27*	.35*	.17	.35*	-.16	-.09	-.31*	-.21*
	6	-.02	.03	-.02	-.09	-.15	-.09	-.19*	.05
	8	.19*	-.05	.25*	-.07	-.21*	-.05	-.23*	-.08
Policeman	4	.25*	.32*	.09	.26*	-.09	-.15	-.16	-.14
	6	-.03	.04	-.11	-.07	-.13	-.09	-.18	-.04
	8	.16	-.00	.22*	-.09	-.15	-.04	-.15	-.10
Religion	4	.15	.07	.10	.18	.12	-.09	-.05	-.19
	6	.01	.14	.07	.11	.19	.12	-.09	-.02
	8	.23	.01	.16	.18	-.16	-.02	-.11	.05
Government	4	.27*	.26*	.15	.22*	-.03	-.13	-.19*	-.13
	6	.11	.03	.05	.05	-.12	.06	-.05	.17
	8	.21	-.07	.23*	-.09	.06	-.01	-.11	-.06
City	4	.24*	.34*	.14	.32*	.03	-.14	-.12	-.13
	6	-.10	.06	-.06	.01	-.20*	.04	-.10	.04
	8	.33*	.03	.35*	.03	-.18	.06	-.17	-.09
Friends	4	.14	.31*	.09	.30*	-.00	-.14	-.16	-.20*
	6	-.17	-.13	-.05	.12	-.07	-.03	-.02	.04
	8	.20*	.11	.21*	.04	.01	-.03	-.08	-.02
Punish-self Index (1)	4	.06	.04	.07	.07	.10	-.12	-.05	-.18
	6	-.13	-.06	.05	-.07	-.22	-.15	-.09	.03
	8	.24*	-.13	.19*	-.13	.13	.03	.00	-.08

Note. * Indicates significant correlation.

(1) For content of Punish-self Index see Table 5-45, footnote.

b. Identification with the Norms of the System

To what extent and in what ways are Japanese children agents of the various normative systems which have been under discussion? This section considers these topics by reviewing children's responses to the questions regarding what they would do when other children broke the rules of each authority figure. Table 5-50 shows the percentage of Ss citing the various actions they would take in response to peers' violation of rules of each of the five authority figures considered. In general, these data show a decreasing trend from grade four through six to eight; the option "I would try to punish them myself" is the only one in which this trend is absent. Also, the percentages here are relatively low across all grade levels (below 25 percent for most authority figures).

The order of preference of the response alternatives is relatively constant from grade to grade. Table 5-51 shows the mean scores for each grade across the five authority figures. "Ask them why" appeared to be most frequently cited in each grade, and "Tell them they are wrong" was second in each instance. These would ordinarily be the mildest kinds of corrective action, because they leave room for the possibilities that the violation was unintended or excusable, and they do not necessarily involve any other people. The third most frequently mentioned action in each grade, "Tell the figure," is more clearly a response in behalf of the "official" system; its sharp decline in use through the grades suggests the growing strength of an informal norm against "tattling," or "Iitsukeru" in Japanese.

If the "Do nothing" option is excluded, the other three actions also occupy the same rank position in each grade. "Tell my parents" is fourth, "Punish them myself" is fifth, and "Tell their parents" is last. When "Do nothing" is included, it moves from seventh in fourth grade to fifth position and then to fourth in the eighth grade.

While the range of percentages of children citing each action alternative across the five authority figures is not particularly large, there are nevertheless some differences within each option which may be noted. "Ask them why" and "Tell them they are wrong" are preferred more often when other children break the city's and the teacher's rules; it is possible that, to Japanese children, violation of these rules by peers is somewhat more salient than peers' transgressions against the rules of their own parents or their religion. Violations of some of these

rules, e.g., running in the school hallway or failing to observe rules for pedestrians, conceivably can disturb the equanimity of others nearby.

Japanese children were most likely to "Tell their own parents" about violations of father's and the city's rules; they also reported that they would "Tell the parents of the other children" more often in instances involving violations against the city than when peers violate the rules of other authority figures. The continuing prominence of the city in these rank orders suggests an underlying concern with safety for one's self and for others. It is not uncommon, for example, for a teacher to ascertain exactly what route each child takes to walk to and from school, and to be sure that this route is the safest available (i.e., most free of speeding vehicles). A child who "tells the parents" about their child's violation of a city rule may be motivated more by an interest in that child's safety than by anything else.

The order of preference for the action "Tell the figure" roughly corresponds to the accessibility of that figure. In sixth and eighth grades the teacher ranks first, mother second, father third, religion fourth, and city fifth. "Try to punish them myself" shows no consistent differences among father, teacher, city, and mother, though religion is last in each grade by a discernible margin.

Variations in the frequency with which children from different grade, sex, and SES groups cited each type of response to peers' disobedience were tested for significance only for the index scores combining choices of the same type of response across all authority figures considered. As shown in Table 5-51, the alternatives "Ask why" and "Tell my parents" were cited with decreasing frequency as children grew older. Also, more high status than low status children cited these responses, while the alternative "Tell their parents" was cited more often by low status than high status children. The frequency of "Tell the figure" and "Do nothing" varied by SES in interaction with grade: the former type of response was more frequent among high status than low status children at grades four and six, but by grade eight the SES difference levelled off; by contrast, "Do nothing" was cited more often by low status than by high status children at grades four and six, while at grade eight, inaction in the face of peers' disobedience appeared to be more frequent among high status than low status children. Finally, while boys surpassed girls across all grades in ascertaining that they would "Tell the parents" of disobeying peers or they

would "Try to punish them," girls outnumbered boys in the frequency of citing the alternative "Tell my parents."

Relationships between choices of methods of enforcing rules upon disobeying peers and other measures of internalization of norms. These reports about children's intervention in the noncompliant conduct of their peers are partly associated with the amount of guilt ("How bad do you feel . . . ?") which they say they feel when they themselves break rules (see Table 5-52). Data in this table suggest first that guilt for one's own transgressions is not always involved in children's readiness to react to peers' disobedience of rules of authority figures; only one-third of the coefficients between these variables were statistically significant. Personal guilt was, however, in a quite consistent positive association with certain methods of handling peers' transgressions, such as "Ask them why," "Tell the figure," and "Tell them they are wrong." In these instances more than half of the correlations across grade and sex groups were significant and positive. Some form of empathy may be at work here. Personal guilt was somewhat less closely associated with dispositions to "Tell my parents" or to "Do nothing"; in the latter instance all significant coefficients were negative, as could be expected. The options "Tell their parents" and "Try to punish them" may be products of a quite different complex of motives. The very small number of significant correlations (five) for these two alternatives and the fact that some are negative and some positive indicates a probability of no association between choosing these modes of action and one's own guilt feelings.

Relationships between choices of methods of facing peers' rule violations and peer ratings of classroom behavior. The discussion up to this point has set aside the question: Do these children actually behave the way they say they do? An initial and indirect answer is provided by the correlations between peer nominations for outstanding positive and negative behavior in the classroom, and children's preferred responses to the noncompliant behavior of other children (see Table 5-53). Less than one-fifth of the coefficients are significant, so the association is not a general one. Nonetheless, the distribution of the significant coefficients describes patterns which throw a little more light upon the socialization process.

More than half of the significant coefficients (17 out of 30) appear among fourth graders, and thirteen of these concern positive rather than negative behavior.

These indicate that children whose behavior toward peers and toward teacher is cooperative also tend to prefer to "Tell my parents," to "Tell the figure," and to "Ask them why" when other children misbehave. They also avoid "Do nothing." There are but four significant coefficients on the negative side, but three of these are positive. Girls who say they will "Tell their parents" are also likely to be cited for their bad conduct toward peers (.23) and toward the teacher (.45); on the other hand, girls who do not say they will "Tell my parents" are likely to be cited only for negative behavior toward peers (-.61). This latter is the strongest relationship in the table.

The picture emerging from these findings is one in which there is some correspondence between the subjective states of these younger children and their actual behavior. They accept the norms of authorities, and those whose behavior is most applauded by their peers feel at least a responsibility to report others' defiance to the figure in question, to their own parents, and to act themselves to the extent of "Asking why." They do not, however, tell the parents of the offending children, and they do not say they would "Do nothing." Fourth grade society seems to be one which is quite compatible with the "official system."

It would be wrong to say that the "societies" of the sixth and eighth grade are incompatible with the system simply because the fourth grade pattern is not at all apparent in either. Rather, it seems plausible that older children are somewhat disengaged from it, more detached. There is some evidence of resistance to the system's norms, particularly among sixth grade girls. Here those who say they would "Ask why," or "Tell them they are wrong," or would try to punish wrongdoers themselves, are girls who are perceived to behave negatively toward their teachers. But the quite small number of significant coefficients in the sixth and especially in the eighth grade, together with the propensity for positively behaving eighth grade boys to say they would "Do nothing," seems indicative of a greater detachment.

Summary. The Japanese children's choices of methods of dealing with peers' breaking rules of authority figures indicate the following general order of preference: (1) "Ask them why," (2) "Tell them they are wrong," (3) "Tell the figure (whose rule has been violated)," (4) "Tell my parents," (5) "Punish them myself," and (6) "Tell their parents." In general, the numbers of children saying they would do any of these things declined with age, with only "Punish them myself" being an exception to this trend. The number of children maintaining that they would "Do nothing" increased with age.

The actions selected depended to some extent on the source of rules that had been violated. Violations of city rules were likely to lead children to say that they would do one or more of the following: "Ask them why," "Tell them they are wrong," "Tell my parents," and "Tell their parents." Each of these actions was cited more often in connection with infringements upon city rules than it was for violations of most of the other authority figures' rules.

The action selected also varied in some instances with the sex of SES of the responders. "Ask them why" and "Tell my parents" were chosen significantly oftener by high status than by low status children, while "Tell their parents" was chosen more frequently by low status than by high status children. The frequency of "Tell the figure" and "Do nothing" varied by SES in interaction with grade. Boys were more likely than girls to "Tell the offender's parents" or "Try to punish the offender," while more girls than boys said that they would "Tell their own parents."

The particular ways in which a child said he would respond to disobedient peers were not usually associated with how bad he said he felt after he himself had broken a rule. Across all grade and sex groups, guilt was most consistently associated with the choice of three methods of coping with peers' transgressions--"Ask them why," "Tell the figure," and "Tell them they are wrong."

TABLE 5-50

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES ON REACTIONS FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY TOTAL GRADE (JAPAN)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	FIGURE OR SYSTEM WHOSE RULES ARE DISOBEYED BY PEERS														
	MOTHER			FATHER			TEACHER			RELIGION			CITY		
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8
Do nothing	39	49	54	31	44	51	21	22	42	31	53	53	21	32	43
Ask them why	75	64	56	74	68	59	81	74	65	79	58	51	84	71	60
Tell them they are wrong	60	49	43	59	53	51	71	69	59	66	49	45	69	67	57
Tell my parents	36	29	18	49	42	31	28	20	14	37	28	15	43	40	26
Tell the figure	51	47	31	53	39	28	55	48	32	52	37	27	34	24	19
Tell their parents	17	12	6	14	16	13	10	8	7	21	12	11	30	18	13
Try to punish them myself	23	20	19	26	18	25	23	24	22	20	14	13	23	20	22

Note. Item: "When other children break (figure) rules what do you do?" Percentages of "Yes" responses to each of 7 alternatives for 5 figures (mother, father, teacher, church, city), by total grade.

TABLE 5-51

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON RESPONSES FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX		INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS		
Ask them why	4	3.59	2.98	4.17	3.68	3.51	0-5	Grade,SES
	6	3.04	2.72	3.38	3.02	3.06		
	8	2.87	2.67	3.07	3.31	2.48		
	Total		2.79	3.55	3.33	3.01		
Tell them they are wrong	4	2.96	2.56	3.33	2.96	2.95	0-5	None
	6	2.62	2.40	2.85	2.45	2.79		
	8	2.50	2.75	2.27	2.81	2.22		
	Total		2.56	2.82	2.74	2.65		
Tell my parents	4	1.80	1.12	2.44	2.06	1.53	0-5	Grade, Se
	6	1.44	1.30	1.59	1.66	1.20		SES
	8	1.02	.84	1.20	1.32	.76		
	Total		1.09	1.75	1.69	1.16		
Tell their parents	4	.78	1.09	.49	.70	.86	0-5	SES, Sex
	6	.56	.91	.19	.40	.73		
	8	.50	.70	.32	.31	.68		
	Total		.89	.34	.48	.75		

TABLE 5-51 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Tell the figure	4	2.23	1.67	2.79	2.23	2.23	0-5	SES by
	6	1.78	1.61	1.95	1.82	1.74		Grade
	8	1.36	1.36	1.35	1.41	1.30		H-H-L=H
	Total		1.55	2.03	1.82	1.76		
Try to punish them myself	4	1.01	1.13	.90	.89	1.13	0-5	Sex
	6	.86	.83	.89	.70	1.03		
	8	1.00	1.04	.95	.79	1.19		
	Total		.99	.92	.79	1.12		
Do nothing	4	.61	1.04	.21	.61	.62	0-5	SES by
	6	1.06	1.44	.66	.94	1.19		Grade
	8	1.11	.98	1.24	.83	1.37		L-L-H
	Total		1.16	.70	.79	1.06		

Note. Item: "When other children break (figure's) rules, what do you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to each of seven alternatives for five figures (father, mother, teacher, city, church). Index scale 0-5

TABLE 5-52

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF INTERNALIZATION OF RULES AND NORMS OF COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS: RESPONSES IN REACTION TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND GUILT OVER ONE'S OWN NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(JAPAN)

TYPE OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE (NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS)	GUILT TOWARD: FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	POLICE	RELIG.	GOVT.	CITY	TOTAL SIGNIF. CORREL.	TOTAL POSSIBLE CORREL.
Tell my parents	1	3	3	2	2	1	2	14	42
Tell their parents	1*	0	0	0	2	0	0	1*/2	42
Tell figure	3	3	5	6	2	4	5	28	42
Ask them why	4	4	5	4	3	5	5	30	42
Tell them they are wrong	4	5	4	4	4	2	3	26	42
Try to punish them	0	0	0	0	0	1*	1*	2*	42
Do nothing	2*	2*	2*	4*	3*	1*	1*	15*	42
TOTALS	3*/12	2*/15	2*/17	4*/16	3*/13	2*/12	2*/15	18*/100	294

Note. *Indicates negative relationship.

TABLE 5-53

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPES OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

TYPES OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Tell my parents	4	.33*	.25*	.23*	.24*	-.61*	-.02	-.18	.05
	6	.05	-.01	.02	.00	-.12	-.26*	.08	-.08
	8	.20*	-.06	.12	-.02	.18	.09	.15	.03
Tell their parents	4	.01	-.14	-.12	-.10	.23*	-.04	.45*	.09
	6	-.06	.01	-.09	-.13	.37*	.09	.15	.04
	8	-.08	-.13	-.02	-.11	.02	-.00	-.02	.02
Tell (figure)	4	.30*	.22*	.15	.23*	-.16	-.04	-.07	-.08
	6	.10	-.06	.02	-.11	-.10	-.20*	.05	-.00
	8	.16	-.14	.17	-.15	.02	-.00	-.03	-.09
Ask why	4	.29*	.21*	.21*	.09	-.05	-.07	-.05	-.15
	6	.03	.15	-.03	.24*	-.10	.22*	.00	.19*
	8	.15	-.11	.12	-.18	.01	.22*	-.05	.05
Tell them they are wrong	4	-.01	.11	.03	.10	.12	.05	.05	-.02
	6	.11	.03	.03	.13	.03	.17	-.02	.23*
	8	-.02	-.15	-.02	-.26*	-.09	.15	-.10	-.04
Try to punish them	4	-.16	-.16	-.12	-.12	.01	.07	.03	.09
	6	.03	.10	.15	.06	-.09	.08	-.10	.24*
	8	-.10	-.13	-.08	-.11	-.05	.08	-.07	.08
Do nothing	4	-.26*	-.28*	-.16	-.23*	.00	.05	.05	.20*
	6	-.01	-.08	-.05	-.15	.17	-.08	.01	-.12
	8	.03	.22*	.10	.20*	.01	-.16	.04	.02

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

B4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority

a. Reactions to Injustice from Total Authority

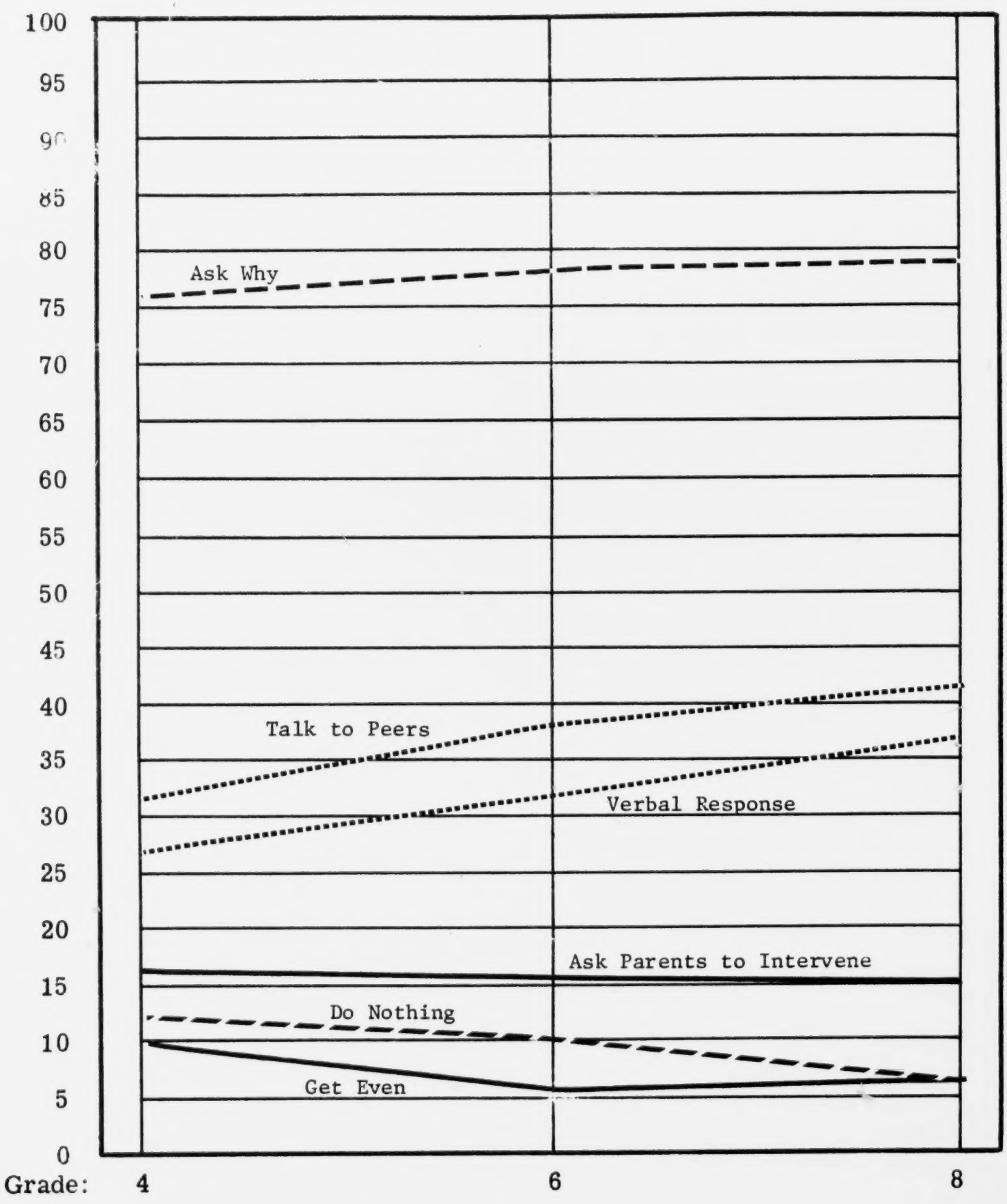
When Japanese children are confronted with injustice from an authority, they want to know why and they say they "Ask why." As Figure 5-14 makes plain, this is a reaction preferred by children in all grades and for all sources of injustice. At the other end of the scale, to "Get even" is always the least preferred response, "Ask parents to intervene" is next least, and "Do nothing" is usually in fifth position in the list of six options. The remaining two options, "Verbal responses" and "Talk to peers," are intermediate.

These various reactions are not uniformly selected by the subgroups within the Japanese sample; there are many differences between grade, SES, and sex groups. Table 5-54 summarizes the "Yes" responses by type of action (or inaction) across all authority figures. Table 5-55 contains mean scores which are indicative of children's overall preferences of methods of dealing with injustice from "total authority." "Do nothing" and "Ask parents to intervene" are generally more preferred by low status than high status children, while "Ask why" is more often chosen by high status children. In the fourth and sixth grades, low status children mention "Verbal responses" and "Get even" approaches oftener than do high status children, but in the eighth grade the status difference is in the other direction. Upper status children are perhaps more inhibited in the use of these more aggressive behaviors than are low status children, at least at younger ages, but the inhibitions quite possibly become weaker with age. Also these two aggressive responses, together with "Ask parents to intervene," are generally selected more often by boys than by girls, and there is a sex by grade interaction for the "Ask why" alternative. This is preferred oftener by boys in the two lower grades, and by girls in the eighth grade. Finally, the "Do nothing" category shows a declining trend from fourth to eighth grade, and "Talk to peers," shows an increasing utility which is particularly marked among high status children and girls.

Summary. As in the situation of other children's transgressions where children in this sample most frequently said that they would intervene and "Ask them why," so in the circumstances in which authority figures are thought to be misusing their power children in this Japanese research group appeared most likely to react with "Ask why." Their next most frequent choices were "Verbal responses" and "Talk to peers," while "Do nothing," "Ask

parents to intervene," and "Get even" were least frequently chosen. The type of response selected was often associated with one or more of the three study variables: grade, SES, and sex.

FIGURE 5-14
COMPARISON OF ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE
IN RESPONSE TO UNJUST USE OF AUTHORITY, BY GRADE
(JAPAN)



Item: If (figure) did something to you that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?

TABLE 5-54

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY FOR FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES), BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES)
(JAPAN)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
	4	6	8	L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	4 G	4 B	6 G	6 B	8 G	8 B	GIRLS	BOYS
Do nothing (Resp. Alt. 1)	12	10	7	14	11	13	7	10	5	12	8	14	11	11	10	6	9	11	10
Ask why (Resp. Alt. 2)	76	78	79	72	80	75	81	70	89	72	83	72	80	72	83	83	76	76	80
Verbal response (Resp. Alt. 3-6)	27	32	37	37	16	37	27	34	40	36	28	24	30	23	21	27	22	23	21
Talk to peers (Resp Alt. 7-9)	32	38	42	35	28	35	41	36	48	36	39	30	33	40	36	46	38	38	36
Ask parents to intervene (Resp Alt. 4-10)	17	16	15	24	10	22	9	15	15	20	12	15	19	12	19	13	17	13	18
Get even (Res. Alt. 11)	10	6	7	17	2	8	4	7	8	11	5	6	14	3	9	5	10	4	11

Note. Item: "If your father (mother, teacher, a policeman, the U.S. Government) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?" Response Alternatives: (1) "I would do nothing and tell no one (I'd keep it to myself) (2) "I would ask him (her, them) why." (3) "I would tell him (her, them) he was unfair." (4) "I would tell him (her, them) not to do it again." (5) "I would show him (her, them) my anger." (6) "I would tell other teachers (policemen) that this teacher (policeman) was unfair." (7) "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it." (8) "I would talk to my friends about it." (9) "I would ask my mother (father) or other adult relatives to stop him (her, them) from doing it again." (10) "I would ask my parents or other adult relatives to talk to him (her, them)." (11) I would get even with or get back at him (her, them)."

TABLE 5-55

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY FOR FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES), BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES (Index Labels)	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Do Nothing	4	.62	.68	.56	.69	.55	0-5	SES, Grade
	6	.51	.67	.35	.54	.48		
	8	.37	.49	.25	.31	.43		
	Total		.61	.39	.51	.49		
Ask Why	4	3.03	2.87	3.20	2.87	3.19	0-4	SES,
	6	3.11	2.98	3.23	2.89	3.33		Sex by
	8	3.17	2.80	3.55	3.32	3.03		Grade
	Total		2.88	3.33	3.03	3.18		
Verbal Responses	4	4.55	6.34	2.76	4.05	5.04	0-17	Sex, SES
	6	5.40	6.29	4.51	4.25	6.55		by Grade
	8	6.35	5.83	6.87	6.18	6.53		
	Total		6.15	4.72	4.83	6.04		
Talk to Peers	4	3.15	3.53	2.76	2.96	3.34	0-10	Grade
	6	3.80	3.51	4.09	3.97	3.63		
	8	4.21	3.64	4.77	4.61	3.80		
	Total		3.56	3.87	3.84	3.59		

TABLE 5-55 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES (Index Labels)	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Ask Parents to Intervene	4	.85	1.18	.52	.76	.94	0-5	Sex,SES
	6	.79	1.10	.47	.61	.96		
	8	.75	.74	.76	.64	.86		
	Total	.	1.01	.58	.67	.92		
Get Even	4	.49	.87	.12	.29	.69	0-5	Sex
	6	.30	.42	.18	.13	.47		SES by
	8	.37	.36	.39	.23	.52		Grade
	Total		.55	.23	.22	.56		

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives comprising each response category across five figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, government).

b. Variations in Reactions to Injustice as a Function of the Identity of Authority Figures

The analysis of responses to "total authority" conceals differences in the incidence of application of each response alternative to different authority figures, and Table 5-56 displays these variations. "Do nothing" is more often a reaction to the policeman's and/or the government's injustice, than to teachers' and parents'. "Ask why" is much more a response to parents' unfairness than to non-family authorities; it is also cited more often as a response to a policeman's than to a teacher's injustice. "Verbal responses" is also more often chosen within the family than for other authorities and for teacher, but "Talk to peers" is least often chosen as a response to parental injustices; it is more likely to be employed when the teacher or another non-family authority has acted unjustly. Differences among the authorities with respect to the use of "Ask parents to intervene" are relatively small, though there is a slight and consistent tendency to do this more often after an unjust act from "other authority" than in response to a teacher's or parents' injustices. Differences are also very small in the relative preferences for the "Get even" reaction. A greater inclination for fourth graders to feel this way toward their parents disappears in the later grades.

Overall there are few clear upward or downward trends through the grades, though the category "Talk to peers" did show increases in incidence in the instances of injustice from other authorities and from the teacher, and "Do nothing" was cited significantly less often with grade in response to teachers' injustices.

Data shown in Table 5-56 suggest that Japanese children may be quite selective in their responses to unfairness; the particular response may depend very much upon which authority figure has committed an unjust act. This selectivity is borne out by Table 5-57, which affirms that the only response which is frequently generalized from one authority figure to another is the nonresponse "Do nothing." Where there are significant correlations involving the "Ask why" response, they are negative, indicating in these instances that a child who responds this way to one figure (e.g., teacher) will not use this response to another figure (e.g., parents). On the whole the nonsignificant correlations outnumber the significant ones for every response except "Do nothing." Thus, there is no visible tendency at all for children to want to "Get even" with all unjust authorities. When this response is selected for one authority, it may or may not be chosen for others.

There is one notable difference between the sexes in this table. Girls are more mutually exclusive in their applications of these responses in the fourth grade (six significant and negative coefficients, excluding the "Do nothing" category) than they are in the sixth grade, and much more so than in the eighth grade, while the trend for boys is in the other direction. It is also true that fourth grade girls are more selective than fourth grade boys, and eighth grade boys are more selective than eighth grade girls.

A number of effects from the SES, sex, and grade variables, which relate to the differential application of these responses to the three authorities, should also be mentioned. "Do nothing" as a reaction is chosen more by low than by high status children when injustice has come from parents or from other authority, and its incidence decreases by grade when the injustice has been committed by the teacher (see Table 5-58). "Ask why" is preferred more by boys than by girls in the case of teacher's unfairness, and more by high than low status children when "other authority" is responsible for the grievance (see Table 5-59). "Verbal responses" is associated with a pattern of differences which has already been discussed, but is now seen to be true for each authority figure; low status children chose this response more often than did high status children for parents, for teachers, and for other authority, but only in the fourth and sixth grades. In the eighth grade, it was the upper status children who selected this more often, for every authority. Also, boys chose this category significantly more often than did girls in response to injustice from the teacher or from other authority, but no sex difference was apparent in citing verbal protests against parents' injustices (see Table 5-60). The upward linear trend from grade to grade which has been noted above for the "Talk to peers" response holds true only for reactions to the teacher and to other authority; there are no sex or SES effects associated with this response category (see Table 5-61). "Ask parents to intervene" is linked to SES but not to the other two sampling variables; low status children are more likely than high status children to mention this response when the source of injustice is either the parents or the teacher (see Table 5-62). Finally, the male rather than the female predisposition to try to "Get even" holds for all authorities, and this is also a predominantly low status rather than a high status response in the cases of parents and teacher. When the unjust act has been committed by "other authority," low status children are still more likely than high status children to choose this in the fourth and sixth grades, but not so in eighth grade,

where low status children mention this almost not at all and high status children (particularly boys) mention it more frequently (see Table 5-63).

Relationships between reactions to injustice and other variables of the study. The analysis of relationships between perception of rules of authority figures as fair and other characteristics of the figures (see section B2c) indicated that children tend to see authority figures as helpful and likable when they promulgate fair rules (and as lacking these qualities when their rules are believed to be unjust). By the end of the age period covered, the perceived punitive power of authority figures approximately coincides with the perceived fairness of their rules but tends not to be, and perhaps does not need to be, supported by beliefs regarding inevitability of punishment. This seems to describe a process in which a child's fundamental attitudes toward individual authority figures are usually important, but in which the authority's perceived power becomes steadily less arbitrary and more benign (because it is increasingly associated with fairness); therefore, the certainty that a figure punishes noncompliance eventually becomes almost irrelevant for an older child's estimation of the fairness of rules of that figure.

Table 5-64 summarizes the distribution of significant coefficients between the categories of response to injustice, on one hand, and helpfulness, likability, belief in rule fairness, power to punish, inevitability of punishment, and guilt feeling following noncompliance on the other. Only about 15 percent of the 1944 coefficients summarized in this table are statistically significant, indicating that in general a child's preference to act in one way rather than another is not closely tied to his basic attitudes toward the authority figure in question or toward himself, at least insofar as these attitudes are indexed by these six variables. If one is mindful of this important qualification, it is still possible to discern some pertinent differences within this table. When the six variables are compared with respect to their frequency of association with the six categories of response to injustice, it can be seen that belief in the justice of rules (67 significant coefficients) and guilt for noncompliance (61 significant coefficients) are somewhat more salient to the choices of reactions to injustice than are any of the other four. These two more salient variables do not predispose children to the same styles of response. Children who believe that an authority's rules are fair will, to the extent that there is any predisposition at all, tend to avoid reacting with verbal responses, with a desire to get even, or with a request to their parents to

intervene (the significant and negative correlations are much more numerous for these categories). If children are prone to feel guilty for their own violations of rules, then in the face of injustice they will be inclined somewhat to ask why, but they will be rather disinclined to get even or to talk to peers.

This table permits comparisons in the other direction, also, such that each response category can be inspected to ascertain which, if any, of the six "predisposing" variables are most frequently associated to it. "Do nothing" shows such a small number of quite widely distributed significant coefficients that it, more than any of the other response categories, can be said to be unconnected to these attitudes and beliefs. "Ask why" is most frequently associated with personal guilt about own violations, and somewhat less frequently with the perceived inevitability of an authority's punishment. The fact that there are so few significant correlations of "Ask why" with helpfulness and likability, considered together with the high absolute frequency of this response alternative, suggests that Japanese children feel quite free to say that they react in this relatively neutral fashion, unconstrained by the unhelpfulness or unlikability of the person in authority. "Verbal responses" are most frequently associated with belief in the justice of rules and, as mentioned above, these are negative relationships; the association is least frequent with feeling of guilt. "Talk to peers" is most frequently associated with personal guilt (these correlations also are negative) than with any other variable, and least frequently with the perceived "helpfulness" of authorities. "Ask parents to intervene" tends to be chosen least often when children believe that an authority's rules are fair; it is least often associatid with the child's affective attachment to authority figures (liking). Of all the response categories, "Get even" has the largest number of significant relationships with the six variables as a whole (73 in total) and usually has about as many or more of such relationships with each single variable (belief in the inevitability of punishment is the principal exception) than do any of the other response categories. "Get even" is most frequently (and negatively) associated with guilt for noncompliance, with belief in the justice of authority figures' rules, and with the perceived extent of their power to punish.

Relationship between reactions to injustice and peer ratings of classroom behavior. Just as there were relatively few significant relationships between subjective attitudes and beliefs on one side, and preferred responses to an authority's unjust acts on the other, so also is there a

similarly low proportion of significant relationships between the various responses to injustice and the peer nomination indices of classroom behavior (72 significant coefficients out of 432; see Table 5-65). Most of these (49) concern negative behavior in the classroom, and they are quite evenly divided between boys and girls, and between negative behavior toward peers and toward the teacher. They are not, however, equally distributed among the grades. As has been true of some of the PNI correlation matrices previously discussed, there are more significant coefficients for fourth graders (21) and for eighth graders (21) than there are for sixth graders (7). Also, these coefficients are not quite evenly distributed among the three authority figures, there being twenty associated with the teacher, fifteen with parents, and fourteen with other authorities (policeman and government).

Despite these small numbers, there are several patterns which bear discussion. Fourth grade boys who behave badly toward their teachers show an interesting set of preferences for their own behavior when they feel that their parents have been unfair. As a group they show some tendency to "Do nothing," they avoid asking why, they tend somewhat to talk back to their parents, they show a disposition to talk to peers, and also they tend to ask their parents (meaning "the other parent") to intervene, but they are not inclined to "Get even" with their parents. This particular pattern is not evident at all in the later grades, permitting the hypothesis that as boys mature, their preference (where it exists) for more emotional and less rational behavior in the home does not continue to be reflected in aggressive behavior toward their teachers.

A substantial number of fourth graders (boys and girls) who are mentioned for their negative behavior toward the teacher are quite likely to say that they would react with "Verbal responses," but this pattern also disappears in subsequent grades. On the other hand, eighth grade girls who are singled out for their negative behavior toward teacher and peers tend to say, in the instance of a teacher's injustice, that they will "Ask why" and "Talk to peers." Those among them who behave badly toward peers will also say that they will call upon their parents to intervene, while those who behave badly toward both peers and the teacher are also inclined to "Get even."

In addition to being the response category with the largest number of significant coefficients, "Get even" also contains two rather clear patterns (even though it should be kept in mind that this response is chosen rather infrequently). First, there are more significant coefficients between classroom behavior and "Get even" when the

hypothetical injustice has been inflicted by other authority (8) than when it has been accomplished by the teacher (5) or parents (4). Secondly, there are two opposite trends through the grades, which are apparent in the correlations with positive, but not negative, classroom behavior, and are most visible with respect to injustices from other authorities. The two sets of correlations for girls swing from positive in the fourth grade to negative in the eighth, while the two for boys move from negative to positive over the same span. Similar trends, though they are not quite as marked, can be seen in the sections of the table immediately above, which show relationships of positive classroom behavior and the "Get even" reaction to teacher's and to parents' unfairness. The case of "other authority" is somewhat dramatized by two extremes. Those boys who are nominated for their good behavior toward peers in the fourth grade tend, significantly often, to avoid the "Get even" response (-.19), but this particular coefficient is slightly positive in the eighth grade. Eighth grade boys who are seen to behave well toward their teachers are more likely than others to want to "Get even" when other authorities have been unjust (.33). If there are tentative generalizations which are indexed by these findings, they are that the motive of revenge is increasingly associated with outstandingly compliant behavior toward authorities as boys grow older (in the range from fourth to eighth grade), but for girls this same motive decreases in the strength of its association with such outward behavior. The natural question to ask, which cannot be answered from data in this study, is whether these are merely phases in socialization which disappear at older ages, or whether these associations continue into the later high school and college years, and therefore possibly precede some boys' participation in student demonstrations and other forms of collective demands to share in the exercise of institutionalized authority. Whatever the answer may turn out to be, there is reason from these findings alone to search through the data at hand for all available hints about the sources which may be inspiring the desire to "Get even."

Summary. The relative frequencies in the choice of the six reactions to injustice for each of the three authority figures were discussed in this section. There was considerable variation from figure to figure in the likelihood that each of the reactions would be chosen. The only reaction which appeared to be generalized by these Japanese children from one authority figure to another was the non-response,"Do nothing." Choice of a response to an authority figure's injustice depended in part upon the SES, sex, and grade variables, and the different effects attributable to these variables were described.

Children's preferred responses to injustice were shown not to be strongly and frequently related to six of the variables which have been under review in earlier sections of this chapter. Of the six, belief in the justice of an authority figure's rules and guilt for noncompliance appeared to be more salient to the choices of reactions to injustice than did the other four, i.e., the perceived helpfulness of the figure, degree of affective attachment to the figure, perceived punitive power of the figure, and inevitability of the figure's punishment.

TABLE 5-56

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, GROUPED AS PARENTS, TEACHER AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES)
(JAPAN)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
	4	6	8	4		6		8				4		6		8			
				L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
DO NOTHING																			
Parents	7	7	4	9	4	11	4	5	3	8	4	5	8	8	6	2	5	5	7
Teacher	14	8	5	13	15	8	9	8	2	10	8	17	11	8	9	6	5	10	8
Other Authority	17	15	12	19	17	19	10	15	9	17	12	20	15	15	14	10	14	15	14
ASK WHY...																			
Parents	83	87	83	76	91	83	90	76	91	78	91	85	82	85	89	90	77	86	83
Teacher	67	61	68	71	63	60	62	55	80	62	68	59	74	49	73	66	69	58	72
Other Authority	69	76	82	63	75	72	81	73	92	69	82	58	80	71	82	85	80	71	80
VERBAL RESPONSE																			
Parents	35	43	47	44	26	46	41	44	50	45	39	32	38	37	50	49	45	39	44
Teacher	21	21	28	34	8	28	15	23	34	28	19	18	24	15	28	26	30	20	27
Other Authority	23	28	34	33	12	35	20	32	36	34	23	20	26	20	35	30	36	24	32
TALK TO PEERS																			
Parents	24	22	25	28	21	22	22	23	27	24	23	21	28	22	22	29	21	24	23
Teacher	33	49	55	38	27	46	51	49	62	44	46	33	33	50	47	60	50	48	43
Other Authority	38	49	52	42	35	42	55	43	61	42	50	36	40	51	46	56	49	48	45

TABLE 5-56 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
	4	6	8	4		6		8				4		6		8			
				L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE																			
Parents	19	14	12	25	12	19	8	13	12	20	10	17	20	10	17	10	15	12	17
Teacher	14	12	11	22	5	23	2	12	9	19	5	9	18	11	14	12	10	10	14
Other Authority	17	20	20	22	12	25	14	17	21	21	16	16	19	15	24	16	23	15	21
GET EVEN																			
Parents	14	6	9	23	5	10	3	10	7	14	5	8	20	4	9	6	11	6	13
Teacher	8	6	9	16	1	8	3	9	8	11	4	4	13	3	9	4	13	4	11
Other Authority	6	6	6	12	0	7	4	3	8	8	4	4	8	2	10	3	8	3	9

Note. Item: "If your ... (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"
Response alternatives: See list in Table 5-54.

TABLE 5-57

INTERCORRELATIONS OF FREQUENCIES OF ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE BY PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE AND SEX GPOUPS (JAPAN)

CATEGORIES OF RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE	PARENTS						TEACHER					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT		GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
DO NOTHING												
Teacher	.36*	.09	.13	.30*	-.05	.39*						
Other Authority	.39*	.34*	.34*	.30*	.26*	.33*	.45*	.33*	.25*	.23*	-.00	.33*
ASK WHY												
Teacher	-.28*	-.01	-.13	-.30*	-.19*	-.32*						
Other Authority	-.22*	.00	-.34*	-.12	-.06	-.09	-.38*	.02	-.25*	-.12	-.04	-.11
VERBAL RESPONSES												
Teacher	-.12	.12	-.06	-.12	-.06	-.21*						
Other Authority	-.09	-.04	-.11	-.06	-.08	-.29*	-.23*	-.13	-.23*	-.05	-.10	-.21*
TALK TO PEERS												
Teacher	-.17	.01	-.18	-.14	.14	-.14						
Other Authority	-.24*	-.24*	-.17	-.13	-.07	-.23*	-.24*	-.12	-.14	-.21*	-.16	-.19*
ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE												
Teacher	.00	.24*	.07	.01	.09	-.10						
Other Authority	-.14	-.08	-.10	.03	-.02	-.16	-.17	-.15	-.16	-.12	-.12	- 08
GET EVEN												
Teacher	-.06	-.06	-.07	-.12	-.04	-.04						
Other Authority	.00	.15	-.05	.01	-.05	-.10	-.03	-.11	-.04	-.06	-.05	-.07

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 5-58

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "DO NOTHING" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.13	.13	.24	.18	.09	.06	.07	.11	.15	0-2	SES
	6	.14	.23	.20	.22	.09	.04	.07	.16	.12		
	8	.08	.09	.11	.10	.00	.11	.06	.04	.11		
	Total				.17			.07	.11	.13		
Teacher	4	.14	.15	.10	.13	.18	.11	.15	.17	.11	0-1	Grade
	6	.08	.05	.11	.08	.11	.06	.09	.08	.09		
	8	.05	.11	.06	.08	.00	.04	.02	.06	.05		
	Total				.10			.08	.10	.08		
Other Authority	4	.35	.46	.27	.37	.36	.32	.34	.41	.30	0-2	SES
	6	.29	.38	.37	.37	.22	.18	.20	.30	.28		
	8	.24	.24	.37	.31	.17	.17	.17	.21	.27		
	Total				.35			.24	.31	.28		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"

Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative "I would ask why," for Parents (Father, Mother), Teacher, Other Authority (Policeman).

TABLE 5-59

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "ASK WHY" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	1.67	1.60	1.45	1.52	1.80	1.85	1.83	1.70	1.65	0-2	None
	6	1.73	1.66	1.67	1.66	1.72	1.88	1.80	1.69	1.77		
	8	1.67	1.62	1.41	1.51	1.98	1.68	1.83	1.80	1.54		
	Total				1.57			1.82	1.73	1.66		
Teacher	4	.67	.62	.80	.71	.57	.68	.63	.59	.74	0-1	Sex
	6	.61	.54	.67	.60	.44	.80	.62	.49	.73		
	8	.68	.51	.59	.55	.81	.79	.80	.66	.69		
	Total				.62			.68	.58	.72		
Other Authority	4	.69	.50	.76	.63	.66	.83	.75	.58	.80	0-1	SES
	6	.76	.70	.74	.72	.72	.90	.81	.71	.82		
	8	.82	.80	.67	.73	.91	.92	.92	.85	.80		
	Total				.69			.82	.71	.80		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative "I would ask why," for Parents (Father, Mother), Teacher, Other Authority (Policeman.

TABLE 5-60

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "VERBAL RESPONSES" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	2.10	2.56	2.73	2.64	1.27	1.85	1.56	1.91	2.29	0-6	SES by
	6	2.60	2.43	3.06	2.74	1.96	2.96	2.46	2.20	3.01		Grade
	8	2.84	3.11	2.20	2.66	2.87	3.17	3.02	2.99	2.69		
	Total				2.68			2.35	2.37	2.66		
Teacher	4	.84	1.15	1.55	1.35	.29	.36	.32	.72	.95	0-4	Sex, SES
	6	.86	.89	1.33	1.11	.33	.90	.62	.61	1.12		by Grade
	8	1.13	.93	.89	.91	1.15	1.57	1.36	1.04	1.23		
	Total				1.13			.77	.79	1.10		
Other Authority	4	1.61	2.08	2.61	2.34	.77	1.00	.88	1.42	1.80	0-7	Sex, SES
	6	1.93	2.00	2.87	2.44	.89	1.98	1.43	1.44	2.43		by Grade
	8	2.38	2.40	2.13	2.26	1.89	3.09	2.49	2.14	2.61		
	Total				2.35			1.60	1.67	2.28		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives: 1. "I would tell (figure) he (she, they) was (were) unfair," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government). 2. "I would tell (figure) not to do it again," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government). 3. "I would show (figure) my anger," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government). 4. "I would tell other teachers or the principal (or other policeman) that this teacher (or this policeman) was unfair," for teacher and other authority (policeman).

TABLE 5-61

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "TALK TO PEERS" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.97	1.04	1.18	1.11	..64	1.02	.83	.84	1.10	0-4	None
	6	.88	.96	.81	.89	.83	.92	.88	.90	.87		
	8	1.00	1.11	.72	.92	1.21	.96	1.08	1.16	.84		
	Total				.97			.93	.97	.94		
Teacher	4	.65	.79	.73	.76	.52	.57	.54	.65	.65	0-2	Grade
	6	.97	1.02	.83	.93	1.00	1.04	1.02	1.01	.94		
	8	1.11	1.07	.89	.98	1.34	1.13	1.24	1.20	1.01		
	Total				.89			.93	.96	.86		
Other Authority	4	1.53	1.69	1.65	1.67	1.23	1.55	1.39	1.46	1.60	0-4	Grade
	6	1.94	1.86	1.54	1.70	2.26	2.12	2.19	2.06	1.83		
	8	2.10	2.04	1.44	1.74	2.45	2.45	2.45	2.25	1.95		
	Total				1.70			2.01	1.92	1.79		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it," and "I would talk to my friends about it," for parents (mother, father), teacher, and other authority(policeman, government).

TABLE 5-62

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.37	.54	.47	.50	.16	.30	.23	.35	.39	0-2	SES
	6	.27	.29	.48	.38	.13	.20	.16	.21	.34		
	8	.25	.24	.30	.27	.17	.30	.24	.21	.30		
	Total				.39			.21	.25	.34		
Teacher	4	.14	.17	.27	.22	.00	.09	.05	.09	.18	0-1	SES
	6	.12	.20	.26	.23	.02	.02	.02	.11	.14		
	8	.11	.16	.09	.12	.08	.11	.09	.12	.10		
	Total				.19			.05	.10	.14		
Other Authority	4	.35	.35	.55	.45	.30	.19	.25	.32	.37	0-2	None
	6	.39	.39	.59	.49	.20	.36	.28	.30	.48		
	8	.39	.38	.31	.35	.26	.60	.43	.32	.46		
	Total				.43			.32	.31	.43		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative: "I would ask my mother (father) or other adult relatives to stop him (her) from doing it again," for parents (father, mother), and "I would ask my parents or other adult relatives to talk to (figure)," for teacher and other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 5-63

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "GET EVEN" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.28	.27	.65	.46	.07	.15	.11	.17	.40	0-2	Sex
	6	.13	.16	.22	.19	.00	.12	.06	.08	.17		Ses
	8	.17	.20	.20	.20	.06	.23	.14	.13	.22		
	Total				.28			.10	.13	.26		
Teacher	4	.08	.06	.25	.16	.02	.00	.01	.04	.13	0-1	Sex
	6	.06	.05	.11	.08	.00	.06	.03	.03	.09		Ses
	8	.09	.07	.11	.09	.02	.15	.08	.04	.13		
	Total				.11			.04	.04	.11		
Other Authority	4	.13	.17	.33	.25	.00	.00	.00	.09	.17	0-2	Sex,
	6	.12	.05	.24	.15	.00	.18	.09	.03	.21		Ses by
	8	.12	.09	.06	.07	.04	.28	.16	.06	.17		Grade
	Total				.16			.08	.06	.18		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative, "I would get even with or get back at (figure)," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 5-64

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY FIGURES AND THEIR CHOICES OF METHODS OF FACING AUTHORITY FIGURES' INJUSTICES, ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(JAPAN)

FEATURES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE						TOTAL NUMBER OF CORREL.	
	DO NOTHING	ASK WHY	VERBAL RESPONSES	TALK TO PEERS	ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE	GET EVEN	SIGNIF.	POSSIBLE
Willing to Help		1*/1	2*/9	2	2*/8	11	5*/31	324
Likable	1*/1	6*	7	5	3	1*/9	8*/25	324
Rules Fair	4	5*	19	7	15	17	5*/62	324
Guilt	3	16*	2	15	7	18	16*/45	324
Power to Punish	1*/3	6*	1*/5	4*/5	3	13	12*/29	324
Inevit. of Punishment	1*/5	11*	10*	6*	5*	1*/3	34*/8	324
Total Signif. Correl.	3*/16	45*/1	13*/42	10*/34	7*/36	2*/71		
Total Possible Correl.	324	324	324	324	324	324		

Note. Number of possible correlations for each cell comprises 54 coefficients computed for three groupings of authority figures (parents, teacher, other authority) across six sampling divisions (two sex groups by three grade levels) 3X3X6).
*Indicates positive relationship.

TABLE 5-65

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CATEGORIES OF RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
DO NOTHING									
Parents	4	.11	-.09	.15	-.14	-.08	.10	-.03	.20*
	6	.01	.02	.03	-.07	.02	.16	.02	.16
	8	-.08	.06	-.06	-.09	.05	-.11	.13	.02
Teacher	4	.05	.07	.01	.09	.08	-.11	-.01	-.18
	6	-.02	.06	.03	-.01	-.07	.14	.05	-.06
	8	-.20*	.06	-.10	.02	-.20*	-.07	-.20*	-.03
Other Authority	4	-.05	-.11	-.05	-.13	-.04	.02	-.04	-.01
	6	.04	.05	.21*	-.07	.01	.13	-.16	.10
	8	.05	.21*	.03	.09	-.08	-.19	-.11	-.18
ASK WHY									
Parents	4	-.05	.22*	-.12	.24*	.06	-.15	-.01	-.25*
	6	.06	-.05	-.04	.06	-.10	-.11	-.13	-.13
	8	.28*	-.16	.17	.04	-.07	.11	-.09	-.12
Teacher	4	-.08	-.05	-.03	-.01	.10	-.00	.11	.07
	6	-.07	-.04	-.10	.06	-.02	-.07	-.13	.05
	8	.19*	-.22*	-.04	-.06	.28*	.05	.27*	-.10
Other Authority	4	.02	.14	-.04	.01	-.08	-.11	-.12	-.05
	6	-.02	-.19*	-.05	-.01	.00	-.09	.09	-.06
	8	.30*	-.02	.16	-.04	.06	.20*	.06	.14
VERBAL RESPONSES									
Parents	4	-.05	-.09	-.07	-.08	.25*	.13	.20*	.22*
	6	.12	-.08	.08	.06	.14	-.01	.08	.14
	8	.07	-.17	.13	-.00	-.02	.32*	.07	.02
Teacher	4	-.08	-.19*	-.15	-.18	.23*	.22*	.41*	.38*
	6	-.03	-.03	.05	.08	.30*	.04	-.01	.14
	8	-.03	-.14	-.04	.08	.14	.18	.20*	.04
Other Authority	4	-.09	-.20*	-.12	-.07	.19	.14	.33*	.27*
	6	.00	-.08	-.04	.06	.34*	.11	.15	.07
	8	-.01	-.11	.01	.08	.08	.36*	.12	.24*

TABLE 5-65 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS
TALK TO PEERS									
Parents	4	-.13	-.05	-.11	-.09	.07	.18	.11	.19*
	6	-.07	-.26*	-.07	-.06	.11	.00	-.05	.21*
	8	-.15	-.04	-.02	.07	.14	.21*	.17	.05
Teacher	4	.05	.04	.09	-.07	-.01	.37*	.09	.35*
	6	-.04	-.05	-.11	-.02	.14	-.01	.03	.10
	8	-.00	.11	.08	.02	.25*	.13	.26*	.03
Other Authority	4	.04	.00	.09	-.07	.04	.10	.01	.14
	6	-.03	-.03	-.09	.01	.04	-.10	.15	.11
	8	.07	.01	.13	.09	.17	.15	.27*	.02
ASK PARENTS TO TALK OR STOP									
Parents	4	-.13	-.12	-.14	-.16	.21*	.17	.36*	.25*
	6	-.10	.02	-.02	.17	.09	.03	.11	.02
	8	-.16	-.07	-.10	.07	.11	.16	.06	.06
Teacher	4	-.09	-.22*	-.16	-.20*	.13	.15	.18	.17
	6	-.20*	.07	-.06	.18	.25*	.06	.11	-.07
	8	-.10	-.18	-.10	.02	.31*	.25*	.15	.01
Other Authority	4	-.12	-.24*	-.15	-.08	-.00	.02	.10	.06
	6	-.16	.09	-.13	.20*	.15	.11	.14	.05
	8	-.03	-.17	.13	.11	.15	.23*	.05	.01
GET EVEN									
Parents	4	-.00	-.17	-.02	-.18	.12	.07	.23*	.07
	6	.04	-.07	-.03	-.01	.11	.15	.04	.09
	8	-.17	-.06	-.19*	.14	.21*	.07	.28*	.03
Teacher	4	.17	-.15	.21*	-.17	.05	.05	.12	.13
	6	.20*	-.02	.06	.01	.35*	-.01	.14	-.12
	8	.02	.03	-.10	.13	.15	.23*	.35*	.12
Other Authority	4	.08	-.19*	.06	-.17	.14	.24*	.22*	.39*
	6	-.13	-.08	.01	-.06	.23*	.19*	.12	.17
	8	-.05	.06	-.13	.33*	.05	.27*	.13	.15

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

B5. Involvement and Participation in Authority Systems

a. Participation in the Political System

It is often presumed that childhood schooling is, among other things, an apprenticeship for adult citizenship, and that the attitudes which a child acquires toward authority--in his family, his school, and his community--while not necessarily permanent, nevertheless provide him with the basis for a general orientation toward political issues. This section presents information about the political orientations of the Japanese research group and examines several relationships between these orientations and several of the attitudinal and behavioral variables.

As Table 5-66 indicates, the level of political interest among these children is not particularly high, and on the average it changes little from grade to grade, remaining close to the "Some" answer as a response to the question, "How much are you interested in reading or talking about our country and the people who run it?" Similarly, their beliefs about the extent to which their family can exert influence upon national leaders show almost no variation from fourth through eighth grade, the mean response being just a little above the scale point for "Yes, a little" (see Table 5-67). However, as Table 5-68 shows, children reported that they have been involved in the political life of their country at least to the extent of reading about political matters in newspapers and magazines, and talking with their parents about such matters. Both of these activities appeared to increase with age, but the more direct and partisan forms of political activity (wearing a button, playing some role in political campaigns or demonstrations) did not. The incidence of these latter types of political activity was very low (5 percent or lower for each in all grades), and therefore no significance is attached to the drop in these activities between fourth and sixth grade. Even though the amount of interest in national politics does not change substantially with age, reading and talking do increase.

Despite the gross finding of little change in political interest, there is one subgroup in the sample which does show a regular increase through the grades: upper status children, especially boys. Table 5-66 also indicates that boys generally express a higher level of political interest than do girls (except in the fourth grade), and that there is an interaction effect of SES with grade which shows an upward trend in interest for upper status children, but relatively little change for

lower status children. The effects upon children's beliefs about the political efficacy of their parents are somewhat similar to those concerning political interest, for boys have a small but consistently higher estimation of their parents' influence than do girls, and upper status children have somewhat higher mean scores than do lower status children (see Table 5-67). There is no significant effect with grade in school, but lower status children show a small decrease, and upper status children a small increase, from fourth through sixth to eighth grade.

When political activity is considered (see Table 5-68), the sex difference associated with both interest and efficacy is no longer present, but the SES difference remains (high SES children being more active than those of low SES), and the increase with grade in incidence of political activity is affirmed. The grade and social status effects are quite clear for the activities of "reading newspapers" and "talking with parents," and though the difference may not be statistically significant, more girls than boys appear to do these things. With respect to actual partisan activity, these effects disappear and one of them may even be reversed (though the numbers who engage in these activities are very small): lower status more than higher status children, and boys more than girls, say that they have worn buttons or in other ways have supported a political candidate or a cause.

Relationships between measures of political socialization and children's perception of authority. These measures of political socialization are not entirely incidental to other concerns which occupy Japanese children in their daily life, as Table 5-69 demonstrates. If it were true that their political interest and activity were highly compartmentalized and sharply separated from the rest of their lives, and if they were more a distraction than an attraction, then one would expect to find very few relationships between the political variables and the six central variables which refer to aspects of a child's relations to authority figures. While the proporiton of significant correlation coefficients is not particularly large (148 out of 666), leading to a gross conclusion that a child's orientation to the external political arena is not straightforwardly an expression of his personal relationships to authority figures, the distribution of these significant coefficients makes it possible to identify one variable--guilt over one's own infractions of rules--as being especially relevant in political socialization. Personal guilt is more closely associated with political interest (28 significant coefficients out of 42) than it is to either political efficacy (11 out of 42) or political

activity (14 out of 42). Still for each of these political variables it shows as many or more significant coefficients, proportionately, as do any of the remaining five variables which index dimensions of authority figures.

There are more correlations between girls' personal guilt and political interest than there are for boys (this is discussed below), and they are rather evenly distributed over the seven authority figures considered, excepting only the religious leader. Among the other variables, there are three significant coefficients between personal guilt on the one side and the perceived helpfulness of father, the degree of liking for father, policeman, and Prime Minister, and the inevitability of mother's punishment on the other side; it seems reasonably plain that guilt is by far the most salient of these variables in predisposing (if this inference of causal direction may be made) a child's degree of political interest. A provisional explanation for this finding might state that the more deeply children internalize standards for their own conduct, the more sensitive they tend to be about the standards and norms which guide--or fail to guide--their political leaders.

Guilt is more frequently related to political efficacy for girls than is any other variable, but for boys, "liking," "fairness of rules," and "power to punish" are somewhat more important than guilt. With respect to political activity, guilt is once more the most prominent variable for girls, while helpfulness, liking, power to punish, inevitability of punishment, and guilt each shows a small number of significant coefficients for boys. In general, these dimensions of authority are more pertinent to girls' political socialization than to boys'.

A more systematic inspection of the matrix (not shown here) for the relationships between helpfulness, liking, guilt, and fairness of rules on one side, and political interest on the other indicated that the larger number of significant relationships for girls than boys, between guilt and political interest, was related to an eighth grade difference. The number and magnitude of these relationships tended to increase for girls, but to decrease for boys, over the grades. Guilt becomes more closely associated with political interest as girls grow older, but less closely associated among boys. What, then, are the possible sources which may inspire eighth grade boys to be interested in politics? The number of significant correlations for them was small but suggestive. Those who like their fathers and who think their mothers' rules are fair, those who believe that their government's and their city's laws are unfair, and those who feel guilt

when they violate their city's rules are the ones in whom political interest is somewhat greater. There is also an interesting cross-sex pattern here, for girls who express political interest tend to say that their fathers' rules are fair, while, as noted, boys who are politically interested are moderately inclined to say that their mothers' rules are fair.

There is some evidence in this table for the hypothesis that the attitudes which are associated with political interest among girls are more expressive in their character than they are for boys at the end (eighth grade) of this segment of political socialization. This is at least suggested by the large differences in magnitudes of the correlations between guilt and political interest between the sexes. For boys a kind of instrumental component may become moderately important. If a negative relationship between beliefs about the fairness of the government's and the city's rules and political interest is indicative of a desire "to do something about this," then the trend for the coefficients for boys (fairness of rules with political interest) to change from positive in the fourth grade (where that with "city" is significant) to negative in the eighth grade (where both are significant) may identify an important factor in the development of boys' political orientations. The same trend is not present among girls.

The three measures of political socialization are more highly intercorrelated for eighth grade children than they are at earlier grades (see Table 5-70). The two nonsignificant coefficients for fourth grade girls, which become quite significant by the eighth grade, suggest a process of increasing coalescence of a previously disparate belief, attitude, and behavior. Because the coefficients for boys are both moderately high in the fourth grade and remain at about that level later, this coalescence may occur earlier for them.

Relationships between peer ratings of classroom behavior and measures of political interest, efficacy, and activity. There is no particular reason to expect that children who behave very well or very badly in the classroom will differ from others in respect to their political development, and Table 5-71 confirms that there are few (8 out of 72) significant relationships between these variables. Sixth grade boys who are nominated for their negative behavior tend to be neither politically interested nor active, and while this same statement may be made about the political activity of fourth grade girls, this latter finding has a notable sequel. In sixth and

eighth grade the relation between a girl's political activity and her likelihood of behaving aggressively toward her teacher swings from negative to positive. In the eighth grade it is the politically active girl who is more likely to be cited for her aggressiveness.

Summary. The mean level of children's political interest was only moderately high and did not change significantly with age; their beliefs about the extent to which their families could exert influence upon political leaders were also intermediate in strength and did not increase or decrease with age. However, their reports about their political activities did reveal a difference by grade. The amount of reading and talking with other family members about political questions appeared to be successively greater through the three grades.

There were sex and SES differences associated with these answers. In general, boys showed a higher degree of political interest, and a higher estimate of family's political efficacy, than did girls. The upper SES group showed an increasing amount of political interest with age which was not found within the lower SES group, and the upper SES group also tended to have a higher estimation of family's political influence than did the lower SES group.

Of the six variables--personal liking, helpfulness, power to punish, inevitability of punishment, fairness of rules, and personal guilt--the last was more frequently correlated with each of the three measures of political involvement than any of the others. The pattern of significant relationships was not identical for boys and girls. For girls guilt was the most prominent variable for each measure of political involvement; for boys several of the other variables in the list of six were significantly related to political efficacy, and to political activity, as often or oftener than was guilt.

TABLE 5 - 66

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON POLITICAL INTEREST, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	2.90	2.98	2.94	2.96	2.91	2.77	2.84	2.94	2.86
SIX	3.20	3.04	3.22	3.13	2.91	3.66	3.27	2.97	3.43
EIGHT	3.14	2.67	2.91	2.80	3.04	3.89	3.46	2.87	3.39
TOTALS				2.97			3.19	2.93	3.23

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SEX, SES BY GRADE. ITEM: "HOW MUCH ARE YOU INTERESTED IN READING OR TALKING ABOUT OUR COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE WHO RUN IT? FOR EXAMPLE, HOW MUCH DO YOU CARE ABOUT WHAT THEY DO AND HOW OUR COUNTRY IS RUN?" ITEM SCALE ; 1 - NOT AT ALL; 6 - VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 5 - 67

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON FEELINGS OF POLITICAL EFFICACY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	2.24	2.11	2.37	2.24	2.21	2.29	2.25	2.16	2.33
SIX	2.31	2.13	2.25	2.19	2.39	2.51	2.45	2.25	2.38
EIGHT	2.32	2.00	2.20	2.11	2.27	2.75	2.51	2.15	2.47
TOTALS				2.18			2.40	2.19	2.39

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SEX, SES. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "COULD YOUR FAMILY HAVE ANY PART IN WHAT HAPPENS IN OUR COUNTRY AND HOW IT IS RUN?" AND "DO THE PEOPLE WHO RUN OUR COUNTRY CARE WHAT YOUR FAMILY THINKS?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 5-68

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES CITING VARIOUS TYPES OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(JAPAN)

TYPES OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Read Newspapers	4	76	66	86	78	74
	6	86	79	93	91	81
	8	90	87	94	90	91
	Total					
Talk with Parents	4	38	36	39	40	35
	6	61	40	82	64	58
	8	65	47	84	70	61
	Total					
Political Activity	4	5	9	1	1	9
	6	1	1	1	1	1
	8	5	7	3	2	8
	Total					
Advanced Political Activity	4	4	9	0	4	5
	6	1	3	0	0	3
	8	3	4	1	2	3
	Total					

Note. Significant Effects: Grade, SES. Index: Number of "Yes" responses for 4 items: "I have read, talked, worn a button, done other things. Index scale: 1-4.

TABLE 5-69

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN THREE MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES BY SEX ACROSS ALL GRADES (JAPAN)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Wants to Help									
Father	2	1	3				2	1	3
Mother									
Teacher	1		1	2		2	1		1
Prime Minister	1	1	2	1		1			
Policeman	1		1	1		1	2		2
Relig. Leader				1		1			
Total Signif. Correl.	5	2	7	5	0	5	5	1	6
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36
Likable									
Father	1	2	3		1	1		1	1
Mother		1	1		1	1		1	1
Teacher	1		1		1	1		1*	1*
Policeman	2	1	3		1	1			
Prime Minister	2	1	3	1	2	3			
Total Signif. Correl.	6	5	11	1	6	7		1*/2	1*/2
Total Possible Correl.	15	15	30	15	15	30	15	15	30

TABLE 5-69 (CONTINUED)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Rules Fair									
Father	1		1		1	1	1		1
Mother		1	1		2	2	1		1
Teacher	1		1				1		1
Government	1	1*	1*/1	1		1	1		1
Policeman					1	1			
City		1*/1	1*/1	2	1*/1	1*/3			
Total Signif. Correl.	3	2*/2	2*/5	3	1*/5	1*/8	4	0	4
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36
Guilt Inducing									
Father	3	2	5	2		2	3	1	4
Mother	3	2	5	1	1	2	1	1	2
Teacher	2	1	3	1		1	2		2
Religion	1		1	1		1	2		2
Government	3	2	5			0	1		1
City	3	3	6	2	1	3	2	1	3
Policeman	2	1	3	1		1			
Total Signif. Correl.	17	11	28	8	2	10	11	3	14
Total Possible Correl.	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42

TABLE 5-69 (CONTINUED)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Power to Punish									
Father									
Mother	1		1				1		1
Teacher	1	1	2	1	1	2	1	1	2
Policeman				1*		1*	1*		1*
Prime Minister					1	1			
Judge		2	2		1	1		1	1
Relig. Leader					1	1	1		1
Total Signif. Correl.	2	3	5	1*/1	4	1*/5	1*/3	2	1*/5
Total Possible Correl.	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42
Inevitability of Punishment									
Father		1	1						
Mother	1	2	3					2	2
Teacher		1	1	1*		1*			
City				1		1		1	1
Government	2		2	1		1	1		1
Policeman		2	2					1	1
Total Signif. Correl.	3	6	9	1*/2	0	1*/2	1	4	5
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36

Note. *Indicates negative correlations.

TABLE 5-70

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THREE MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
			Political Activity			
Political Interest	.08	.32*	.21*	.43*	.40*	.28*
Political Efficacy	.13	.30*	.12	.23*	.37*	.24*
			Political Efficacy			
Political Interest	.19*	.34*	.36*	.50*	.27*	.29*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 5-71

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (JAPAN)

MEASURES OF SOCIALIZATION	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Political Efficacy	4	.02	-.02	-.03	-.12	-.01	-.04	.08	.13
	6	-.00	-.12	.02	.08	-.12	-.06	-.18	.09
	8	-.03	.03	.14	.17	.04	.11	-.03	.02
Political Interest	4	.03	-.11	-.05	-.11	.15	.07	.18	.07
	6	-.05	-.10	-.06	.06	.12	-.21*	-.03	-.10
	8	.12	-.03	.12	.25*	.06	.09	.05	.02
Political Activity	4	.18	.12	.19*	.10	-.17	-.01	-.20*	.06
	6	-.02	-.11	.02	.04	-.25*	-.28*	-.01	-.22*
	8	.10	.05	.18	.16	.14	-.05	.19*	-.03

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Participation in Family and Classroom Decision Making

Japanese children in this sample say that they "usually" take part in family and classroom decision-making processes, and there is only a slight difference (in favor of the family) between the means concerning the frequency of reported participation in the two settings (see Tables 5-72 and 5-73). Higher status children report that they help to make these decisions with somewhat greater frequency than do lower status children; higher status children also do this with decreasing frequency from grade four through grade eight.

Correlates of the child's sense of participation in decision-making processes in the family and the classroom. In all grades, there is an apparent propensity for children to participate at about the same level in the family and in the classroom (see Table 5-74). Degree of involvement in family decision making is also regularly related to political interest, but not so uniformly with belief in family political efficacy and with political activity except in the eighth grade.

Classroom decision making, in contrast, is significantly related to political interest among girls in all grades, but among boys in none (see Table 5-74). It is not correlated with political activity until the eighth grade, where these two activities converge.

Relationships between peer ratings of behavior and measures of sense of personal efficacy in decision making in the family and the classroom. Table 5-75 gives some ground for skepticism about the self-estimates of frequency of participation in decision making, at least within the classroom. Since group decision making is a cooperative activity, it might be supposed that those who do more of it would be likely to be cited for their positive behavior, especially toward the teacher. Though this is true in some instances (fourth grade and eighth grade girls), the two variables of participation in decision making and classroom behavior are not generally related throughout this table; eleven of the forty-eight coefficients are statistically significant, but only two of these refer to boys.

Summary. These Japanese pupils said that on the average they "usually" take part in decision making both in the family and in the classroom. The high SES group had a higher mean participation score than did the lower SES group in both settings even though their mean score shows a declining trend from fourth to eighth grade.

Participation in decision making was more frequently related to political interest than it was to either political efficacy or political activity. Participation in family decision making was associated with political interest for both sexes, but participation in classroom decision making was associated with political interest only for girls.

TABLE 5-72

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING IN THE HOME BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTAL BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	4.30	4.23	4.02	4.13	4.59	4.36	4.48	4.41	4.19
Six	4.35	4.22	4.06	4.14	4.52	4.60	4.56	4.37	4.33
Eight	4.24	4.45	3.76	4.11	4.55	4.21	4.38	4.50	3.99
Totals				4.12			4.47	4.42	4.17

Note. Significant Effects: SES, by grade. Item: "How often do you help make the decisions in your family?" Item scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 5-73

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING IN THE CLASSROOM, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	4.29	4.00	3.79	3.90	4.67	4.65	4.66	4.35	4.23
Six	4.22	4.20	4.15	4.18	4.30	4.23	4.27	4.25	4.19
Fight	3.91	3.71	3.72	3.72	4.34	3.77	4.06	4.09	3.75
Totals				3.95			4.33	4.24	4.05

Note. Significant Effects: SES, SES by grade. Item: "How often do you help make the decisions in your classroom?" Item scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 5-74

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG VARIOUS MEASURES OF INVOLVEMENT IN AUTHORITY SYSTEMS, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(JAPAN)

MEASURES OF PARTICIPATION IN AUTHORITY SYSTEMS	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
	Family Decision-Making					
Classroom Decision-Making	.40*	.36*	.32*	.22*	.31*	.47*
Political Efficacy	.09	.12	.23*	.09	.28*	.25*
Political Interest	.29*	.32*	.28*	.23*	.34*	.26*
Political Activity	.25*	.10	.13	.18	.25*	.19*
	Classroom Decision-Making					
Political Efficacy	-.07	-.01	.28*	.17	.18	.18
Political Interest	.28*	.18	.32*	.05	.42*	.05
Political Activity	.01	-.07	.12	.01	.25*	.26*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 5-75

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SENSE OF PARTICIPATION IN FAMILY AND CLASSROOM DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSPOOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE, AND SEX GROUPS
(JAPAN)

SENSE OF PERSONAL PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
In the Family	4	.16	.14	.17	.13	.05	.07	-.18	.06
	6	-.16	-.09	.01	-.11	-.03	-.18	-.23*	-.10
	8	.22*	-.02	.27*	.02	-.17	.01	-.26*	-.12
In the Classroom	4	.32*	.20*	.27*	.09	-.03	-.04	-.19*	-.15
	6	.05	-.02	.17	-.08	.05	-.27*	-.08	-.02
	8	.36*	.01	.41*	.07	-.03	-.04	.01	-.13

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

C. Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom

C1. Compliance and Noncompliance in the Classroom

Because the children were not restricted in the number of classmates whom they could nominate for each of the questions concerning behavior toward teachers and toward peers, it was possible for the total scores for compliant (i.e., positive) and noncompliant (i.e., negative) behavior to be different. Tables 5-76 and 5-77 show that the two total scores were slightly different among fourth graders, virtually equal in the sixth grade, and quite different in the eighth grade.

The apparent conclusions which might be drawn from these tables--that fourth graders and eighth graders are more conspicuous for their noncompliant than for their compliant behavior, that noncompliant behavior increases from grade to grade, and that compliant behavior increases between fourth and sixth grade and then levels off--may not be the correct conclusions. When different raters nominate different numbers of people (as they do), and when they nominate more people for one style of behavior (noncompliant) than they do for another (compliant), the resultant information reflects, in unknown mixture, the characteristics of both those who nominated, and those whom they nominated. In consequence, the findings to be discussed in this section should be regarded with more than the usual caution.

Comparisons of the total scores for compliant behavior for the sex, SES, and grade groups yielded one significant effect, an interaction of SES with grade (see Table 5-76). Upper status children were more frequently cited for their cooperativeness in the fourth and eighth grades, while lower status children were nominated oftener for this in the sixth grade. However, the analysis of variance of noncompliant total scores (see Table 5-77) produced two other effects. Boys were mentioned in larger numbers than girls; the difference is substantial across all grades. There is also a different SES by grade effect; at grades four and six, low status children received on the average higher scores for noncompliant behavior, but at the eighth grade, higher status children exceeded those of low status in amount of nominations for noncompliant behavior. The between-grade differences are quite small for both boys and girls in the low SES group, while in the high SES

group, the noncompliant scores increase rather sharply with school grade.

It is clear in these tables that a relatively higher score for compliant behavior is not associated with a relatively lower score for noncompliant behavior, and vice versa. On the contrary, in the sixth grade, lower status children have the highest scores in both areas, and in the eighth grade high status children have the highest scores.

When the total positive and negative scores are separated into their peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher components, some further differences appear, particularly in the score for noncompliant behavior. Within each grade level there was little difference between the number of nominations for compliance toward peers and toward the teacher. In the scores for noncompliant behavior, however, the differences were more pronounced: noncompliant behavior appeared to be less frequent toward the teacher than toward peers in the fourth grade, somewhat more frequent toward the teacher than toward peers in the sixth grade, and considerably more frequent toward the teacher than toward peers in the eighth grade. Over the three grades the scores for noncompliant behavior toward peers showed almost no change.

An examination of the subtables for peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher scores for compliance and noncompliance (see Tables 5-76 and 5-77) reveals that the SES by grade interaction effect on total scores for compliant behavior was significant also for the set scores. The SES by grade interaction on the total score for noncompliant behavior was confined to the peer-to-peer component. The significant sex difference in the total scores for noncompliant behavior is present in both sets, peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher; and, once more, in most of the twenty-four boy-girl comparisons, boys are mentioned much oftener for their aggressiveness.

The pattern in the sixth graders' scores of compliant behavior toward the teacher is of some interest, for there is a sex by grade interaction effect in which boys in each status group surpass girls in the numbers of nominations they receive; this sex difference is reversed in the other two grades. It is also in the sixth grade that lower but not upper SES boys and girls receive their highest scores for compliance toward peers. An explanation for this curious pattern is not immediately available. The hypothesis mentioned earlier, to the effect that sixth graders enjoy some special respect within their schools

due to their senior status, does not explain the sex difference, nor does it tell why pronounced compliance toward peers is more evident among lower status sixth grade children than among their higher status counterparts. Further analysis is required to bring this complicated question into focus.

One of the striking findings in Table 5-77 is the effect which grade level has upon the scores for noncompliant behavior toward the teacher. For all the sex by SES groups except lower status boys (where the score is high in the fourth grade and remains so in the other two) there is a regular and sizeable increase with age. This is especially true for high status girls. In the fourth grade they receive many more nominations for compliant than for noncompliant behavior toward the teacher in a ratio of six to one. But in the sixth grade this ratio has become approximately one to one, and it remains at that level in the eighth grade. Whether this general increase in noncompliant nominations is due to an absolute increase in recalcitrance toward the authority of the teacher, or merely to the raters' greater attention to it, the distribution of scores does fit more or less well with the hypothesis of disengagement which was already mentioned in analyzing questionnaire data.

Relationships between PNI Set Scores. Tables 5-78 and 5-79 confirm that there is a rather strong tendency for children to generalize their positive behavior to both teacher and peers, and similarly for negative behavior, since most of the coefficients under the columns headed "Peer-to-Teacher Positive" and "Peer-to-Teacher Negative" are in the range of .4 to .8. The fact that in six instances out of eight, in these two columns, the coefficients are lowest for sixth graders may be associated with the question which was raised in the preceding paragraph.

One conclusion which may be safely drawn from the PNI data is that these Japanese children, in their classrooms, do not collectively recognize themselves to be divided into mutually exclusive groups of "compliers" and "noncompliers." Though some of the coefficients in Table 5-80 are relatively high, few reach the level of statistical significance. The table does contain, however, some additional information concerning the "sixth grade question." Twenty-nine of the coefficients in this table are positive (though usually small in magnitude), signifying instances where children who are nominated for their positive behavior are slightly likely to be nominated for negative behavior also. Twenty-one of these positive coefficients appear in the sixth grade, and seventeen (out of a possible eighteen) of these involve lower status children.

TABLE 5-76

COMPARISON OF GRADES, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX ON SCORES FOR COMPLIANT BEHAVIOR
(JAPAN)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Total	4	9.49	9.83	6.00	7.91	12.36	9.77	11.07	11.09	7.89	SES by Grade
	6	11.95	12.41	15.22	13.82	9.31	10.86	10.09	10.86	13.04	
	8	12.05	10.47	10.87	10.67	14.25	12.60	13.42	12.36	11.74	
	Total				10.80			11.53	11.44	10.89	
Peer-to-Peer	4	9.22	7.37	6.37	6.87	11.14	11.98	11.56	9.25	9.18	SES by Grade
	6	12.97	14.50	16.26	15.38	10.46	10.64	10.55	12.48	13.45	
	8	12.12	9.56	12.76	11.16	13.53	12.64	13.08	11.54	12.70	
	Total				11.14			11.73	11.09	11.78	
Peer-to-Teacher	4	9.77	12.10	5.71	8.90	13.57	7.70	10.63	12.83	6.70	SES by Grade
	6	11.05	10.43	14.37	12.40	8.26	11.16	9.71	9.34	12.77	
	8	11.98	11.56	9.13	10.34	14.79	12.43	13.61	13.17	10.78	
	Total				10.55			11.32	11.78	10.08	

TABLE 5-77

COMPARISON OF GRADES, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX ON SCORES FOR NONCOMPLIANT BEHAVIOR (JAPAN)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTALS BY SEX TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Total	4	10.21	9.13	17.41	13.27	3.68	10.60	7.14	6.41	14.01	SEX,SES by Grade
	6	11.98	10.77	16.81	13.79	5.87	14.46	10.17	8.32	15.64	
	8	14.50	11.78	15.00	13.39	13.08	18.13	15.60	12.43	16.57	
	Total				13.48			10.97	9.05	15.40	
Peer-to-Peer	4	10.66	9.62	17.55	13.58	4.80	10.68	7.74	7.21	14.11	SEX,SES by Grade
	6	11.53	11.14	18.02	14.58	3.93	13.04	8.48	7.53	15.53	
	8	11.42	9.07	10.96	10.01	10.89	14.75	12.82	9.98	12.86	
	Total				12.73			9.68	8.24	14.17	
Peer-to-Teacher	4	9.63	8.73	17.20	12.96	2.27	10.34	6.30	5.50	13.77	SEX, Grade
	6	12.29	10.21	15.46	12.84	7.65	15.84	11.74	8.93	15.65	
	8	17.66	14.58	18.98	16.78	15.38	21.72	18.55	14.98	20.35	
					14.19			12.20	9.80	16.59	

TABLE 5-78

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMONG RATINGS OF POSITIVE BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

PNI SCORES		TOTAL POSITIVE				PEER TO TEACHER POSITIVE			
SEX		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES	GRADE	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer-to-peer positive	4	.93	.94	.90	.95	.83	.79	.72	.78
	6	.89	.75	.71	.89	.57	.41	.28	.69
	8	.95	.77	.84	.78	.84	.46	.51	.44
Peer-to-teacher positive	4	.92	.95	.95	.93				
	6	.88	.91	.87	.94				
	8	.97	.92	.89	.91				

TABLE 5-79

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMONG RATINGS OF NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

PNI SCORES		TOTAL POSITIVE				PEER TO TEACHER POSITIVE			
SEX		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SEX	GRADE	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer-to-peer negative	4	.90	.90	.90	.96	.68	.58	.66	.84
	6	.89	.68	.86	.90	.50	.33	.43	.64
	8	.95	.95	.89	.85	.85	.84	.72	.51
Peer-to-teacher negative	4	.93	.84	.92	.96				
	6	.83	.91	.83	.91				
	8	.94	.97	.96	.89				

TABLE 5-80

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN RATINGS OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (JAPAN)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	PEER-TO-PEER NEGATIVE				PEER-TO-TEACHER NEGATIVE				TOTAL NEGATIVE			
SEX:		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES:		LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer to peer positive	4	-.21	-.11	.03	-.41	-.20	-.24	-.19	-.39	-.22	-.17	-.09	-.42
	6	.06	-.09	.05	-.31	.09	.33	.04	-.31	.07	.21	.05	-.34
	8	-.33	-.09	-.22	-.17	-.15	-.20	-.05	.04	-.23	-.16	-.12	-.07
Peer to teacher positive	4	-.29	-.18	-.02	-.36	-.40	-.23	-.34	-.42	-.39	-.21	-.20	.41
	6	.18	.04	.24	-.06	.05	-.13	-.02	-.02	.13	-.14	.14	-.15
	8	-.40	-.46	-.33	.21	-.32	-.50	-.33	.14	-.37	-.51	-.36	.20
Total positive	4	-.27	-.16	-.00	-.41	-.34	-.25	-.30	-.43	-.34	-.21	-.17	-.44
	6	.12	-.08	.20	-.17	.07	.05	.01	-.27	.11	-.01	.13	-.25
	8	-.38	-.37	-.32	.06	-.25	-.46	-.23	.11	-.31	-.44	-.28	.10

C2. Summary of Relationships between Questionnaire Variables and Peer Ratings of Compliant and Noncompliant Classroom Behavior

Statements concerning the associations between the questionnaire variables and the peer nomination indices of classroom behavior should be read with caution because the correlations upon which they are based were computed only for the sex and grade subgroups. As was noted in section C1, there were SES by grade effects in the mean PNI scores for positive and negative behavior. Had similar correlations been computed by SES by grade, some of the statements in this section would probably require modification.

This summary is also limited because so many variables and relationships are under review. The four PNI scores pertaining to positive and negative behavior toward peers and the teacher have been correlated with 106 questionnaire variables for six sampling groups. Altogether 2,040 correlation coefficients were examined, of which only about 15 percent were statistically significant. The task of interpreting these approximately 300 relationships is particularly difficult because there are so many of them and little is yet known about the interrelationships among the 106 questionnaire variables.

It is possible to make some quite general statements and also some selective ones. It can be asked whether the same questionnaire variables which are associated with the PNI variables for positive behavior toward peers also tend to be associated with the PNI variables for positive behavior toward teachers. The grossest answer which can be given is that correspondences of this type are the exception rather than the rule. They appear more frequently in the fourth grade than in the eighth, and not at all in the sixth. In the fourth grade these correspondences occur about as frequently among boys as among girls, but in the eighth grade there are very many more for girls (12) than for boys (1).

When the same question is asked about correspondences of the questionnaire variables which are associated with the PNI variables for negative behavior toward peers and teacher, the answers are substantially the same. There are relatively few of these, they are mainly concentrated in the fourth and eighth grades, and there are more for girls than for boys in the eighth grade, while there is little difference between the sexes in the fourth grade.

In some degree, then, the questionnaire variables which help to account for classroom behavior toward peers

also help to account for behavior toward the teacher; this is true more often for fourth than eighth graders, and in the eighth grade more for girls than for boys.

When it is asked whether there are correspondences among the questionnaire variables which are related to girls' perceived classroom behavior, and that of boys, the answer fits into the pattern of the findings discussed above. There are twenty-nine correspondences of this sort and all except three occur in the fourth grade. It seems probable that different explanations for perceived classroom behavior of the sexes will eventually be needed, though a single theory might serve to explain a portion of the variance among fourth graders.

The search for correspondences can be pursued in other directions, also. It might be expected that "mirror images" would be found when the relationships between questionnaire variables and positive behavior toward peers are compared to the relationships between questionnaire variables and negative behavior toward peers (and similarly with respect to positive and negative behavior toward teachers). To qualify as a "mirror image" a relationship on the positive side should appear with changed sign on the negative side. There are fewer of these correspondences than there are of either of the two types already discussed. As before, they are most numerous in the fourth grade and least in the sixth grade. In the eighth grade all of the correspondences concern relationships for girls. Furthermore, the "mirror image" correspondences are heavily concentrated in the comparisons between positive and negative behavior toward the teacher. There are very few in the comparisons between positive and negative behavior toward peers.

Finally, correspondences can be sought between grades to ascertain whether the same questionnaire variables which are related to PNI variables in one grade also appear in others. Curiously, there are almost none of these between adjacent grades, but there are twenty between fourth and eighth grade, seventeen of them pertaining to relationships for girls.

This discussion of four kinds of correspondence gives little encouragement to the researcher who would like to account for the perceived classroom behavior of children in this Japanese sample with a single parsimonious explanation.

Among the sets of questionnaire variables, there are two which were significantly correlated with the PNI variables with a proportionately greater frequency than the

rest: these variables concerned guilt over one's own violations of authority figures' rules and belief in the justice of rules of authority figures. The first of these may be taken as an indicator of the degree of internalization of a norm requiring compliance. The second represents a judgment concerning the degree of congruence between what an authority figure's rules require, and a general standard of fairness. Behavior which is correlated to an individual's sense of guilt may be construed as behavior which is self-directed, and behavior which is correlated to an individual's belief about the fairness of rules may be regarded as being contingent, in part, upon the character of the external social structure.

The variables which index degree of guilt are frequently associated with the PNI variables for fourth graders of both sexes and for girls in the eighth grade. There are very few of these for sixth graders and none at all for eighth grade boys. Guilt largely ceases to be a factor in respect to classroom behavior after the fourth grade for boys, but it reappears strongly in eighth grade girls. Beliefs about the justice of rules are likewise generally important in the fourth grade, but after that their relevance is dependent upon sex and upon the nature of the classroom behavior. In the sixth grade the significant relationships involving this variable are largely confined to perceived negative behavior toward peers, for both boys and girls. In eighth grade all of the associations involving this variable fall into two categories. Either they relate beliefs in the justice of rules to the positive behavior of <u>girls</u> only toward peers and teacher, or they relate beliefs in the injustice, i.e., negative relationships, of rules to the negative behavior of <u>boys</u> only toward peers and teacher. Furthermore, the findings concerning boys show that it is the perceived unfairness of the <u>teacher's</u> rules, as well as those of some other authority figures, which is associated with uncooperative conduct toward peers and teacher.

In view of these findings pertaining to the guilt and the rule fairness variables it can be suggested that the classroom behavior of both boys and girls is influenced in the fourth grade both by internalized norms and by judgments about the fairness of the rules of authority figures. Thereafter, internalized norms which activate guilt feelings when they are violated are effective only for the perceived classroom behavior of girls. Both boys and girls continue through all of the grades to make some of their perceived classroom behavior contingent upon the way in which they interpret the externally imposed requirements for their behavior. But by the eighth grade,

these judgments of fairness are selectively, not generally, important. When girls judge rules to be fair, they are inclined to behave cooperatively toward peers and teachers (at least as their behavior is perceived by their peers). When boys believe rules to be unjust, they are disposed to be uncooperative toward peers and teacher.

D. Summary and Conclusions

The following are some of the most general features of the process of socialization of school children which may be discerned from the findings of this Japanese study.

1. The process of gradual disengagement of children from authority figures is most evident in the expressive area of liking for these figures (liking for all declines with grade), and in their gradually diminishing sense of guilt as they grow older. Disengagement can also be inferred, though more selectively, from the development with age of children's responses to the items pertaining to helpfulness (of "other authorities"), power to punish (of the teacher), inevitability of punishment and justice of rules (of parents in both instances), and to some sectors of the rule reinforcement system.

2. There is a quite consistent, though not complete, set of differences between the SES groups which leads to the generalization that higher status children are more integrated within their authority relationships than are lower status children. With respect to parents, for example, higher status children rate them as being more helpful and more likable, as having more punitive power and being more likely to use it, as having fairer rules, as evoking more guilt when their rules are violated, and as being very much more likely to reinforce the disciplinary actions of authorities who are external to the family.

3. There is also basis for the conjecture that a kind of re-engagement is occurring which focuses particularly around changing relationships with friends and teachers (cf. the increase in peer-to-teacher noncompliant behavior). This pattern is somewhat more complicated, however, for part of it apparently develops in a different way within each SES group.

One indicator of this change is the greater power to punish attributed to friends by children in the higher grades. This coincides with an increasing disposition for children to turn to their friends when they feel that an injustice has been done, either by a teacher or by other authorities. It is also accompanied by a tendency to be more permissive toward "peers' disobedience," that is, to be less inclined to "Ask why," and "Tell my parents," and among upper status children, to be steadily more likely to "Do nothing." This may be a period when friends become more relevant to a child's search for appropriate modes of

accommodation to authority, a period of increasing dependence upon peers for support in moments of adversity. This interpretation yields a picture in which dependence and power increase simultaneously (and not surprisingly since they are often complementary), but in which children become more reluctant to exercise that power, at least in the form of trying to correct each other's disobedience. Still, these groups of friends are not alienated from the "official" authority systems. Friends' support of teacher's authority reaches a maximum in the sixth grade but is moderately high in the eighth grade, and their support of all other authorities, while not high in absolute terms, does increase with age among upper status children. This last observation is part of an interaction effect between SES and grade, and is one of several interaction effects which suggest another facet of a re-engagement between children and their "authorities."

What is striking about some of these interaction effects is that they identify a point at which high SES children surpass low SES children in the expression of at least moderately aggressive behavior. This pattern is evident in children's changing dispositions to say that they would react to injustice with verbal responses (to all authorities) and by wishing to get even (toward non-family and non-school authorities). It is also apparent in the development with age of peer-to-peer noncompliant behavior.

Re-engagement, or readjustment, here seems to imply that as they grow older, lower status children become more inhibited in the open expression of certain mildly antagonistic actions, while during the same period upper status children become less inhibited. To the extent that this is true, children in each group can be said to "re-engage" authority figures and other children on revised interactional terms.

4. Just as higher status children seem to be more firmly integrated in their authority systems than are lower status children, so also are girls more than boys, though not always in the same ways. Girls exceed boys in the amount of help they say they receive from other authorities and from friends, in their attachment to their parents, in the reinforcement which they say their parents extend to non-familial authorities, in their judgments about the fairness of rules of all authorities, and in their readiness to feel guilty when they break rules of parents and the teacher. They are also rather consistently less aggressive than boys. When their peers are disobedient, girls more frequently choose the response of telling their own parents; boys, on the other hand,

more often say that they tell the offender's parents, or try to punish the offenders by themselves. Where there are sex differentials in reactions to injustice (in verbal responses, asking parents to intervene, and wishing to get even), boys uniformly exceed girls. Boys are also more prone than girls to "Ask the teacher why" when she (or he) has acted in a way which seems unfair, and they regularly receive more nominations for their noncompliance toward peers and toward the teacher than do girls.

5. The fact that there are only two interaction effects involving sex (both of them sex with grade interactions), in contrast to the large number which connect SES with grade, suggests that the sex difference in socialization through the period under consideration is mainly one of degree rather than kind. Those between the SES groups may be both differences of kind and degree.

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AUTHORITY, RULES, AND AGGRESSION

A CROSS-NATIONAL STUDY OF THE SOCIALIZATION OF CHILDREN INTO COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS

6 and 7. UNITED STATES DATA

ROBERT D. HESS
Stanford University

JUNE L. TAPP
American Bar Foundation and University of Chicago

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A. Introduction

The complex issues raised by a study of children's attitudes toward compliance, authority, and rules in U.S. society are even more significant now than they were when this project was begun. Throughout the nation, virtually every day there are confrontations between protesting groups of various kinds and institutions to which they are related. The lines of debate most frequently follow three major cleavages in American society--alienation of youth from their parents' generation; a division between the poor and the affluent; and a deep mistrust between ethnic or racial groups (particularly Negro) and the dominant white society. Confrontations involving racial issues are particularly severe at the present time in the U.S. and seem likely to continue. The conflict between ethnic groups and the dominant majority reflects problems in effectiveness of assimilation into a core society of groups from diverse cultures and countries. This failure of the melting pot concept creates special issues of socialization in the society, arising from these subgroup differences, whether racial or cultural, and the tendency of the school as a socializing agent of the society to expect compliance with the values and norms of the majority. Many of these confrontations thus involve the local public schools, school boards, colleges and universities--the established educational process. In many instances, students, groups of parents, and citizens from the community are participants.

The high incidence of disciplinary problems in classrooms in schools located in ghetto areas of the city, in the use of drugs by high school and college youth, and in the styles of life and dress that are openly unconventional may reflect the irritation that exists amongs different elements of the social system and cultural traditions in the U.S. It also appears in the "underground press" (newspapers which challenge the political and moral concepts and norms of the society) at both high school and college levels. These problems of compliance and authority are thus revealed both in the interaction among large segments of the society and in more individualized contacts between teacher and pupil in a school setting.

In the U.S., perhaps more than in other western societies, there is an emphasis on order, achievement, and compliance to the basic norms of institutions and groups. There are historical reasons why it should have particular salience in this country. The early history of this nation was characterized by exploration, expansion,

and conquest of new areas. In these circumstances, the exercise of orderly social discipline was in part an individual or family matter. Developing and taming the frontier was accompanied by a gradual process of establishing forms of community sanction and control which were acceptable. The threat of anti-social acts directed against individuals or the group was ever-present, and in the absence of customs and traditions which provided social control and of law enforcement agents such as soldiers or police, issues of compliance and violence necessarily assumed great importance. The influential role of religious organizations and thought, both Catholic and Protestant, may also have been to heighten sensitivity to authority and law. In the classrooms of elementary schools, the emphasis of the teachers in the early grades in areas of citizenship training has been to establish respect for rules and order and to foster compliance with the rules of the school and teacher (Hess and Torney, 1967). Issues of compliance and regard for law are exceedingly salient in the socializing process in the U.S.

If the questions of compliance have been of particular significance, so has been the matter of techniques for maintaining adherence to norms and rules of the system. In the public schools perhaps the most sensitive aspect of discipline has been with regard to the use of physical punishment (striking, inflicting physical pain or discomfort, etc.) to maintain order. The right of teachers to control their classrooms by both psychological and physical techniques was a tradition of the early schoolroom, invoked frequently within the past fifty years. This right to use physical force, however, was often challenged and is now expressly prohibited in many school systems. Middle class parents are especially opposed to use of force by the teacher, but there is great variation from one social class and ethnic group to another in the degree of disapproval. Some teachers are encouraged by parents of working class background to use force, to spank or strike the child if necessary to keep classroom order or to persuade him to do his work properly and on time.

As authority figures in this country, the teacher and the policeman have certain features that are relevant to the development of children's attitudes. While respect for the teacher is a recurring theme at school and is reinforced by most parents, the teacher herself (in elementary schools most teachers are females) does not enjoy a position of great respect and prestige in the community. While she is often expected to be a model of conduct and character both at school and in her private life in the community, the rewards of teacher, such as salary and

community respect, frequently do not seem to her to match the demands made upon her. In middle class communities she may be subjected to personal criticism by individual parents, both privately and publicly, and by parent groups. Her competence in her field of instruction is threatened by a rapid expansion of knowledge which makes her role of expert questionable and by the growth of teaching machines and computer programs and other sources which can often provide information of an advanced and precise nature. Revisions in science teaching and mathematics and the emerging revisions in social science curricula also often make obsolete the training she has received. Situated as an agent of the society to train the young, she is often not adequately trained for her task and not sufficiently rewarded for the work she is asked to carry. Because of the decentralized nature of the school systems of this country, the teacher is hired by and is responsible to the local school board. This makes the reactions of the local community of particular importance to her. These considerations limit and qualify the authority she can assume, both in terms of rule-enforcement and as an expert in her field.

The authority figure which has come under the most vigorous attack in recent years in this country is the policeman. The physical image of the policeman has salient elements of military and punitive force--the revolver prominently displayed, the night stick also in view, and the military uniform help create this impression.

In addition to the image of threat and punitive authority is one of the police as protective--as a resource in times of danger. This feature of the image has not received in recent years an emphasis comparable to that of the more punitive aspect of the policeman's role. The reputation of police as protectors of the citizenry has been particularly challenged by allegations, both valid and exaggerated, on national television and press of police brutality and of unwarranted physical attack by police on protesters and newsmen. Riots that have taken place in the large cities and on university campuses have been accompanied by accusations of misuse of police authority and force. Since much of this national coverage occurred after our data were gathered its impact on the attitudes of children may not be reflected in this report.

Research on political learning and political attitudes in children in the U.S. in recent years has provided some information about the young child's orientation to political authority figures and to law (Greenstein, 1965;

Hess and Torney, 1967; Dawson and Prewitt, 1969). Young children tend to idealize political authority, to show respect for law enforcement figures, and to express a high regard for the law. They believe that law must be obeyed and that those who break the law are likely to be apprehended. The orientations upon which later political behavior is built are those of high regard and respect. This attitude appears to be even more evident in children from working class backgrounds; for example, middle class children are more likely to express reservations about the justiceof laws and the infallibility of political authority.

Much of the previous work on children's attitudes toward authority has not systematically included children from minority groups in this country and our knowledge of the political socialization of minority group children is very limited. These are some data to suggest that Negro children, for example, become disaffected with certain aspects of the political system during elementary school (Greenberg, 1969), but there is also some evidence that they share the major developmental trend of early attachment and regard for the nation, for authority figures and law, with some subsequent decline in respect. It was this lack of information about the development of attitudes toward authority in Negro children in the U.S. that led to the inclusion of both Negro and white research groups in this study. The relationship between Negroes and whites and between Negroes and institutionalized authority structures, both white and black, in the country is undergoing change. Criticism of existing authority is mounting; the public school and the police are two of the major targets of attack and criticism.

In this phase of social change and transition, the data of this study, although gathered relatively recently, should not be taken as representing contemporary attitudes of Negro children. It seems likely that as attitudes of Negro adults toward the authority and institutions of white-dominated society have become less accepting, those of children in the community have also been less compliant, less favorable. Unfortunately, we have no reliable baseline data from which to compare trends, but informal observations suggest that the attitudes of Negro children described in this report are an overestimation in the positive direction of present orientations and feelings. It seems likely also that if the nation is responsive to the needs of minority groups, some of the present spirit of confrontation will be replaced by a new appreciation of the role of authority in a complex society.

B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System

B1. Images of Authority Figures

a. Affective Attachment

Perhaps the most basic feature of the child's attitudes toward authority figures is the degree of his feeling of respect, personal liking, and other expressions of affective attachment. Positive feelings provide a psychological justification for his willingness to cooperate with expectations of authority figures and may underlie feelings of discomfort when he disobeys or fails them. This affective tie may be part of the more general experience of loyalty and identification and may give the child a feeling of belonging to larger groups which deserve his obedience and support.

The data about affective attachment to authority figures were obtained from two questionnaire items dealing with the child's view of the helpfulness of authority figures and his personal liking for them.

Comparison of attachment items. These two items were correlated at a modest level, with correlation coefficients ranging from insignificant levels to .6 (see Table 6-1). Also, as noted below, both are related in some degree to classroom behavior. However, there was a clear differentiation between them in the responses given by the U.S. Caucasian children. This difference is shown in Figures 6-1 and 6-2 which summarize the grade means for both items across authority figures. Two patterns are immediately apparent. The first is that there is a generally higher average rating, across non-family figures, for the willingness of these figures to help if they are needed than for personal liking for the figures. The second pattern of these data is that with increase in grade personal liking for non-family authorities apparently declines more than that for either father or mother. This difference in decline is paralleled on the items dealing with wish to help, except for the teacher, who begins at a lower point than the President, policeman, and parents but whose level of rating does not drop across grades.

Another aspect of these data is that the difference in attitudes toward parents and non-family figures is much greater on the items dealing with personal liking than on

those dealing with the figures' willingness to help. While the pattern of responses on the scale of willingness to help does not show a distinction between family and non-family figures, on the scale of"liking" it does reveal a split between political authority (the President and the policeman) and other figures. The pattern of change with age for family, teacher, religious leader, and friends is highly similar on both scales, although there are differences among them in the levels of ratings. All have ratings at grade eight that are as high or even higher than at grade four. This is incongruent with a general tendency for ratings on most items for each figure to decline as the age of respondents increases (see subsequent sections). Of particular note is the similarity between parents and religious leaders, suggesting that children at all grades are socialized to regard religious leaders as an important resource, perhaps an alternative to their own parents.

The principal independent variables of the study--grade, social status (SES), and sex--are associated with affective attachment in several ways.

Reports of personal liking decreased with increase in grade for all figures including parents. This may be related to the tendency of older children to conceal or resist expressions of personal affection to parents and other figures from a feeling that such statements are somewhat infantile. If this is so, it is a criticism of the item. However, the level of regard for parents is still very high, even though the drop of the mean response is statistically significant. For the teacher the mean response at grade eight is positive (in the category "Yes, some") but not enthusiastic. For the President and the policeman, the level of attitude is in a lower category ("Yes, a little") and, in view of the format of the rating scale, should be regarded as bordering on the negative.

The report of personal liking for parents does not differ by sex or by social status. However, both SES and sex differences were apparent for non-family figures. Girls are more positive (or more willing to report that they are) than boys. The means on liking for the policeman from the lowest to highest grades were 4.43, 3.76, and 3.02 for girls and 4.13, 3.32, and 2.62 for boys. Similar sex differences appeared with respect to liking for the President at grades 4 and 6, but by grade 8 the means were not significantly different; girls' means were 4.48, 3.52, and 2.68 at grades 4, 6, and 8, respectively, and means for boys at comparable grade levels were 4.13, 2.85, and 2.84. Children from the low SES groups are more favorable

toward non-family figures than those from the high SES group. This tendency was statistically significant only for the teacher.

The effects of age, sex, and SES on items inquiring about the presumed willingness of the various figures to help was also apparent. The pattern of responses toward the teacher shows that attitudes move in opposite directions for children between grades four and eight, depending on the child's SES. As they get older, high status children apparently see teachers as less helpful (high SES children's means: grade 4=4.73, grade 6=4.63, and grade 8=4.33); while children from low status homes see teachers as more helpful (low SES children's means: grade 4=4.38, grade 6=4.66, and grade 8=4.82). Both of these trends are more marked for girls than for boys. The attitudes toward the President, as wanting to help, on the other hand, both declined with increase in grade and showed sex differences. Girls, whose means were 4.90, 4.72, and 4.10 respectively for grades 4, 6, and 8, were generally more inclined to rate the President as wanting to help than were boys, whose means were 4.64, 4.06, and 3.97, respectively. SES differences were minimal.

Attitudes toward the policeman on the "wants to help" item showed variations by all three parameters--grade, sex, and SES. His rating on this item grew less favorable over the three grades; girls tended to be more favorable than boys, particularly at the higher grades. The means for girls at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 5.29, 5.17, and 4.58, respectively, and 5.18, 4.79, and 4.23 for boys at comparable age levels. Social status differences, although small at grade four (grade 4, low SES mean, 5.21; high SES mean, 5.26), became marked at grades six and eight, with the greatest decline shown by high status groups (low SES means for grades 6 and 8 were 5.12 and 4.70, respectively; high SES means for grades 6 and 8 were 4.81 and 4.11, respectively). The policeman's reputation is best with the younger working class children. This is in general agreement with other reports (Hess and Torney, 1967).

The children's view of the religious figure showed little variation by grade, sex, or social status. There is some tendency for his popularity on this item to hold steady in high status groups and increase in low status groups, but this is a trend shown primarily by low status girls and may not be significant.

The children's view of friends as wanting to be helpful shows little variation by grade, sex, or social status, although there is a slight increase with age. This occurs between grades four and six and may illustrate the increas-

ing impact of peers and peer interaction during pre- and early adolescence in the United States.

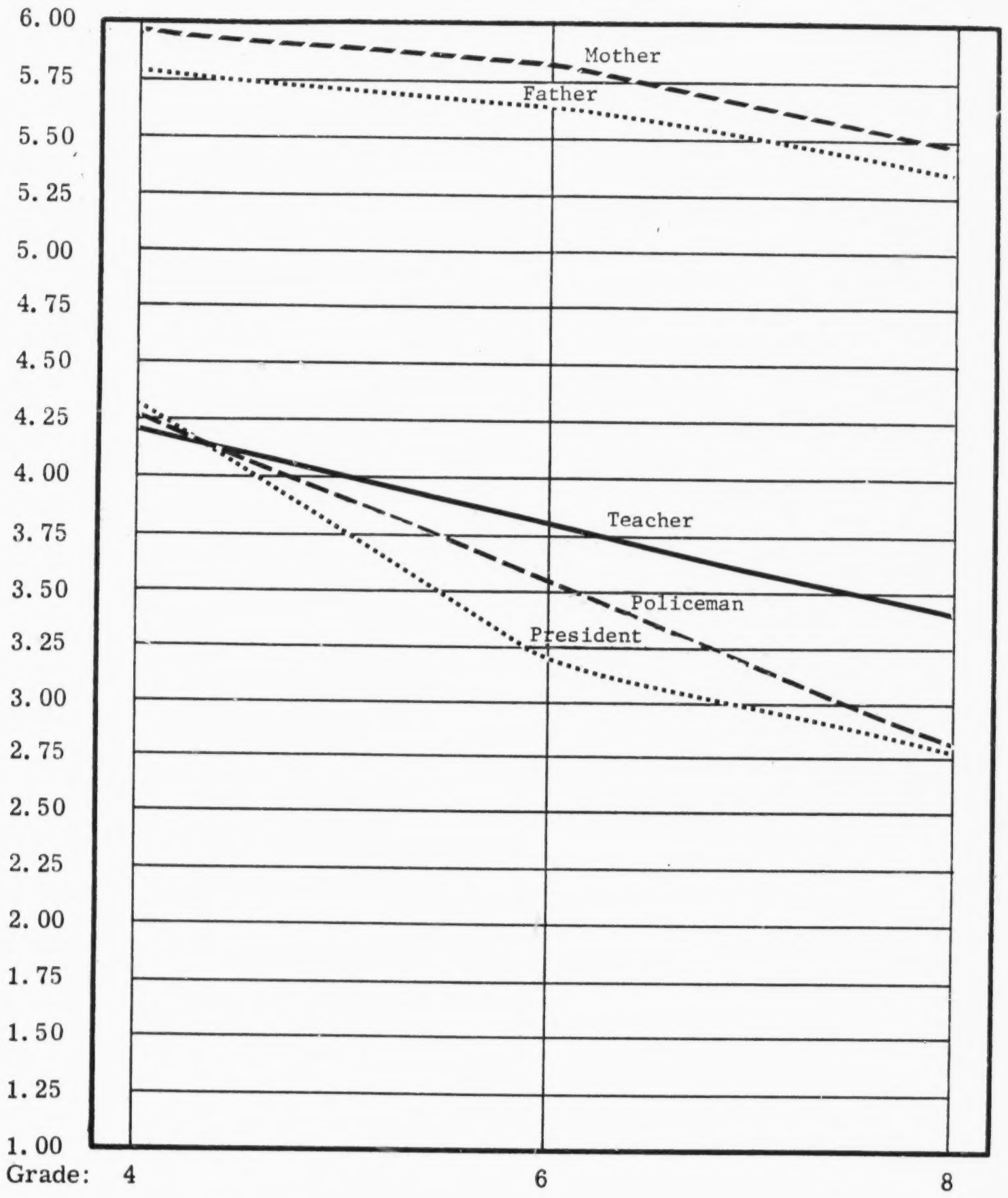
Relationship between attachment to figures and classroom behavior. The reports that children give of their attachment to authority figures are significantly related to their reputation in the classroom as reflected on our peer nominations technique. In general, the pattern of relationship follows an expected line of psychological linkage. Children who say that they like the teacher are also likely to be seen as cooperative in the classroom, to both peers and teachers (Table 6-3). Although not all of the correlation coefficients are significant, all correlations for 6th and 8th graders on the "like the teacher" item are sufficiently high to accept as supporting evidence. It is of interest that a number of correlations between liking for authority figures other than teacher are also at significant levels, suggesting that the relationship between attachment to authority and consequent acceptance of regulations of and control by an authority figure are not entirely specific to the situation and figures involved. The peer nomination technique is, to be sure, a judgment by peers and as such can be affected by reputation and other possible halo effects. However, it is also a judgment based on a number of incidents and events and in this sense is generalized across many situations.

The correlations between the view of authority as helpful and classroom behavior are generally low, although there are a number of significant correlations for father, teacher, and President (see Table 6-4). From this pattern, taking into account the reliability, we conclude that the association is low between the view of authority as helpful and classroom conduct.

Summary. The fourth grade children of our group were very positive in their expressions of personal regard and confidence toward all the authority figures. With age these attitudes became much less positive for political figures (President and policeman) and somewhat lower for the teacher. The difference between family and non-family figures appears on the personal liking response; this distinction is not made for the item dealing with belief in the figures' willingness to help. Social status differences appear in expected directions; children from working class families show greater regard for non-family authority figures than do children from higher status backgrounds. There is no difference among them in regard for parents. Girls show more positive regard for political figures than do boys and see them as more helpful; this does not apply to the teacher or

the religious leader, where there is no sex difference. Friends are seen as relatively low on the "would want to help" item but receive a more positive response by older children. At grade eight the data indicate a ranking of attachment to figures in this order: parents, religious leader, teacher, policeman, and President. These items show a number of significant correlations with classroom behavior, suggesting that affiliation and attachment to authority figures is an important element in the socializing process and that attachment itself tends to encourage acceptance of the norms of the system and the requests of individual figures themselves in face-to-face situations.

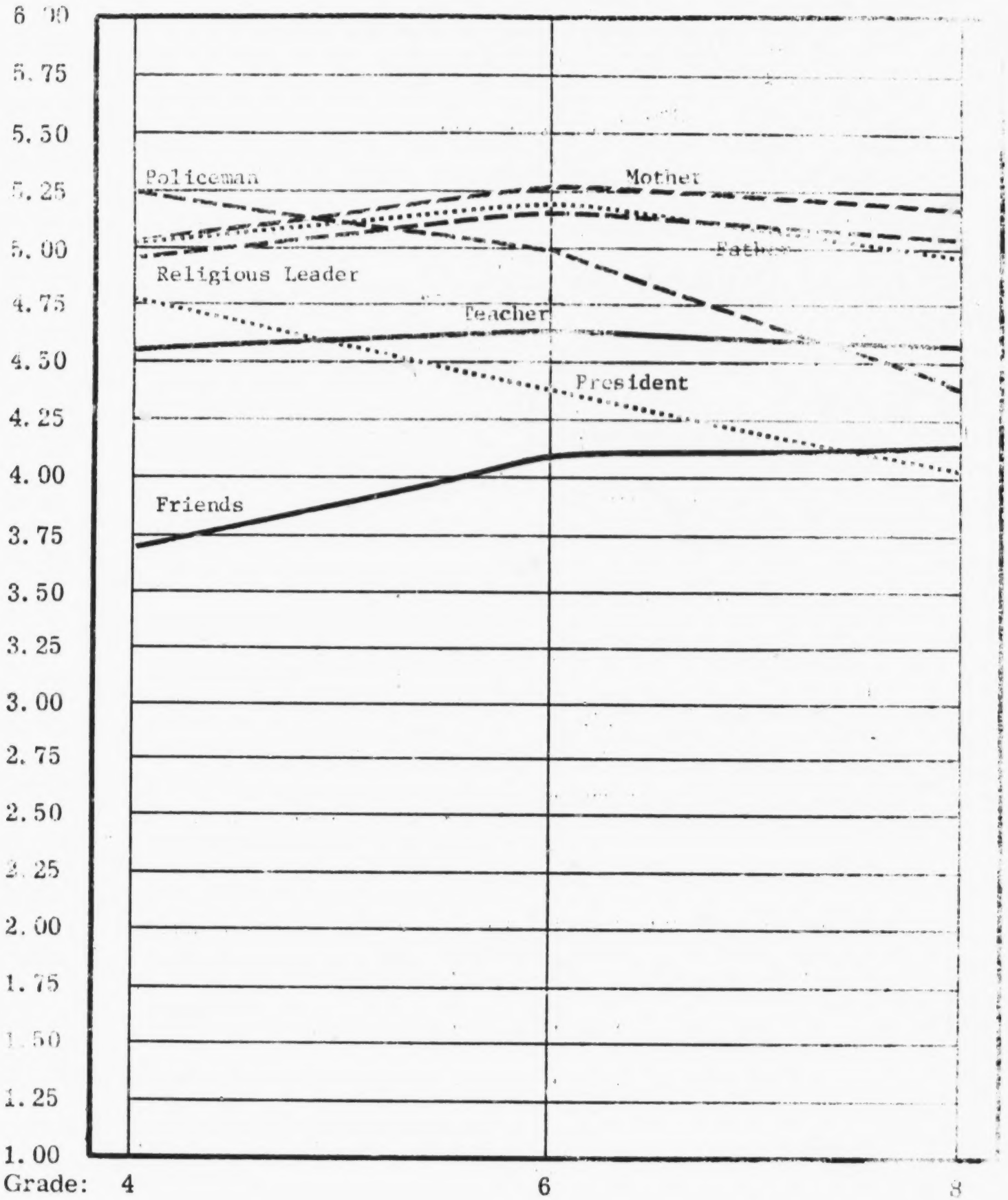
FIGURE 6-1
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT
TO AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)



Item: Do you like (figure)?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

FIGURE 6-2
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)



Item: Does (figure) want to help you when you need it?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 6-1

CORRELATION BETWEEN ITEMS INDICATING LIKING FOR AUTHORITY FIGURES AND ITEMS INDICATING A PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

FIGURES	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	.42*	.28*	.60*	.49*	.55*	.36*
Mother	.19	.08	.24*	.30*	.24*	.57*
Teacher	.09	.27*	.42*	.29*	.39*	.35*
Policeman	.39*	.24*	.31*	.31*	.43*	.48*
President	.39*	.32*	.49*	.30*	.39*	.39*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 6-2

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO TEACHER, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	4.17	4.92	4.00	4.41	4.51	3.37	3.94	4.70	3.70
Six	3.83	4.50	3.43	3.97	4.16	3.09	3.66	4.34	3.28
Eight	3.39	4.11	3.41	3.73	3.04	3.16	3.10	3.51	3.28
Totals	3.77			4.03			3.51	4.14	3.42

Note. Significant effects: Grade, SES, sex. Item: "Do you like your teachers?" Item scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

TABLE 6-3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTACHMENT TO AUTHORITY FIGURES (LIKING) AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER-NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEAHCER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIPLS	BOYS
Father	4	.23*	.06	.17	.07	-.38*	-.11	-.38*	-.12
	6	.07	.07	.06	.13	-.21*	.02	-.14	-.04
	8	.06	.11	.00	.14	-.07	-.12	.03	-.16
Mother	4	.07	-.04	.08	-.02	.05	-.05	-.05	-.07
	6	.11	.04	.04	.12	-.10	.02	-.20	-.06
	8	.14	.18	.15	.15	-.02	-.10	-.11	-.14
Teacher	4	.09	.09	.15	.15	-.07	-.07	-.12	-.07
	6	.23*	.15	.32	.25	-.14	-.16	-.34*	-.25*
	8	.14	.25*	.20*	.24*	-.10	-.16	-.22*	-.23*
Policeman	4	-.04	-.04	-.04	-.06	.03	.06	.01	.01
	6	-.06	.10	.13	.13	-.03	.00	-.04	-.09
	8	.07	.18	.14	.27*	-.26*	-.23*	-.27*	-.26*
President	4	.01	-.08	-.02	-.05	-.12	-.02	-.09	.00
	6	.02	.11	.12	.10	-.14	-.16	-.15	-.20*
	8	-.10	.04	.07	.21*	-.19*	-.02	-.21*	-.03

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 6-4

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.09	.09	.10	.01	-.01	-.07	-.04	.05
	6	.11	.20*	.09	.14	-.24*	-.02	-.20*	-.04
	8	.11	-.01	.00	.08	.03	.02	.04	.00
Mother	4	.09	.03	.09	.07	.01	.02	-.12	.04
	6	.05	.07	.09	.07	.04	.05	-.12	.02
	8	.15	.16	.08	.15	-.06	-.08	-.10	-.11
Teacher	4	-.02	.12	.09	.11	.12	-.14	.09	-.16
	6	.18	.31*	.22*	.24*	-.13	-.23*	-.26*	-.19*
	8	.09	.04	.09	-.02	.01	-.05	-.03	-.06
Policeman	4	.03	.01	.05	-.02	-.06	.10	-.03	.08
	6	.08	-.03	.02	.08	-.06	.06	-.06	.03
	8	.04	.07	.05	.08	-.09	-.03	-.14	-.05
President	4	-.14	-.10	-.14	-.20*	.13	.09	.17	.13
	6	.06	.03	.09	.01	-.07	-.04	-.14	-.10
	8	.10	.07	.12	.20*	-.24*	-.12	-.20*	-.10
Religious Leader	4	-.05	.16	-.04	.09	.00	-.12	.10	-.10
	6	.03	.15	.00	.08	-.08	-.19	-.04	-.16
	8	.00	.05	-.04	.16	-.02	-.01	-.04	-.01

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Perception of the Power of Authority Figures to Punish Noncompliance

The right to demand compliance with respect to certain matters is a central component of an authority system. These rights are defined by law, custom and, to a degree, by the idiosyncratic behavior of the participants. It is relevant to our study to inquire about the child's perception of the coercive power that resides in the representatives of compliance systems. It is unlikely that a child in our research group is aware of the legal constraints on the punitive power of the figures involved or of the punitive privileges which they may legitimately exercise. His perceptions, then, have a quality of opinion and belief which comes from a combination of the direct teaching and representations that adults and other children have made about the power of the figures and from his own internal psychological states which may, for various reasons, magnify or distort the information he receives.

The relative power of authority figures to punish noncompliance is shown in Figure 6-3. From these data it is clear that parents rank high on this item and maintain an even level over the grade range of our subjects. The rank of judge, who is only slightly below parents, indicates an awareness of the formal role of the legal system. In punitive power, the teacher ranks relatively far down the list, with only the religious leader below her at grade four. It is of interest to note that the children of the research group distinguish among different qualities in rating these figures. For example, the religious leader, who was seen as wanting to be helpful, is not seen as possessing punitive power. This will provide a useful instance for examining the relationship between the attachment dimension, punitive power, and guilt over disobedience; this will be discussed in more detail in a subsequent section.

Within systems, children differentiate among the figures as indicated by the high and relatively stable rating of the judge, who is a political figure, as compared with the rating of the policeman and President for whom the changes in rank order and absolute level of regard are most marked. The significance of the change in attitude about these two figures lies perhaps not in the drop of their relative ratings at grade eight but in the high rating these figures receive by fourth graders. With increasing age, children are able to more effectively discriminate among figures and, for each figure, among attributes. The initial tendency, however, is to

assign punitive power to persons in authority. This may be an expression of the early stages of moral development suggested by Piaget (1948) in which authority figures are seen as infallible and their regulations and rules inherently just and fair. That this does not generalize to all figures in prominent roles is evident from the relatively low ratings given religious leaders.

There are few statistically significant differences by grade level, social status, or sex on the perception of the power of authority figures to punish noncompliance. No differences appear for parents, judge, and teacher. For other figures, especially the policeman and President, there is a decline in level of response with increase in grade; this is apparently a significant trend. Social status groups give different mean responses only to the policeman (low SES children's means at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 4.60, 4.45, and 4.06, respectively; high SES children's means were 4.42, 3.57, and 3.60 for grades 4, 6 and 8) and President (the means for low SES children were: grade 4, 4.48; grade 6, 3.87; and grade 8, 3.53; the means for high SES children were 4.64, 3.08, and 2.96 for grades 4, 6, and 8, respectively), and, at grades four and six, to religious leaders (low SES: grade 4, 3.21; grade 6, 2.61; grade 8, 2.17; high SES: grade 4, 2.71; grade 6, 1.88; grade 8, 2.29). Children from working class backgrounds see the policeman and the President as having greater punitive power. At grade four low status children saw the policeman as more punitive than the teacher; at grade eight the two figures were perceived as approximately equal on this characteristic. Stated another way, at grades six and eight, children from high status levels see the teacher as having more punitive power than the policeman; children from working class levels see them as approximately equal. There are no significant sex differences on this item.

Relationship between perception of figures' power to punish and classroom behavior. The theoretical significance of punitive power as a variable in this study comes from a conception of the role of power in human control systems. Power to punish implies likelihood of punishment. In line with the psychological learning theory of the effects of rewards and punishment on behavior, it seems plausible to expect that children who see authority figures as having power to punish would also be likely to conform to the rules and expectations of those figures.

This presumably basic relationship does not seem to apply to the data of our study. There is virtually no correlation between the children's view of authority figures as having power to punish and their classroom behavior (see Table 6-5). Children who see authority as always having power to punish noncompliance are not more likely to accept the rules of the classroom, either with respect to behavior toward peers or behavior toward teachers.

The reason for this is not immediately obvious. Perhaps part of the explanation is in the responses to another question which asked: "Whose punishment do you fear the most?" The pattern of responses to this item indicates that there is little congruence between the view of authority figures' power to punish and the degree of fear which the threat of punishment invokes. Father and mother, for example, are highly similar on the rating scales which deal with power to punish; the father's punishment, however, is feared much more than is the mother's, a discrepancy which increases with age. The percentages of children who fear mother's punishment the most are 10%, 9%, and 11% at grades 4, 6, and 8, respectively. The percentages who fear father's punishment the most are 24% at grade 4, 40% at grade 6, and 41% at grade 8. The teacher's punishment apparently arouses little anxiety, possibly because the teacher has not as much disciplinary power as parents have. The results on the policeman's severity of punishment are not congruent with a similar item on other studies of political socialization (Hess and Torney, 1967) which showed the policeman's punishment as more severe than either parent's.

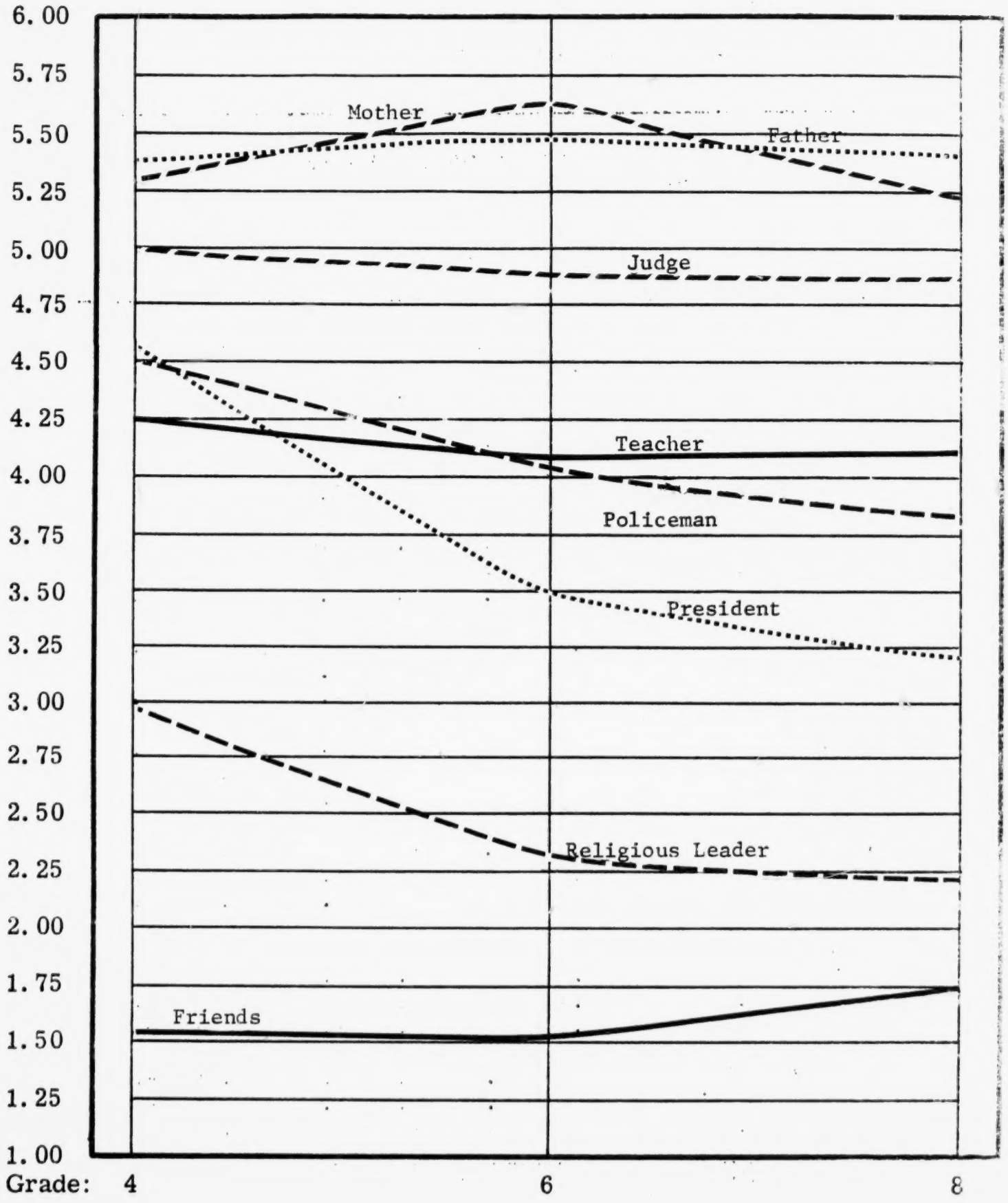
The discrepancies between items suggest that the information provided by these questions on the testing instrument are not to be taken entirely at face value. Perhaps the problem is one of measurement and definition. However, if one considers that we inquired about the father's punitive power, it seems reasonable to argue that if he is such a salient figure to the child there should be some correspondence between the view of father as a disciplinarian and the behavior of the child in the classroom. The fact that no such relationship exists in the data suggests that factors other than punitive power of authority figures are influential in producing behavior which accepts the rules of the school and the classroom.

Summary. The authority figures included in the study are seen by the children as having widely divergent powers to punish noncompliance. As in items dealing with

attachment, there is little differentiation between father and mother and little change in the perception of these figures with advance in grade. The teacher and judge are also seen as equally punitive at gradesfour and eight, although both are rated below parents on this item. The relative position of the teacher on the scale of power to punish improves across the three grades. This is due to the decline across grades of the ratings of the policeman and President. The religious leader and friends are seen as having little punitive power. No differences appear between boys and girls; social status differences appear only for the policeman and religious leader, both of whom are seen as having more punitive power by working class children than by middle class subjects.

On the basis of this research group, we may question the relevance of these items for understanding behavior in the classroom and for illuminating the process of socialization. There is little correspondnce between the perception of the figures' power to punish and the children's behavior in the classroom.

FIGURE 6-3
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH, BY GRADE
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)



Item: Does (figure) have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 6-5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF THE POWER OF AUTHORITY FIGURES TO PUNISH NONCOMPLIANCE AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.09	-.01	.13	-.11	.02	.02	.07	.02
	6	-.08	.19*	-.04	.17	-.02	-.02	-.05	-.03
	8	-.04	.12	-.01	.11	.03	-.09	.06	-.12
Mother	4	.02	.10	.06	-.02	.05	-.08	.07	-.11
	6	-.10	.04	-.12	.08	.11	.05	.10	.05
	8	.05	.03	.00	-.03	.08	.01	.02	-.01
Teacher	4	.05	-.04	.09	-.03	.04	.04	-.01	.08
	6	.11	.02	.07	-.03	-.12	.02	-.06	.05
	8	.07	.10	.04	.13	.01	-.06	-.04	-.05
Policeman	4	.12	.00	.07	.00	-.10	.15	-.10	.08
	6	-.06	-.13	-.12	-.09	-.02	.01	.09	.09
	8	-.01	.10	-.08	.05	.06	-.11	.09	-.08
President	4	.07	-.03	.06	-.07	-.02	.10	.01	.03
	6	-.10	.05	-.19*	.05	.15	-.09	.18	-.07
	8	-.09	.14	-.16	.10	.04	-.10	.08	-.09
Judge	4	.03	-.07	-.04	-.10	-.12	.12	-.15	.10
	6	-.04	-.07	-.04	.03	.05	-.04	.03	-.06
	8	-.07	.14	.00	-.06	.07	-.06	.07	-.03
Religious Leader	4	.06	.06	.00	-.01	-.02	.08	-.05	.01
	6	.04	-.04	.01	-.03	.00	-.16	-.08	-.11
	8	-.04	.17	-.11	.14	.01	-.12	.06	-.09
Friends	4	.10	.13	.07	.06	.08	-.18	.01	-.15
	6	-.19*	.05	-.20*	.04	.13	-.05	.15	-.03
	8	.11	.13	.07	.15	-.05	-.09	.02	-.10

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

c. Children's View of the Consequences of Non-compliance--Inevitability of Punishment

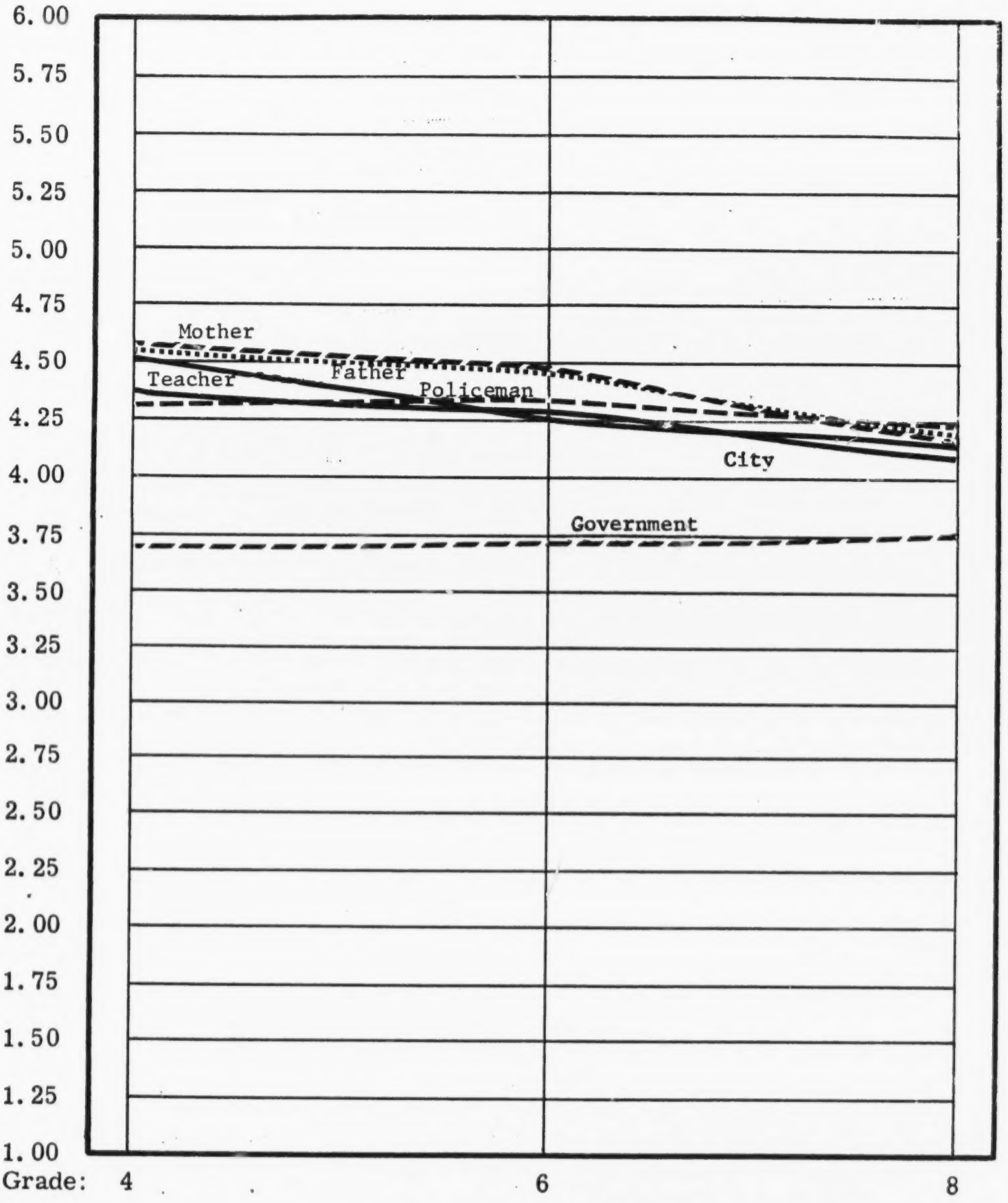
One of the important theoretical and practical issues in the operation of authority systems is the relationship between the likelihood of punishment and the tendency on the part of members of the systems to comply with laws and regulations. This question is especially pertinent to the study of socialization. In addition to the problem of punishment as a deterrent to disobedience is the issue of whether the expectation of punishment is an effective instrument for producing cooperative processes such as identification and internalization. These relationships will be explored in subsequent sections.

There is relatively little variation among the figures and among the sub-groups of the research population in the patterns of response to this type of item. As Figure 6-4 shows, the means for the figures are clustered within a narrow range at all grade levels, with the exception of the item about the consequences of disobeying governmental laws. Also, there is a decline in mean level of response from grade four to grade eight. This appears to be significant for all figures except government and policeman. The overall level of response shows that these children expect that punishment will typically follow disobedience ("Almost always" to "Usually"). Why this attitude is not so strongly felt with respect to the government is not clear.

These responses are affected relatively little by the social status and sex of the respondents. Only with reference to the teacher do differences appear between boys and girls, with boys demonstrating a stronger belief in the likelihood that punishment by the teacher will follow noncompliance with her rules. Boys' means at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 4.57, 4.43, and 4.19, respectively; means for girls at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 4.20, 4.15, and 4.01, respectively. Social status differences are apparent on items dealing with the laws and the rules of the city (low SES means: grade 4=4.50, grade 6=4.47, grade 8=4.31; high SES means: grade 4=4.55, grade 6=4.00, grade 8=4.00) and of the government (low SES means for grades 4, 6, and 8 are 3.78, 3.92, and 3.92, respectively; means for the high SES group at grades 4, 6, and 8 are 3.60, 3.51, and 3.66, respectively). These data indicate that a higher frequency of punishment is expected by children from working class levels.

Relationship between beliefs in the inevitability of punishment and classroom behavior. The relationship between children's beliefs about the inevitability of punishment and their tendency to engage in classroom behavior that might incur punishment is indicated by correlation coefficients between the two measures. While some of these correlations are statistically significant (seven of a total possible 144 are above .20), there is little reason to argue that the relationship does exist (see Table 6-6). For example, none of the coefficients between attitudes toward punishment by the teacher and peer nomination indices is higher than .16; there are both negative and positive correlations for the teacher in each PNI category. In short, we conclude that neither awareness of the punitive power of authority figures, nor belief that punishment by an authority figure will inevitably follow noncompliance with the figures' rules is a deterrent to classroom behavior that the teacher would consider unacceptable. There are apparently more powerful aspects of the authority role that influence the child in his classroom activities, whether toward peers or teacher.

FIGURE 6-4
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT
FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH AUTHORITY FIGURES' RULES, BY GRADE
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)



Item: If you do not obey the laws or rules of (figure), does he punish you?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 6-6

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF IN INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOR DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND SYSTEMS AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	-.07	-.06	-.08	-.01	.05	.05	.04	-.01
	6	-.19*	.04	-.18	-.07	.10	.08	.18	.08
	8	.06	.21*	.04	.14	-.06	-.18	-.05	-.16
Mother	4	-.14	-.04	-.12	-.06	.10	.07	.13	.02
	6	-.28*	-.07	-.32*	-.10	.18	.04	.34*	.07
	8	-.00	.02	-.01	.01	-.07	.02	-.03	.03
Teacher	4	.00	-.07	-.02	-.10	.07	.04	.05	.02
	6	-.09	-.06	-.07	-.15	.03	.09	.12	.13
	8	.16	.11	.12	-.01	-.15	-.03	-.14	.04
City	4	.06	-.04	-.04	-.05	-.08	.01	-.11	-.04
	6	-.02	.04	.00	.02	-.06	-.09	-.12	-.02
	8	.02	.11	.00	.12	-.02	-.10	-.00	-.09
Government	4	.06	-.04	-.01	-.01	.03	.02	.03	.04
	6	-.07	.16	-.12	.09	.04	-.18	.20*	-.02
	8	.08	.19*	.07	.15	.01	-.09	.01	-.10
Policeman	4	.18	-.02	.14	-.02	-.18	.01	-.21*	-.02
	6	.05	.04	-.02	.02	.07	-.04	.12	.02
	8	-.02	.24*	-.01	.09	.02	-.19*	.07	-.19*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

d. Inter-system Support for Sanctions Against Noncompliance

The induction of a child to patterns of interaction with an institution of the community is not independent of his behavior with respect to other institutions. The values, attitudes, and roles which he is taught are potentially relevent to other authority systems in which he may participate. The child learns a role, in the sense of a pattern of interaction with an authority figure and his rules, which he applies in somewhat similar form to other systems. In his encounters with the family, the school, and other face-to-face group situations, he may use some variation of the role of being subordinate, with its appropriate compliant responses to figures in positions of authority. There is some evidence from data on adults that mothers orient children toward the school and the teacher and are inclined to support the authority of the teacher in the classroom (Hess and Shipman, 1968). From informal observation, it seems apparent that attitudes toward the authority position of the policeman are also transmitted from parents to children consciously and deliberately. It is not unusual for parents in the United States to use the policeman as a threat to their children, implicitly or explicitly, and to provide for the child both a model and direct teaching about the laws of the city, state, and national government.

From the perspective of his experience in the family, however, the child has only a unilateral view of the family's concern about possible disobedience (or the value of complying) with respect to non-family situations and figures. Perhaps this is sufficient for the child to gain the impression that the adult world is united and cooperative, an impression strongest in the early grades and perhaps declining as the child becomes more familiar with the behavior and roles of various authority figures, both through experience and direct teaching in the schools.

In this study several questions dealt with the child's beliefs regarding the tendency of authority figures and systems to reinforce each other's disciplinary acts following noncompliance. The items generally took the form of "Besides your father, who else would punish you if you broke your father's rules?" with appropriate variations for other figures. This section reports the data obtained from responses to these items. In section B3, the child's tendency to punish himself as a result of being punished for noncompliance will be reported.

Several patterns are apparent in the responses of the research group to these questions (see Table 6-7). Perhaps the most obvious of these is the view of both parents as reinforcing the discipline of other authority figures. This impression of family support for other authority systems is firm; it does not vary by grade, sex, or social status level, nor does it vary appreciably from one system to another (see Tables 6-7 and 6-8). The average percentages of "Yes" responses across all figures and all grades for both parents are above ninety. This suggests, but does not prove, that the family is the central unit of the society in the socialization of the child into roles that express a degree of compliance with systems of the society, and that there is repeated reinforcement of these roles by the family as the child begins to develop non-family experience. This would lead to the hypothesis that the child's view of the authority of his parents, as expressed in his perceptions of them as fair, powerful, helpful, etc., would be related to his attitudes toward other figures and to his behavior in the classroom.

A second feature of these data is that the family is not seen as receiving comparable support from other authority figures of the society (see Figure 6-5). Moreover, the impression that other figures reinforce the discipline of the parents declines rapidly with increase in grade level. This is probably a reflection of the child's sense of the family as the most responsible, more informed about his behavior at home, and needing no assistance from other sources. It also defines the arena of responsibility of the family and the arena of other institutions. The family has the right, and perhaps the responsibility, to overlap other systems in enforcing rules and laws; other authority figures do not have either reciprocal right or responsibility to be concerned with the behavior of the child in the home. This inequality suggests that some implicit notion of hierarchy may be involved. The family is more responsible for the child and in that sense he is more obliged to obey his parents than other authority figures if there were to be a conflict of instructions. However, the family supports other institutions, suggesting that it is also subordinate in some way to them and that the rules and laws of other institutions are more important in some larger perspective. It would be of great interest to see if a similar pattern appeared on other types of socialization, for example, the development of skills and training of various kinds. It may be that the role of the family, in the eyes of the child, is primarily concerned with authority and affective types of behavior and attitude.

Another major aspect of these data is the pattern of differences between the school, the city and policeman, and the national government in the tendency of other institutions to provide support and reinforcement. The major difference occurs between the school and governmental authorities, both local and national (see Figures 6-6 through 6-9). Even the parents are seen as giving more reinforcement to governmental figures than to the school; the pattern for other family, religious leader, and anyone else is even more apparent. There is little distinction between local and national government, with the possible exception of the perceived support of the teacher, who is seen as more strongly supporting local laws. Her concern is thought to be primarily with city laws rather than with the policeman's rules. This greater emphasis upon city laws is seen to some degree in other figures as well, particularly the response alternative "Anyone else." The data presented in Figures 6-7 and 6-8 on the city's rules and laws and the policemen's rules and laws illustrate the marked difference between these two items.

As in the comparison between parents and non-family authority, the teacher is seen as supporting the policeman and city to a much greater extent than the policeman is seen as supporting the school. This suggests a sense of jurisdiction or perhaps of hierarchy in which the subordinate institutions are responsible to those above them in authority, but the reverse is not necessarily true. The belief that the policeman and judge support national government is congruent with this argument. Unfortunately, we do not have information from these items about the child's view of the likelihood that national government would support local government and cannot determine whether this pattern holds between local and national levels.

Another minor feature of the data in Table 6-4 is that authority figures within a system are seen as reinforcing the discipline of one another. The principal and other teachers are expected to support the teacher; the judge is expected to support the policeman. This suggests some sense of system specificity; intra-system support is more likely than inter-system support.

Two other points may be of some interest in passing. Religious leaders are not seen as supporting other authority systems. This is generally in line with the child's view of religious figures as not having power to punish. Also, friends are not viewed as reinforcing the discipline of the adult world. The only system that draws as many as twenty percent of positive responses on this type of item is the national government.

Social status is an important source of variability in children's responses to this set of items. The pattern is consistent. Children from working-class backgrounds are more likely to expect inter-system support than children from middle-class backgrounds. This finding is congruent with a number of observations about social class differences in child rearing and in parental values (Kohn, 1963; Hess and Shipman, 1965; Cohen and Hodges, 1963; Inkeles, 1960). These studies show working-class parents to be more concerned with external respectability and conformity to norms of the society, as compared with middle-class parents, and less concerned with internalization of control. Data to be presented later in this report are congruent with this description of the socializing process.

The largest social class differences are on items which inquire about the support of family by non-family authorities, followed by support of school by non-family authorities (Table 6-8). There are also differences in the support of non-family by parents and other family members, but these are less marked.

It is of interest that the items on which changes by grade are most apparent are those on which social status differences are also clear. On items dealing with support of family by non-family figures and support of school by non-family figures, there is a significant decline between fourth and eighth grades. Older children come to expect less support among the components of the systems. This drop in expectation of reinforcement of parents' and school's discipline by non-family authority is accounted for almost entirely by the responses of children from working-class families. Our data do not give us information about the reason for the change in expectations by working-class children. It seems possible that it comes from the greater experience of children rather than from any specific socialization by the school or by the family. They discover, perhaps, that the authority figures in their lives are not likely to reinforce one another, perhaps because they are not necessarily informed about the specific incidents and initial punishment.

In our data there were few sex differences in the perception of inter-system support. The analysis of variance showed sex to be an insignificant source of variation, perhaps reflecting the similarity between boys and girls in their expectations about the consequences of disobedience.

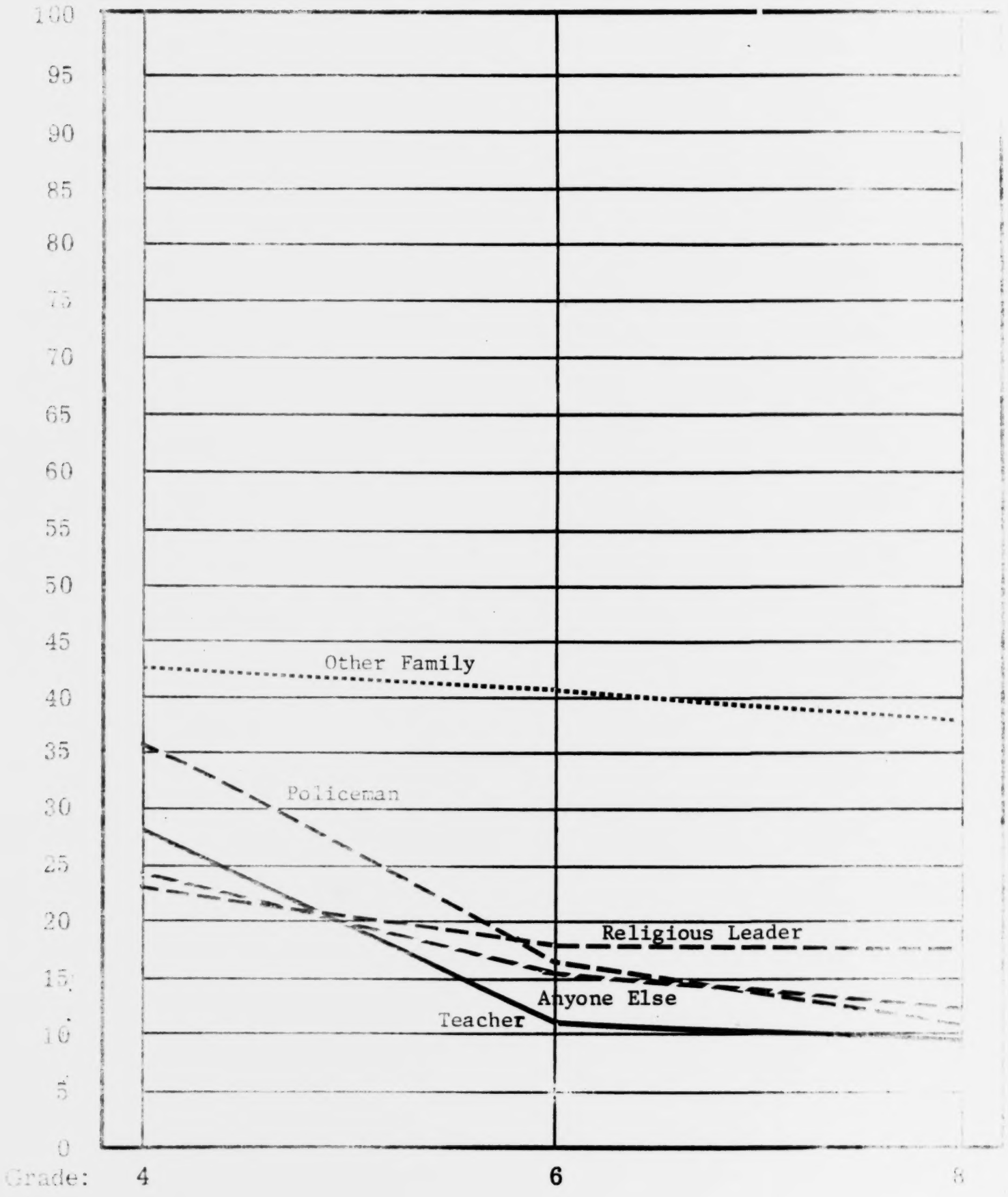
Relationship between beliefs about inter-system support and classroom behavior. Few correlation coefficients among the matrices reach statistically significant levels; those that do tend not to be on items dealing with support of the teacher in her classroom discipline (see Table 6-9). It would be difficult to argue convincingly that the pattern of relationships reflects an underlying association between the child's view of the support of societal institutions for each other and his tendency to accept and respond cooperatively to the rules of the school.

This finding may follow from the generally low level of support of the school by non-school authorities (other than family) in the perceptions of these children. The lack of correlation therefore may be the result of the fact that there is little perceived support and thus no opportunity for an association to show itself.

Summary. In the U.S. Caucasian research group, the parents were viewed as reinforcing the discipline of other authority figures, although other figures were not seen as supporting the family. This may be due to a notion of different areas of responsibility. In comparison with other non-family figures, the teacher is seen as not receiving reinforcement from other figures. Generally, children tend to see authority figures as reinforcing systems which are in some sense larger and more powerful. The patterns of inter-system support are not entirely mutual. Children make a distinction between the policeman and the city, seeing the policeman as receiving less support from other figures. There are no sex differences on these items, but social status differences do appear. Children from working-class families are more likely to see other systems supporting the family and each other. This tendency declines rapidly with increase in grade. There are significant changes between the fourth and eighth grades for items dealing with support of parents and of the teacher by other figures. Almost no differences with increase in grade appear on items dealing with political figures and institutions. The religious leader is not typically seen as supporting the discipline of other figures. Finally, there is little evidence that any significant relationship exists between the child's belief about inter-system reinforcement of discipline and his classroom behavior.

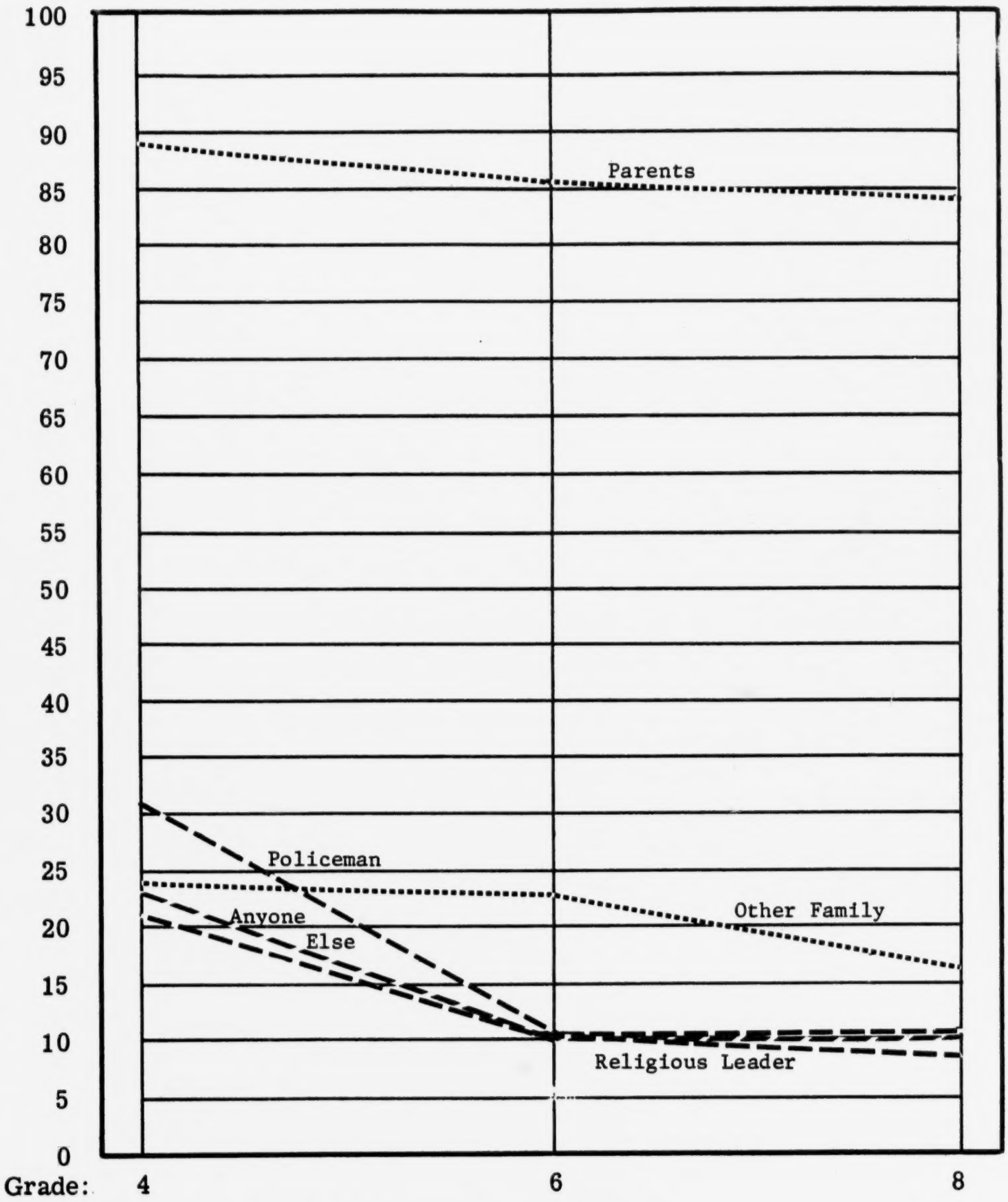
FIGURE 6-5

PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE THE DISCIPLINE OF PARENTS, BY GRADE
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)



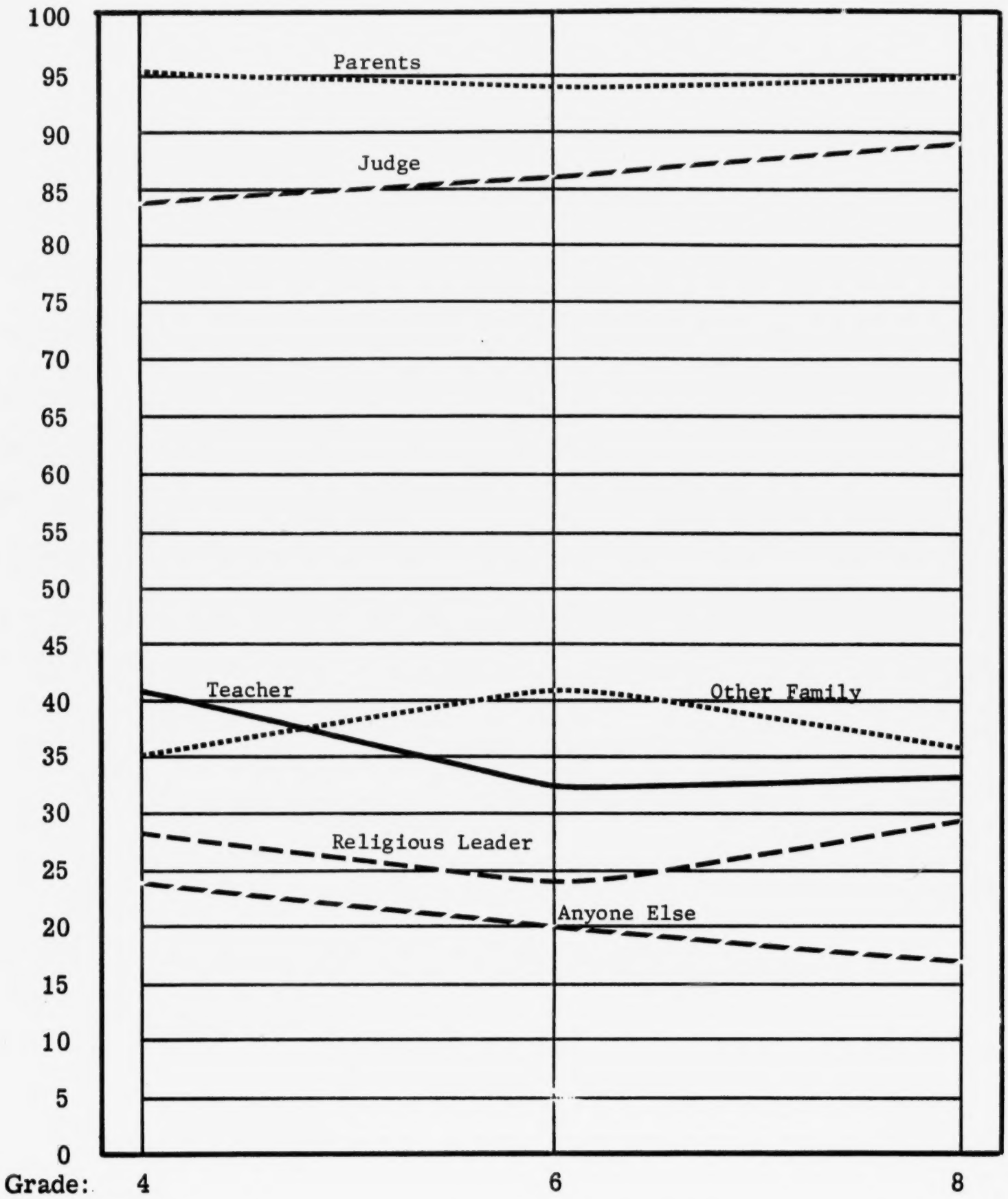
Item: Index based on combination of 2 items: "Besides your father (mother), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your father's (mother's) rules?"

FIGURE 6-6
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE TEACHER, BY GRADE
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)



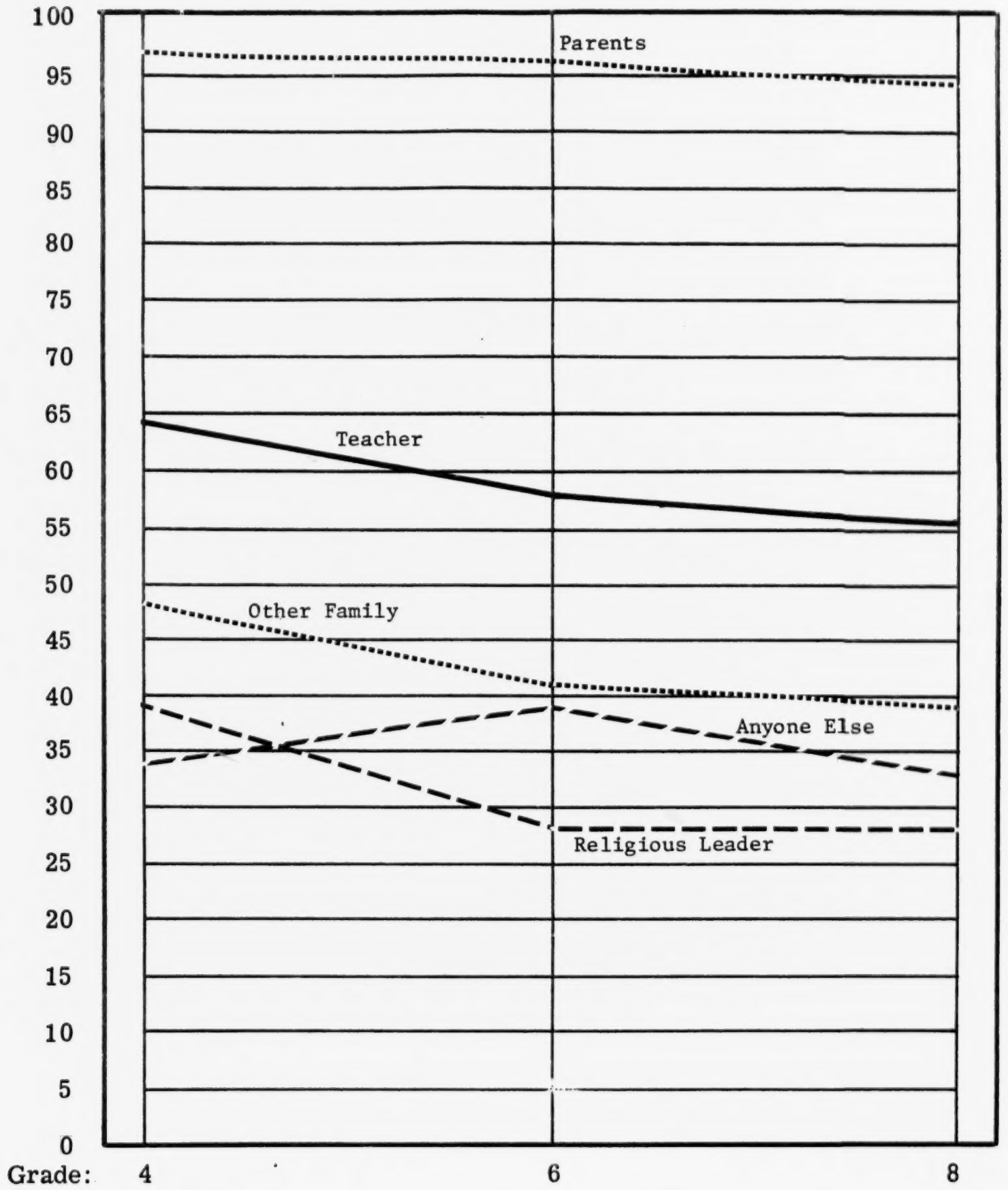
Item: "Besides your teacher, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your teacher's rules?"

FIGURE 6-7
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE POLICEMAN, BY GRADE
(U.S.CAUCASIANS)



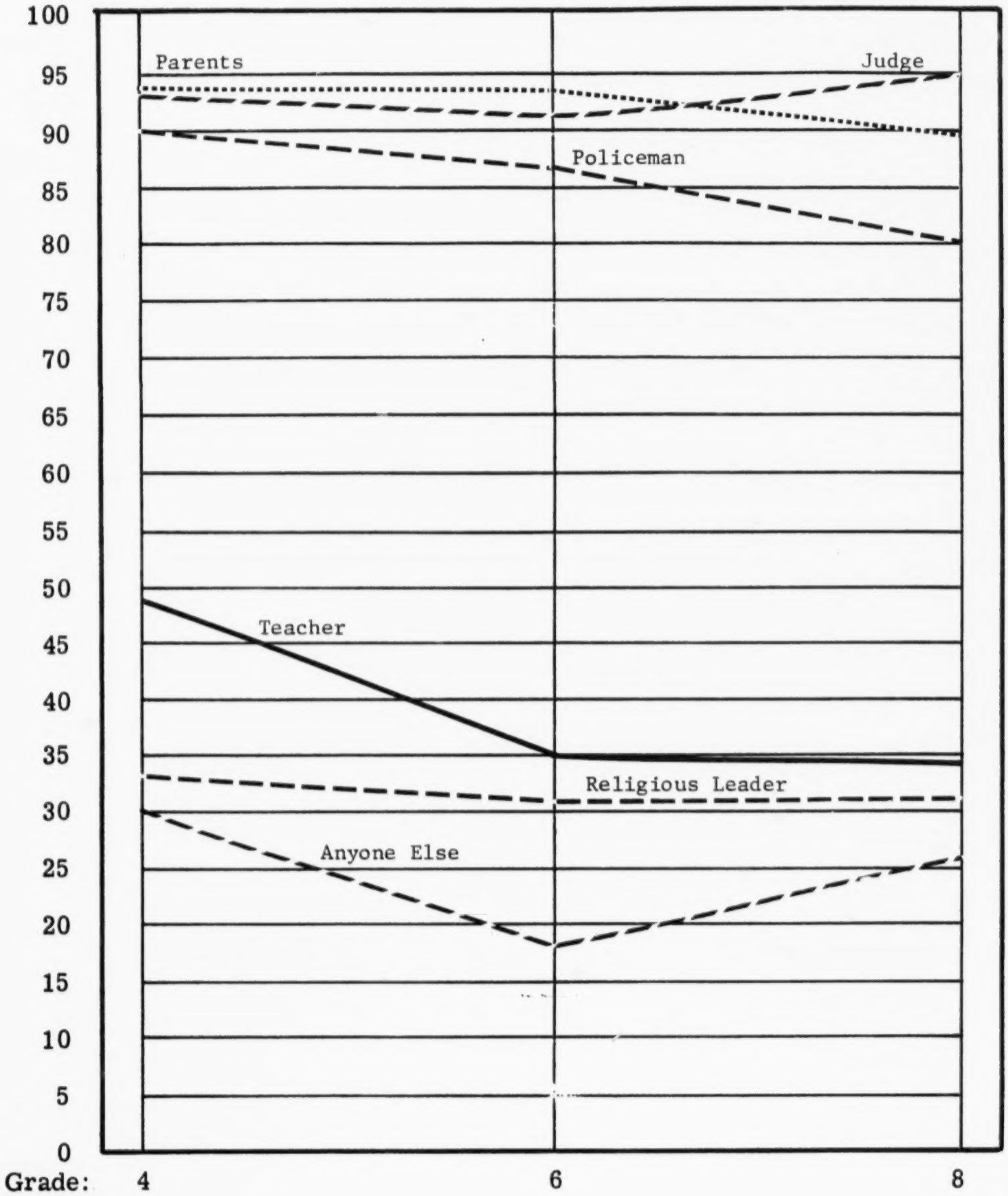
Item: "Besides policemen, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey policemen's orders?"

FIGURE 6-8
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CITY, BY GRADE
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)



Item: "Besides city officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the city's laws or rules?"

FIGURE 6-9
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT OTHER
AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE THE DISCIPLINE OF
THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, BY GRADE
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)



Item: "Besides government officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the laws or rules of the United States?"

TABLE 6-7

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON EXPECTATION THAT PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WILL BE REINFORCED BY OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES
(PERCENTAGE OF "YES" RESPONSE)
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

FIGURE ALSO PUNISHING	GRADE	SYSTEM OR FIGURE WHO IS DISOBEYED: MOTHER			FATHER			TEACHER			POLICEMAN			CITY			GOVERNMENT		
		4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8
Mother					98	96	95	90	89	86	97	94	94	97	97	95	94	94	89
Father		97	92	94				88	82	83	94	93	95	96	95	94	94	93	90
Other family		42	40	39	43	42	37	24	23	17	35	41	36	48	41	39			
Teacher		25	06	06	31	17	13				41	32	33	64	58	56	49	35	34
Principal								91	96	95									
Policeman		27	10	06	45	23	16	31	11	08							90	87	80
Judge											84	86	89				93	91	95
Religious Leader		20	15	14	26	21	21	21	10	11	28	24	29	39	28	28	33	31	31
Friends		08	05	06	09	04	07	08	10	12	10	11	13	10	08	13	15	14	21
Anyone Else		23	15	13	26	16	12	23	10	11	24	20	17	34	39	33	30	18	26

Note. *Item: "Besides your (mother, father, teacher, policeman, city officials, government officials), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your (mother's, teacher's, etc.) rules (laws, orders)?" Alternatives: Mother, Father, Other adult Relatives, Teacher, Principal, Policeman, Judge, Religious Leader, Friends, Anyone else.

TABLE 6-8

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE, BY TOTAL GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents for Non-Family Authority Figures	4	6.99	7.10	6.89	6.91	7.08	0-8	None
	6	6.98	6.97	6.99	7.18	6.79		
	8	6.92	6.90	6.94	6.94	6.90		
Total			6.99	6.94	7.01	6.92		
Other Family Members for Parents	4	.72	.84	.60	.70	.74	0-2	None
	6	.75	.80	.70	.67	.82		
	8	.72	.73	.70	.71	.72		
Total			.79	.67	.69	.76		
Other Family Members for Non-Family Authority Figures	4	.90	1.07	.73	.92	.87	0-3	SES
	6	.94	1.09	.79	.87	1.01		
	8	.85	.94	.75	.81	.88		
Total			1.03	.76	.87	.92		
Total Family for School	4	1.82	1.99	1.65	1.84	1.80	0-3	SES
	6	1.82	1.90	1.74	1.77	1.86		
	8	1.76	1.80	1.72	1.73	1.78		
Total			1.89	1.70	1.78	1.82		

TABLE 6-8 (CONTINUED)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Non-Family Authority Figures for Parents	4	1.45	2.13	.76	1.48	1.42	0-6	Grade
	6	.83	1.14	.52	.75	.90		SES
	8	.71	.85	.58	.58	.84		
Total			1.37	.62	.94	1.05		
Non-Family Authority Figures for School	4	.60	.81	.40	.59	.62	0-3	SES
	6	.27	.42	.11	.23	.30		Grade
	8	.26	.31	.22	.21	.32		(Curve-
Total			.51	.24	.34	.41		linear)
Non-Family Authority for Non-Family Authority	4	5.50	5.85	5.16	5.34	5.66	0-12	None
	6	5.33	5.52	5.14	5.30	5.36		
	8	5.43	5.47	5.40	5.18	5.68		
Total			5.61	5.23	5.27	5.57		
Anyone Else for all Authority Figures	4	1.17	1.25	1.10	1.09	1.26	0-6	None
	6	.92	.97	.86	.86	.97		
	8	.89	.98	.81	.76	1.02		
Total			1.07	.92	.90	1.08		

TABLE 6-8 (CONTINUED)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Friends for School	4	.07	.08	.06	.10	.04	0-1	None
	6	.09	.09	.10	.14	.05		
	8	.12	.12	.11	.11	.13		
Total			.10	.09	.12	.07		
Friends for All Authority Figures (Except School)	4	.46	.51	.41	.54	.38	0-5	None
	6	.37	.37	.38	.44	.31		
	8	.56	.57	.55	.48	.64		
Total			.48	.45	.48	.44		

Note. Item: "Besides ... (your mother, father, teacher, policeman, city officials, government officials), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey ... (your mother's, father's, etc.) rules (laws, orders)?" Alternatives: mother, father, other adult relatives, teacher, principal, policeman, judge, religious leader, friends, anyone else.
Index: Number of "Yes" responses for appropriate alternatives of reinforcing figures by number of supported figures or systems. Grouped as mentioned in each index label.

TABLE 6-9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

WHO ELSE WOULD PUNISH		PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
	GRADE	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Parents for Parents									
	4	.16	-.10	.08	-.13	-.14	.05	-.12	.03
	6	.12	.19*	.14	.18	-.28*	.23*	-.26*	-.18
	8	.10	.13	.02	.15	-.16	-.12	-.10	-.06
Parents for Non-Family Authority									
	4	.07	-.06	.07	-.10	-.20*	.12	-.08	.08
	6	.00	.12	.03	.05	-.19*	-.02	-.14	.01
	8	.05	-.01	-.06	-.06	-.01	-.04	.08	-.01
Other Family for Parents									
	4	.03	.01	.05	.02	.01	.14	-.04	.06
	6	.04	.20*	.04	.24*	.16	-.02	.08	-.19*
	8	.13	.06	.06	.01	-.09	.18	-.09	.16
Other Family for Non-Family Authority									
	4	.07	.01	.11	.00	.06	.14	-.01	.06
	6	.02	.02	-.02	-.09	.08	.06	.01	.04
	8	.09	.03	-.01	.02	.05	.09	.04	.12
Total Family for School									
	4	.03	-.14	.02	-.18	-.07	.16	.00	.10
	6	.00	.14	.00	.08	-.08	.06	-.14	-.04
	8	.00	-.02	-.08	-.03	.08	.03	.11	.07

TABLE 6-9 (CONTINUED)

WHO ELSE WOULD PUNISH		PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
	GRADE	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Non-Family Authority for Parents									
	4	-.05	-.05	-.10	-.07	.15	.17	.13	.13
	6	.01	-.12	-.02	-.10	.05	.20*	-.02	.09
	8	.03	.11	-.01	-.03	-.07	-.01	-.12	.09
Non-Family Authority for School									
	4	.09	-.10	.05	-.08	.02	.20*	.00	.13
	6	-.04	-.14	-.05	-.11	-.12	.15	-.06	.03
	8	-.10	.01	-.08	.00	.08	.06	-.03	.10
Non-Family Authority for Non-Family Authority									
	4	.08	.02	.04	-.03	.06	.07	.03	.01
	6	.14	-.04	.07	-.11	-.12	.10	-.07	.01
	8	.10	.16	-.02	.13	.02	.01	.02	.04
Anyone Else for All									
	4	.08	-.03	.04	-.03	-.01	.10	-.03	.10
	6	-.08	.10	-.08	-.02	-.04	-.03	.07	-.08
	8	-.13	.03	-.14	.07	.13	.03	.03	.01
Friends for School									
	4	-.01	.17	.01	.16	.02	-.09	.01	-.11
	6	.01	.19*	.03	.14	-.01	.07	-.01	-.06
	8	-.15	.17	-.11	.13	-.03	.03	.00	.01
Friends for All (except School)									
	4	-.03	.13	.00	.07	.13	-.10	.11	-.12
	6	.10	.10	-.12	-.02	.06	-.14	-.06	.05
	8	-.07	.18	-.14	.18	.08	.01	.07	.01

Note: * Indicates significant correlation.

B2. The Child's Conception of Law and Rules

a. The Nature of Rules and Laws

Children's conceptions of the nature and functions of rules and laws were assessed through interview questions. Children were asked to define rules and laws, to indicate differences between them, and to tell what would happen if there were no rules.

Approximately half the interviewed sample gave general definitions when asked to define a rule. A typical grade 4 response was: "It's a guideline to follow." The use of general definitions declined, however, with age, and at grade 8 only 30 percent of the sample gave nonspecific definitions. No striking SES differences emerged, but more girls (55%) than boys (33%) gave nonspecific definitions for a rule.

About one-third of the interviewed sample across all ages saw rules as prohibitive. This view of rules as constraining decreased slightly with age, was favored by boys, and showed no SES differences. An 8th grade, high status boy stated, "Well, in our school we're not supposed to run in the halls." Some children, particularly older ones (five percent at grade 4 but 35 percent at grade 8), defined rules as beneficial and reasonable. While the grade differences were significant, sex and status differences were not, although more of the high status children defined rules in this positive way. Their approach was exemplified by this grade 8 boy's description, "Well, a rule is mainly something to keep, to make the place better."

Few children (10% of the total interview sample), usually younger ones and boys, mentioned punishment. Harm to groups or individuals as a consequence of rule-breaking was mentioned by another 10% of the total interview sample, mostly older children and boys.

In responding to, "What is a law?" approximately half of the sample stressed prohibitory aspects. A grade 6, low status girl reported, "Well, a law is like in the government, say the governor gives you a rule not to do something on the streets like walk the streets at night. I mean like, you know, riot like." The prohibitory quality was stressed more often in defining laws than rules; no age or sex and only slight SES differences were observed in the number of children stressing this "forbidding" element in defining a law. A grade 4, high status girl said, "Well, it's not to steal and stuff. It's to forbid you not to."

Over forty percent of the sample, with no differences by age, sex, or socioeconomic status, preferred nonspecific definitions for laws as they had for rules. Finally, a few children characterized laws as regulations that were beneficial and reasonable. No perceptible age or sex differences arose, but only high status children noted the positive benefits of laws.

Many more children included the possible adverse consequences of law breaking in their definitions of laws than of rules, especially the risk run by lawbreakers of getting punished. This risk was raised more often by younger than by older children. Punishment is more a concern for younger children who know less about laws. No sex or socioeconomic differences affected the frequency of this response. Finally, at all grades a few children, mostly girls and only high status children, said that law breaking may be harmful to groups or individuals.

When asked to specify in what way rules and laws are different, a large number of children had difficulty articulating these differences. When differences were identified, they focused on (1) a specificity-generality dimension (i.e., from "laws are more general and universal in application" to "rules are more restricted") or (2) the degree of governmental intervention (i.e., a law is created or enforced by governmental authorities, a rule by non-governmental authorities such as parent, teacher). One-third of the total sample maintained that the difference between rules and laws lies in the fact that the latter are generally created by governmental authorities while most rules may be created by non-governmental authorities. This opinion was expressed more often by younger than by older children.

Equally interesting trends emerged on the specificity-generality and unspecified difference dimensions. Although as many children chose the former as the latter (approximately 20 percent of the total sample for each response category) only fourteen percent of the grade 4 children saw rules as specific and laws as universal, while thirty percent of the 8th graders did so. More girls and high status children characterized rules as more restricted in application than laws. Sixteen percent maintained that there are no differences between rules and laws. No striking SES or linear age trends were evident. More boys at grades 4 and 8 and only one grade 6 boy equated law and rule.

In general, the types of distinctions made between rules and laws by this sample of urban Caucasian children, unlike the urban Negro sample, seemed to fall along the governmental/non-governmental creation and enforcement continuum.

The function of rules. In an effort to ascertain their ideas about the utility of rules, children were asked, "What would happen if there were no rules?" The majority of responses fell into only three categories: (1) physical violence and crime; (2) chaos and anarchy; and (3) behavior determined by personal preferences. Over 60 percent of the children believed that physical violence and crime would increase in the absence of rules. Approximately 40 percent were of the opinion that chaos and anarchy would result in the absence of rules; more older children, girls, and high status children took this position. Finally, over 20 percent of the sample felt that personal preferences would determine behavior; no significant age, sex, or SES trends emerged here. Rules were, then, seen as regulators of societal behavior.

When children were asked, "What would happen if there were no rules at home?" their answers fell primarily into two categories: domestic anarchy and undone work. Approximately 50 percent of the sample, regardless of age, sex, or socioeconomic status, expected a state of household anarchy would result and, as a grade 4, lower status boy chided, "You could tell their mothers what to do if there were no rules so there gotta be some rules." Approximately one-third of all children expected that necessary work would not get done as did this girl who revealed, "Well, like your mama, if she says, 'Make your bed,' well, then he wouldn't have to obey it. And so no one would make the bed unless they wanted to." The saliency of this response decreased somewhat with age, and was more prominent among low status children.

In answering the question, "What would happen if there were no rules at school?" the majority of the sample (approximately 55 percent) felt that a decrease in school discipline and order would prevail. There were no differences in the frequency of this response by age, sex, or socioeconomic status.

In the absence of school rules approximately one-fifth of the sample felt that children would miss school, invoke fighting, and not learn. Age differences did not emerge for this response. Boys stressed the necessity for rules to enhance attendance, but all ages viewed the problem similarly. School attendance is required by law

and seen as necessary by a substantial group of this urban Caucasian group. The increase in physical violence expectation decreased slightly with age, but was viewed as more likely by girls and significantly more so by low status children.

The greatest concern of children in this sample, if there were no rules in general, at home or in school, was with a breakdown of the existing order and an increase in violence. Additional concerns were voiced but they emerged with surprisingly little frequency.

Summary. In the U.S. Caucasian sample, laws in general were seen as more prohibitive than were rules. This was true for U.S. Negroes as well (see Chapter 7). Laws seemed more absolute and universal than rules, probably because these terms were more formal and were used to describe the regulations of such institutions as the state and such symbols as the "land" or country. Children spoke of the laws of the land or the laws of God but of the rules of the school and the family. Approximately one-third of the U.S. Caucasian sample stressed the prohibitive aspect in their definitions of rules, a proportion that decreased with age. About one-half of the sample stressed this aspect for laws with no age decrease. Moreover, few children mentioned a threat of adverse consequences in their definitions of rules, but one-third of the sample defined laws by stressing the adverse consequences of violating them. Of these, the majority referred to punishment. Perhaps this reflected a realistic perception of the systems in which children and adults operate. Breaking a federal or state law may result in incarceration or other legal sanctions of a serious order; breaking a rule of the home or the play group does not result in as severe a punishment.

Rules were seen a functioning to preserve order, maintain the system, and much like laws, act as strong prohibitors of behavior. Rules were seen as external, perhaps as effective and necessary, forcing orderly behavior upon individuals. Laws were viewed as more important, comprehensive, and universal, as well as governmental in decree.

When differences occurred, social status and age rather than sex were likely to have influenced these children's conceptions of the nature and function of rules and laws.

Hierarchy of Rules and Laws. To probe children's perception of the most serious or the worst antisocial behavior among three traditional categories of legally recognized antisocial acts, i.e., offenses against person, property, and the social order, examples of these acts were presented in the frame of five compliance systems (i.e., the family, school, community, peer group, and religion). Ss were asked to choose which was worst among the three alternatives. Responses were affected by the nature of the antisocial act, the compliance system within which it was presented as committed, and the requirement of a forced choice rather than a ranking of the three alternatives.

It was hoped these responses would reveal the hierarchy of values that children placed on rules and laws for property, person, or social order offenses in each of the systems and across the systems. Index scores were derived by summing choices of similar types of alternatives across the five systems.

The U.S. Caucasian research group saw transgressions of laws protecting property as the worst type of antisocial behavior (see Figure 6-10). After grade 6, transgressions against persons ranked next in terms of seriousness, followed by social order misbehaviors. Selection of acts against property and persons as the worst transgressions increased with age; selection of the acts against the social order declined.

The saliency of the property index may be explained in part by the fact that, in the U.S., property rights are viewed as extensions of personal rights. Therefore, laws surrounding transgressions against property are viewed as fixed and necessary and less negotiable than laws surrounding other offenses. However, the property alternative was also the only option in terms of U.S. law which was explicitly illegal, whereas the personal and societal alternatives were less serious. Therefore, the saliency of the property index may represent differences in severity of the alternatives presented.

The U.S. Caucasians revealed an increasing concern with anti-property acts and a decreasing one with acts against the social order. These grade changes suggest a closer approximation with age of cultural (i.e., adult) norms about property. The property index was affected by a significant social class by grade interaction. For both low and high status subjects there was a steady increase in the same direction from grades 4 to 6 in selecting acts against property as the most serious

offense. However, from grades 6 to 8, low status children continued to see acts against property as the "worst" while the high status subjects' concern decreased. This interaction may reflect developmental differences and/or varying environmental experiences related to social status. Previous research indicates that low status children lag behind high status ones in making generalized moral judgments, but follow the same patterns (Kohlberg, 1964, 1965).

There were changes (see Table 6-10) in the relative importance of acts against property in the five compliance systems. The differences between the systems observed at grade 4 decreased at grade 8 and a pattern of convergence emerged. This suggests a more socialized view of transgressions against property rights, since such transgressions were seen as equally serious regardless of the system within which they were committed. This development of realistic perceptions regarding the seriousness of violations of property rights and a generalized sense of what is legal, just, and necessary is consistent with research that indicates that the degree of compliance becomes more generalized and consistent across situations and people with age (Crandall, 1958).

The choice of the alternative of behavior against a person as the worst offense increased with age and more noticeably so from grades 6 to 8. Selection of this alternative as the "worst" was significantly influenced by interacting social class and grade factors (see Table 6-11). Low status children's view of the seriousness of anti-person acts remained at a relatively stable level regardless of age, although initially they took this type of offense more seriously than high status Ss. High status children chose the alternative of offenses against persons increasingly more often with age. The change in high status children's choices probably reflected differential social experiences and expectations.

Perception of transgressions against persons in the community, friend,and family systems as the worst increased in frequency with age (see Table 6-11). Perception of such acts as the worst in relation to church remained relatively stable while the choice of such offenses at school as the worst decreased with age between grades 4 and 6, leveling somewhat by grade 8. These differences imply that, with age, U.S. Caucasian children became more sensitive to personal attacks within the peer group and less so within the family and school.

There were significant differences between the sexes, social classes, and most particularly the grades in assessing the seriousness of offenses against the social order as exemplified by breaking the customary formal or informal laws or rules of a system (see Table 6-12). Breaking the formal or informal laws or rules of a particular system, as exemplified by disturbing the classroom, breaking a traffic law, disobeying parental rules, criticizing the church or synagogue, or reneging on a social agreement, were seen as less serious as the children moved from grades 4 to 8. This finding is consistent with the notion that young children perceive the systems' laws as perfect, universal, or absolute. The decrease of this view with age was also coupled with an increased awareness of fallibility and changeability of rules and laws, a heavier reliance on inner standards, and an increment in general questioning (Hess & Torney, 1967; Baldwin, 1906, Baldwin, 1955; Bobroff, 1960). Lower status children consistently and significantly saw the social order offense as more serious than did high status subjects. Perhaps this finding reflects SES differences in parents' socializing practices. Working class parents emphasize obedience and are more rigid and authoritarian in administering rules and dealing with external authority social systems (Willis, 1956; Maas, 1951; Bernstein, 1960, 1962, 1964).

More girls than boys felt social order transgressions were the most serious (see Table 6-11). The finding is in line with other research indicating that girls are more accepting of the social order in compliance systems (Boehm & Nass, 1962; Patel and Gordon, 1960; Lansky, 1961; Tuma & Livson, 1960). The sex differences may also be related to differential socialization experiences. Girls identify more with the affective aspects of the government and seem more bound to the system (Hess & Torney, 1967). Berg & Bass (1961) also found that girls are more conforming than boys.

There was a decline in the ratings of the seriousness of transgressions against the social order of all systems from grades 4 to 8. This decline was more noticeable for the church (religion) and community (see Table 6-12). At grade 8, anti-church acts were still chosen as the worst more frequently. Unlike the church, the community dropped to a position of least importance. Children may have had more experiences, actual or vicarious, with community representatives (e.g., policemen) than with religious leaders in their early socializing experiences. As their experiences extended and their familiarity grew the perceived efficacy and omnipotency of the

community figures may have diminished. Violating the rules of the friendship-peer system followed the same pattern of declining importance. Only the school and family maintained a stable pattern unaffected by age. The stability of perceiving acts against the rules of family and school as the worst may reflect these systems' influence on behavior and children's moral commitments to these institutions. Older children did not regard violations against the social order of these two basic socializing agencies as any less important than did younger children.

Interview information further clarifies children's beliefs about the seriousness of antisocial acts when viewed as affecting a person. Children were asked which of three offenses against a person was the worst: assault (hitting a person), theft (stealing something from a person), or maligning (saying bad things about a person).

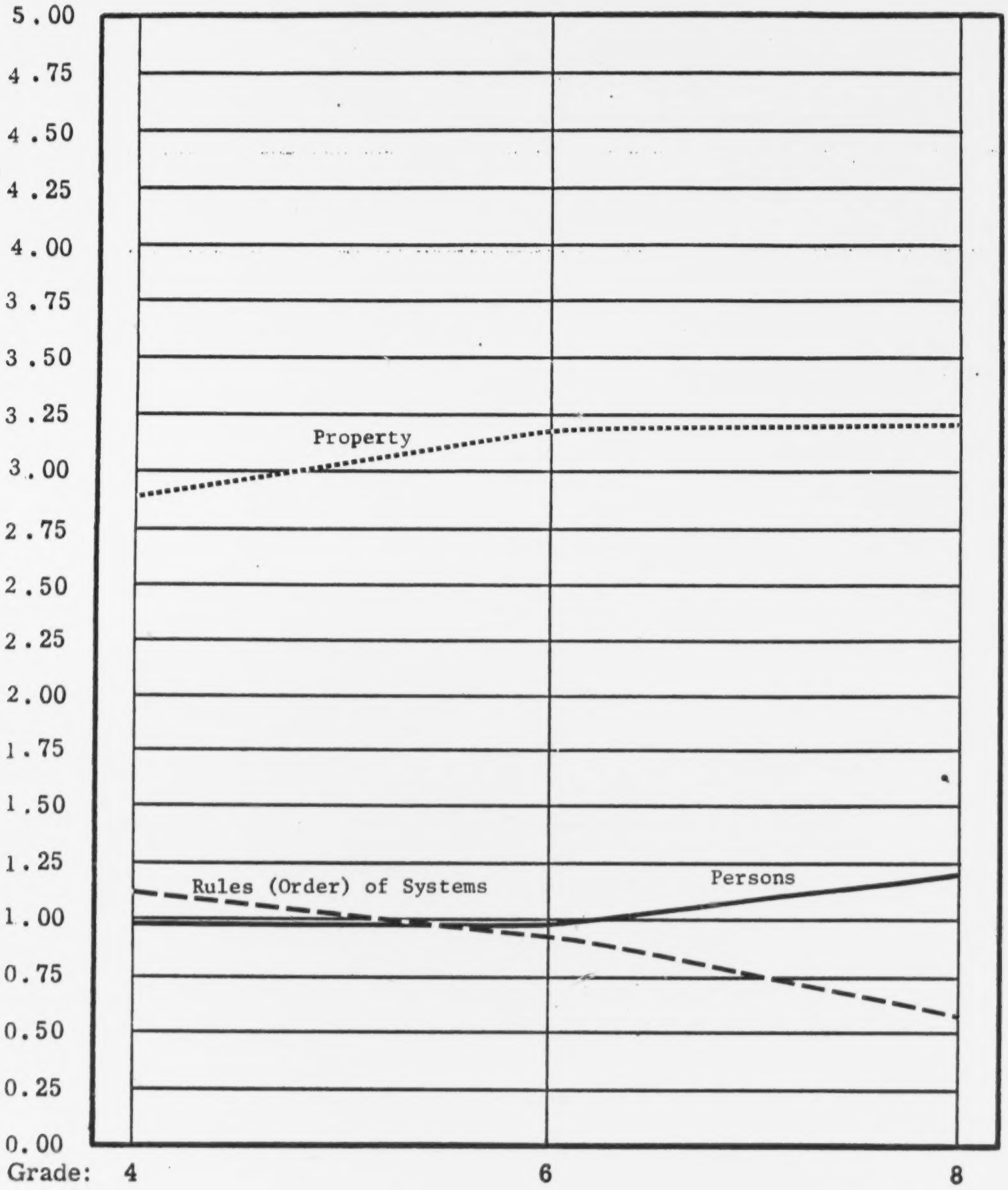
The great majority of the children at each age level felt that maligning was the worst offense against a person. The frequency of children citing this offense increased substantially, though not significantly, with age. By grade 8, maligning was seen as the worst offense against a person. An opposite age trend emerged for theft. Theft was selected as the worst offense virtually only by grade 4 children and received few nominations in the upper grades.

Relationship of perception of the seriousness of property, person, and social order transgressions to classroom behavior. There was no relationship between perception of the seriousness of property, person, or social order offenses and compliant or aggressive behavior in the classroom as measured by the Peer Nomination Inventory (see Table 6-13). All obtained correlations were extremely low; none were statistically significant. The classroom behavior of Caucasian children showed no consistent relationship to their opinions as to the differential seriousness of offense categories.

Summary. Regardless of grade, status, or sex, this group significantly selected acts against property as the "worst" of three antisocial behaviors. Age was significantly instrumental in recognition of antisocial (i.e., illegal or criminal) behavior. The forced choice structure of the item may have caused artifactual confounding, but these children had a fairly unerring sense of the "worst" act as they chose offenses against property as the most serious. This propensity to delineate a legally defined crime in a hierarchy of antisocial behaviors may reflect a congruency in moral and legal development.

FIGURE 6-10

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEWS OF WHICH IS WORST:
OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS, AGAINST PROPERTY,
OR AGAINST THE RULES (ORDER) OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS BY GRADE
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)



Item: Which is worst?

TABLE 6-10

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PERSONS OF THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	62	59	65	58	66
	6	72	66	78	71	73
	8	70	73	66	72	68
Total			66	70	67	69
Community	4	47	41	53	36	59
	6	63	56	70	65	61
	8	65	68	62	60	70
Total			55	62	54	63
Family	4	72	71	73	67	77
	6	74	71	76	71	76
	8	67	76	58	61	73
Total			73	69	66	75
Peers	4	67	60	74	67	67
	6	68	72	64	66	69
	8	65	70	61	62	69
Total			67	66	65	68
Religion	4	39	37	41	31	47
	6	46	43	49	40	52
	8	56	55	56	53	58
Total			45	49	41	52

Note. Significant effects (Property): Grade, SES by Grade, Sex. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To take or steal something in the school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: No. of choices of offenses against property as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index Scale: 0-5.

TABLE 6-11

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PPOPERTY OR THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	20	21	19	21	19
	6	12	11	12	9	15
	8	16	13	19	14	17
Total			15	17	15	17
Community	4	19	19	20	26	13
	6	27	29	24	23	31
	8	31	27	35	36	26
Total			25	26	28	23
Family	4	18	16	21	18	20
	6	16	14	18	20	11
	8	23	14	31	24	21
Total			15	23	21	17
Peers	4	18	23	13	19	16
	6	22	15	28	26	18
	8	30	26	33	34	25
Total			21	25	26	20
Religion	4	23	30	17	28	19
	6	22	27	18	20	25
	8	21	21	21	25	17
Total			26	19	24	20

Note. Significant effects: (Person) SES by grade. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To fight with, insult or say something against a person in the school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: No. of choices of offenses against person as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index Scale: 0-5.

TABLE 6-12

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PROPERTY OR PERSONS, ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
School	4	18	20	16	21	15
	6	16	22	10	20	12
	8	14	14	15	14	15
Total			19	14	18	14
Community	4	34	40	27	38	29
	6	10	14	6	12	8
	8	4	6	3	4	4
Total			20	12	18	14
Family	4	10	13	6	16	4
	6	11	15	6	9	13
	8	10	9	10	15	5
Total			12	7	13	7
Peers	4	15	17	13	14	17
	6	10	13	8	8	13
	8	5	5	6	4	6
Total			12	9	9	12
Religion	4	38	34	42	41	34
	6	32	31	33	41	23
	8	24	25	23	22	25
Total			30	33	35	27

Note: Significant effects: Grade, SES, Sex. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To disturb, break, disobey, refuse to follow or say something against the rules (order) of school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: No. of choices against the systems' rules (order) as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index Scale: 0-5.

TABLE 6-13

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDICES OF PERCEPTION OF THE RELATIVE SERIOUSNESS OF THREE TYPES OF OFFENSES AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

WHICH IS WORST INDICES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Anti-Person Acts	4	.01	-.04	-.04	-.04	-.08	.10	-.10	.07
	6	.05	-.18	.04	-.06	.04	.02	.03	.12
	8	-.01	-.05	-.02	.11	.03	-.05	.06	-.08
Anti-Property Acts	4	-.04	.10	-.01	.10	.04	-.10	.09	-.08
	6	-.04	.18	.03	.02	.00	.04	.01	-.08
	8	.01	.06	-.01	-.08	.02	.03	.03	.06
Anti-System Acts	4	.04	-.08	.05	-.08	.05	.02	-.01	.03
	6	.01	-.08	-.08	.01	-.04	-.09	-.05	-.02
	8	-.02	-.03	.04	.01	-.07	.00	-.14	-.00

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Origin of Rules and Laws.

Children's perception of the origin of rules and laws was assessed through questionnaire items inquiring about their perception of rule-makers and rule-enforcers in the family as well as rule-makers in the neighborhood.

Rule-making in the family. Children's perceptions of rule-makers in the family were assessed through the questionnaire item, "Who usually makes the rules in your family?" The response alternatives to this question are listed in Table 6-14. Data show that 55 to 57 percent of the children, regardless of age, saw father and mother functioning as a unit in the process of family rule-making. As shown in Table 6-14, this response was significantly more frequent than the other alternatives and remained in this prominent position regardless of age.

Between 20 and 28 percent of the children saw family rule-making as a democratic process in which the whole family participated. This belief in egalitarian rule-making involving the entire family decreased with age. Nevertheless, it remained the prominent response for approximately one-fourth of this research group. The primacy of the mother-father unit over the whole family, with little evidence of a pull with age toward perceiving rule-making as a familial endeavor, was particularly interesting in light of the opposite age trend in the Negro sample and other research stressing the democratic dimension of the American family (Baldwin, 1955; Hess & Torney, 1962; Meister, 1956; Bowerman, 1964).

Few children saw just one parent as the sole (unilateral) rule-maker for the family. However, within the context of single parental choices, more saw father than mother as the primary legislator, i.e., seven to eleven percent of the sample saw mother, and 10 to 14 percent saw father. The interesting thing about the mother or father choice was the reversal in expected pattern.

Another outstanding characteristic of the U.S. Caucasian sample's responses was the stability of their choices. Children continued to perceive mother and father together as the most powerful unit in family rule-making across the grade levels. Similarly, the choices for the whole family and for mother and father as unilateral agents stayed within a relatively same range from grades 4 to 8.

A noteworthy change was the slight decrease at grade 8 in the percentage of reports of the whole family as a democratic rule-making unit while father and mother

together showed little movement. The findings may reveal early awareness of the family power structure as well as an early recognition of the irreversibility of parental dominance. This pattern may be indicative of the wide and perhaps irreconcilable gap between children's and parents' values that ushered in the hippie movement--mainly the product of U.S. urban children, the sample of this study.

Although the alternative father and mother together was chosen more often by all sampling groups than any other alternative, more high status than low status children saw the family as ruled democratically and more low status children nominated father and mother together as the rule makers in the family (see Table 6-14). At grade 8, twice as many high status children reported that their entire family is involved in making family rules (26% vs. 13%) while 62% of the low status group vs. 51% of the high status group nominated father and mother together as the rule-makers in the family. These findings are in line with other research findings where approximately the same aged, lower status children saw their homes as more authoritarian (Maas, 1951; MacKinnon, 1938).

Regarding sex differences in perception of family power structure, other researchers (Bronson, 1959; Hess & Torney, 1962) found that girls more often than boys saw rule-making as a whole family activity; the present data showed that more boys than girls across grades had this view. There was also a sex difference in the way girls and boys saw father or mother as sole rule maker, but there were no differences in nominations of father and mother together as rule-makers. Over 50 percent of the girls and boys at grades 4 and 8 saw the father and mother operating together as rule-makers. The frequency of girls perceiving father as the sole rule-maker in the family remained the same across grades; the number of boys viewing the father as the sole rule-maker in the family increased noticeably with age. The girls' nominations followed the same pattern about the power of the same-sex figure (the mother) but the changes with age were smaller than those observed among the boys for the father.

Summary. The findings reflect the power of parents acting together as the major source of rules and laws in the family. Few children reported single parent action; a somewhat larger proportion saw family rule making as a democratic process. The saliency and stability across grades of the number of children perceiving the family rules as made through the joint action of parents was coupled with a slight decrease with age in children's perception of the entire family as involved in rule-making and a small but corresponding increase in reports of

parents as unilateral rule makers. The apparent strength of the two parents acting together, the absence of increased participation by growing children in family rule-making, and the fact that the opposite trend was observed for U.S. Negroes, were the most revealing findings. The fact that with age a decreasing number of Caucasian children perceived their families as functioning democratically, while the opposite was true for Negroes, may reflect changes in the family structure in both ethnic groups. The data for the U.S. Caucasian sample suggest a break in communication and values between growing children and their parents. These differences between U.S. Caucasians and Negroes may reflect realistic perception, i.e., recognition by the U.S. Caucasians of the futility of desiring equality, and a correlative acceptance of power in the family unit.

Rule-making in the neighborhood. Children's responses to the question "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live--like your neighborhood?" are shown in Table 6-15 and Figure 6-11. The salient characteristic of these responses was the high ranking positions of civic leaders, i.e., mayor (city), governor (state), President (nation), and policeman (community), in that order. At all age levels, the mayor and governor were assigned the major rule-making responsibility for the neighborhood. The unusual prominance of the mayor may be related to peculiarities of the metropolitan area from which the American sample was drawn.

The next most powerful were the policeman and President who reversed positions between grades 4 and 6. They were followed by mother and father, whose nominations decreased moderately between grades 4 and 8. For all age groups the teacher and religious leader consistently had the least power to make rules in the neighborhood. This pattern paralleled other research where (1) parents and the President ranked above teachers (Greenstein, 1960), and (2) pre-adolescents' perception of any adult authority's action was in terms of power and control implications (Jenkins & Lippitt, 1951).

The perceived local rule-making power of all civic figures except the mayor decreased rapidly from grades 4 to 8. The President received twice as many "votes" at grade 4 as at grade 8, indicating that more younger than older children saw the President as powerful and involved in neighborhood life and law. The fact that older children gave more nominations to the policeman than to the President as an originator of neighborhood regulations undoubtedly reflects the children's growing

awareness of the policeman's primary function as an enforcer and representative of the city, of his more immediate involvement in maintaining order in the community, and of a general interlocking of the rule-making and rule-enforcing aspects of the legal process.

Parental authoritativeness in neighborhood rule-making decreased between grades 4 and 6 but levelled between 6 and 8, a finding consistent with other reports that younger children see authority as powerful, competent, infallible, and that the amount of power ascribed to father is well below that of policeman or President (Hess and Torney, 1967). Although these percentages were considerably lower than those commanded by the mayor, governor, President, or policeman, they were higher than those acquired by mother or father as individual rule-makers in the family. Perhaps the parental dyad was less expressive or instrumental in the community than at home, but parents assuredly have moderately low potency in the neighborhood. The similarity in percentage ranges and magnitudes and the absence of a "mother and father together" option argue for considering the possibility that children really saw mothers and fathers as exchangeable units when it comes to rule-making--be it at home or in the neighborhood.

Consistently across the grades, relatively few children saw the teacher and religious leader as effective rule-makers in the neighborhood. This may reflect a realistic perception that neither figure is a prime rule-maker in a legislative sense or may reveal a lack of knowledge concerning the roles of the teacher and religious leader as enforcers of rules in their respective neighborhood institutions.

For some figures, differences by sex and SES emerged (see Table 6-15). High and low status children viewed parental power similarly but had quite different perceptions of certain non-family authority figures. At all ages, more low status than high status children attributed legislative power to the policeman and President--a finding again paralleling other research. At grades 6 and 8 more low status than high status children nominated the mayor, and especially the governor. The relative lack of differences between the two SES groups in nominations given the governor is particularly interesting since the variation between the two SES groups was greatest for policeman and President.

Although more low status than high status grade 4 children felt that the teacher and religious leader had rule-making ability, by grade 8 no SES differences affected perception of these figures as having little impact on the rule-making processes of the neighborhood. The SES differences observed at grade 4 in nominations given to mother or father disappeared by grade 8, again suggesting that children perceive the parental rule-making role as joint.

These patterns suggest that low status children view distant authority figures as very powerful and regard the external social environment as more authoritative and less amenable to familial pressures. This attitude changed somewhat as low status children matured, but, regardless of age, more low status than high status children ascribed prominent legislative roles to non-family authority figures.

There were no differences between boys' and girls' perception of parental or religious leader's rule-making authority after grade 4. Few sex differences appeared on nominations given the mayor or governor, except on the latter figure at grade 8. Generally, girls more than boys imputed to the policeman, President, governor and even teacher rule- and law-making roles in the neighborhood.

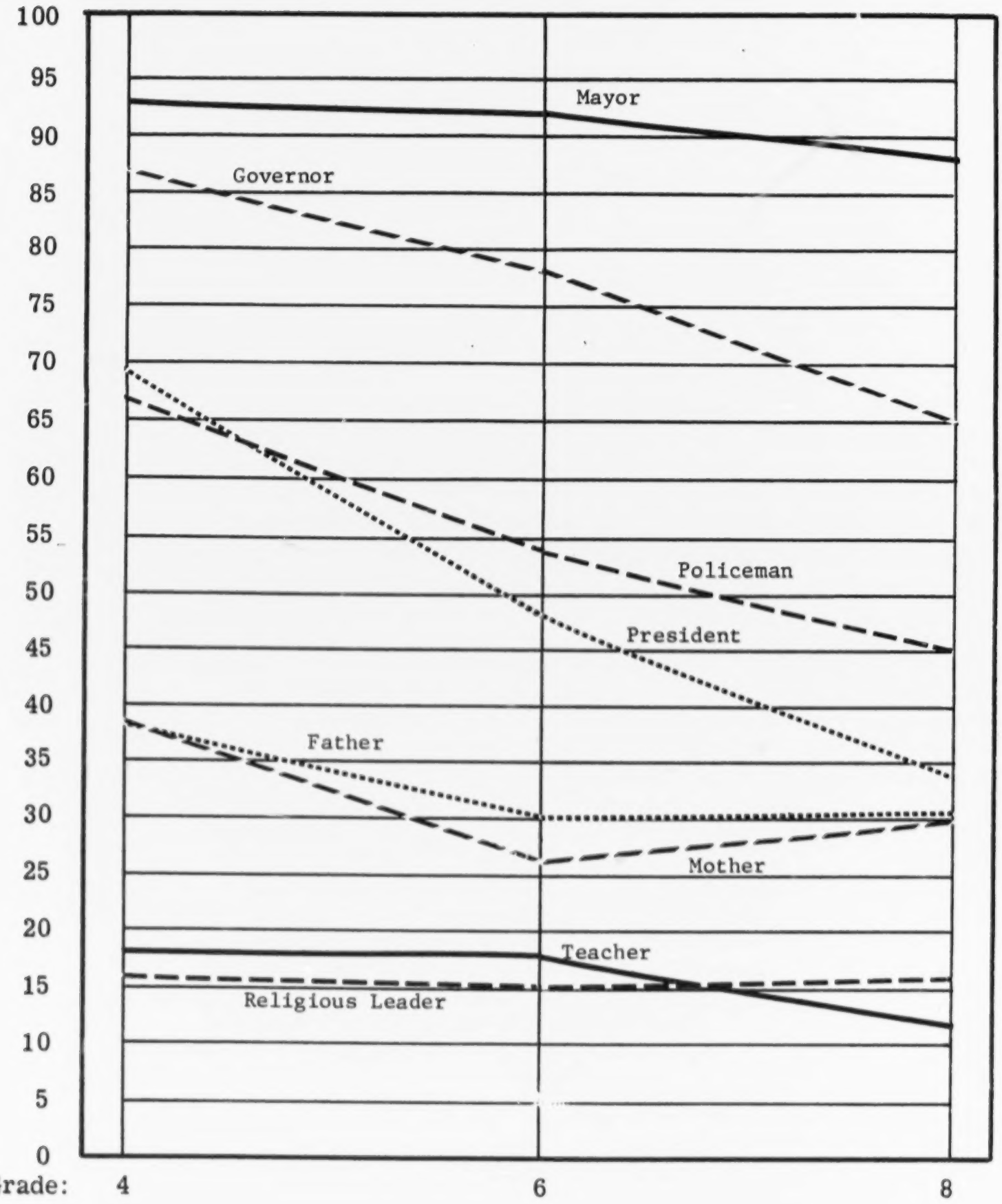
Summary. Four distinct groupings emerged from Ss' nominations regarding rule-making ability in the neighborhood, and maintained relatively stable rank order positions: (1) Mayor and governor, who received the highest percentages of nominations, especially the mayor, regardless of the Ss' age; (2) Policeman and President, who received moderately high percentages of nominations, lessening with the Ss' age; (3) Parents with moderately few nominations, declining somewhat with the Ss' age; and (4) Teacher and religious leader, receiving even fewer nominations, decreasing further for the teacher, as children grew older.

There are three distinguishing features of these data: First, the children's perceptions grew more realistic with maturity. All figures were nominated less frequently with age, though nominations for the figures ranking highest and lowest, i.e. the mayor and the religious leader, declined the least. Second, although belief in the power of non-family authorities to make neighborhood rules declined with age in both SES groups, more low status than high status older children continued to ascribe rule- and law-making roles to the distant and non-familial authority figures. Third, more

girls than boys ascribed rule- and law-making roles in the neighborhood to non-family authority figures.

Age trends, like the social status trends, reflected greater knowledge, experience, and specificity. The declines, especially for policeman, President, and even Governor, reflected increased clarity about the power that certain figures exert in specific jurisdictional spheres. Sex differences seemed less influential than developmental or socioeconomic factors in judging the legislative power structure of the neighborhood.

FIGURE 6-11
PERCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
IN RULE AND LAW-MAKING, BY GRADE
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)



Item: "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live--like your neighborhood?"

TABLE 6-14

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN MAKING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	10	11	9	12	8
	6	8	10	7	10	7
	8	14	13	15	11	16
Total			11	10	11	10
Mother	4	7	8	5	8	5
	6	11	12	10	9	13
	8	10	11	8	12	7
Total			10	11	10	8
Father and mother together	4	56	57	54	56	55
	6	55	51	59	58	51
	8	57	62	51	59	54
Total			57	55	58	53
Whole family	4	28	24	32	24	32
	6	26	28	24	23	29
	8	20	13	26	17	22
Total			22	27	21	28

Item: "Who usually makes the rules in your family?" Response alternatives: 1. Father; 2. Mother; 3. Father and Mother together; 4. Whole family. Item Scale: Percentage choice of one alternative.

TABLE 6-15

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES IN RULE- AND LAW-MAKING IN THE COMMUNITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Mother	4	38	50	26	43	33
	6	27	27	27	27	28
	8	30	29	30	28	31
Total		32	35	28	33	31
Father	4	38	49	27	42	34
	6	30	29	31	30	30
	8	31	31	32	32	31
Total			36	30	35	32
Teacher	4	18	26	10	23	14
	6	18	19	16	18	18
	8	12	13	12	14	10
Total			19	13	18	14
Policeman	4	67	74	59	73	60
	6	54	64	44	60	48
	8	45	50	39	49	40
Total			69	47	61	49
Mayor	4	93	92	94	95	91
	6	92	94	90	95	89
	8	88	92	85	91	86
Total			93	90	94	89
Governor	4	87	88	87	88	86
	6	98	80	76	80	76
	8	65	72	59	72	58
Total			80	74	80	73
President	4	69	74	63	71	66
	6	48	64	33	55	41
	8	34	44	24	42	26
Total			61	40	56	44
Religious leader	4	16	23	8	19	13
	6	15	18	13	15	16
	8	16	14	16	14	16
Total			18	12	16	15

Note: "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live--like your neighborhood?" Alternatives: "Yes", "No", "Don't know". Item scale: Percentage responding "Yes" to each of the figures listed.

c. Justice of Rules and Laws

Children's views on the justice of rules and laws of various authority figures and systems were assessed through the questionnaire item: "How many of the rules (laws, orders) of . . . (figure) are fair?" The responses were scaled from 1, none to 6, all. In addition, the interviewed children (10 percent of the total sample) were asked "What is a fair rule?"

Responses to the latter question provided connotative and denotative data on children's definitions of "fair" or "just," contributing to an understanding of the influences of age, sex, and social status on children's attitudes about the justice of specific authorities' rules or laws. Definitions of a fair rule fell into the following three major categories: (1) distributive (e.g., "a rule is fair if it affects everyone equally), (2) conceptual (e.g., "a rule is fair if there is a justifiable reason for its creation"), and (3) consensual (e.g., "a rule is fair if the persons who must comply with it agree with it").

Most children judged rules as fair if applicable equally to everyone. This distributive definition assumed greater importance as children grew older. Younger children placed more weight than older children on justifiable reasons, such as adult purpose, as conditions for fairness. Group consensus was cited least often as a condition for a rule to be considered as fair. The responses of high status children more often than those of low status children applied to more than one response category. In other words, children in the former group more often than those in the latter enunciated multiple reasons for calling a rule "fair"; this may be an indication of a greater cognitive complexity and sophistication as well as richer social experience.

Data collected through the questionnaire item inquiring about the fairness of rules of different authority figures are presented in Figure 6-12. As can be seen in this graph, the spread of the mean scores for family and non-family authority and peer figures was much greater at grade 4 than at grade 8. The 4th graders described the laws or rules of all systems anywhere from "most" to "nearly all" fair and gave higher ratings and, therefore, more positive fairness judgments to rules and laws of all figures except friends than did the 8th graders. Figure 6-12 also shows that at grade 4, the rules of mother and father ranked highest, followed by the laws and rules of the U.S. government, city, and policeman (for whom the mean scores were undifferentiated), the

teacher, and, finally, friends (whose mean score was substantially lower than that of the teacher). At grade 6, the rank order remained the same, except that government, city, and policeman were differentiated (and ranked in that order). At grade 8, the highest rank position was occupied by the mother and U.S. government (whose mean scores were undifferentiated), father and city ranked second (with no difference between them in mean scores), and policeman, teachers, and friends occupied the lowest rank position (with almost no difference in mean scores).

The principal sampling variables of the study--grade, social status, and sex--affected all the indices. There were significant grade effects on the indices for parents, teacher, and other authority, indicating a decline with age in children's assessment of the fairness of their rules. On children's perception of government rules, no change was apparent with increasing age. For all other authority figures the pattern was the same--a downward direction, i.e., fewer rules (or laws) are fair or just.

Significant effects by sex on the indices for all figures except parents indicated that girls had a higher regard than boys for the fairness of rules and/or laws. On the other authority index girls' means at grades 4, 6 and 8 were 4.26, 4.14, and 3.96, respectively, while the corresponding means of boys were 4.10, 3.91, and 3.74. With respect to the fairness of teacher's rules, girls' means were 4.36, 3.78, and 3.62 at grades 4, 6, and 8, respectively, and boys' means were 3.55, 3.12, and 3.21. On the rating of friends' rules as fair girls' means were 3.16, 3.47, and 3.59 at grades 4, 6, and 8 while the corresponding means for boys were 3.10, 2.84, and 3.29. A significant social class effect emerged only on friends. The high status group (means: grade 4, 3.34; grade 6, 3.35; grade 8, 3.58) displayed a more positive attitude in evaluating the fairness of friend's rules than did the low status group (means: grade 4, 2.91; grade 6, 3.02; grade 8, 3.28).

As children matured, they appeared to become skeptical about the fairness of rules of the adult world and, comparatively, more appreciative of the fairness of friend's rules. The reason for the stability of ratings of the fairness of rules and laws of the U.S. Government is unclear and complex. This finding is contrary to other research. While the 4th graders' regard for the fairness of the rules and laws of the government may stem from beliefs in imminent justice, the judgments of 6th and 8th graders may be reflecting notions of justice learned in civics courses. The lack of change in evaluation of the fairness of government rules and laws may also occur because of the

limited social experience with government officials. The socializing effect of cases tested in the U.S. courts involving the laws of the land also should not be overlooked. Children's judgments may reflect a belief that the impersonal quality of the U.S. government guarantees objectivity and fairness to "nearly all" its rules and laws.

Relationship between perception of figures' rules as fair and attachment to authority figures. Product-moment correlations between children's ratings of the fairness of authority figure's rules and of the degree to which they liked the figure or felt the figure was helpful were consistently significant (see Table 6-16). With few exceptions, perception of figures as helpful and likeable correlated strongly and positively with perception of their rules as fair at all age levels and for both sexes: 84 of a total of 90 correlations were significant.

Interestingly, the correlations between liking and fairness were stronger (65 percent above .4) than the correlations between helpfulness and fairness (15 percent above .4). Quite consistently, the relationship between liking for the figure and belief in the fairness of the figure's rules was strongest for teacher and policeman. Although liking parents positively correlated with fair rules for parents, the relationship was not as strong as with the less intimate authority figures. Possibly, children, particularly younger children, felt a familial commitment to like their parents, whether or not they perceived their rules as fair. With more authoritative, less intimate, authority figures children may not have felt the same responsibility or obligation to them per se. Therefore, an expression of positive sentiment revealed a positive regard for the way these figures executed their authority roles.

Relationship between perception of authority figures' rules as fair and classroom behavior. Of the 168 correlations between aggressive or compliant classroom behavior and ratings of the fairness of figures' rules, 91 were statistically significant (see Table 6-17). There were about an equal number of significant correlations for positive and negative behavior in the expected direction: children rated as compliant with both peers and teachers tended to view the rules of authority figures as fair; children rated as aggressive tended to see them as unfair. In addition, for five of the authority figures (mother, police, city, government, and friends), the number of significant correlations increased with age.

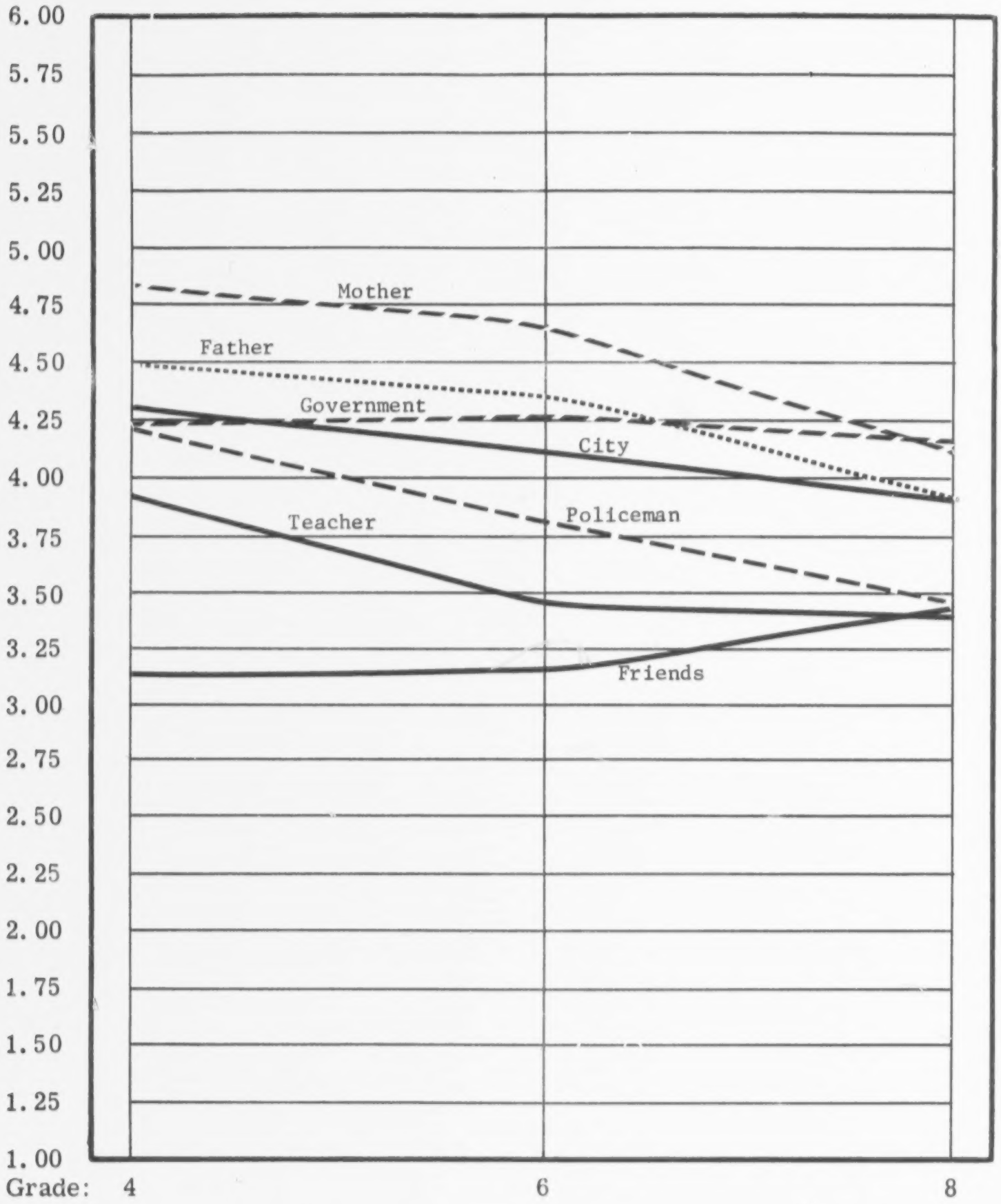
Significant relationships emerged most frequently for teacher, father, and policeman, least frequently for friends. For friends, correlations increased with age for boys but not for girls. These two findings, taken in conjunction would imply that belief in the justice of peers' rules did not have as important an influence upon the child's behavior--even for peer to peer behavior--as did belief in the fairness of rules of adult figures. As might be expected, by grade 8 this was more true for girls than boys. Boys may shift in orientation at an earlier age to peer group interaction and, hence, be more likely than girls to be affected behaviorally by beliefs in the fairness of friends' rules.

Summary. For this group of urban young Americans, as for other national groups, there was a downward movement across grades in estimates of the fairness of adult rules. Across all grades, mother's rules were seen as the most fair, while regard for the fairness of the teacher's rules was lower than for the rules of any other authority figure. With age, friends' rules were seen as increasingly fair. The most striking finding was that regard for the U.S. Government's laws as fair remained constant with age.

Where sampling variations by sex and social status occurred, they were in the same direction, indicating that a positive regard for the fairness of the figures' rules was more pronounced among girls than boys and more among low status than high status children. Sex differences were apparent for other authority, teacher, and friends while social status differences were significant only for friends.

There was a strong positive relationship between the children's perception of authority figures as helpful and likeable and the perceived fairness of their rules; the more likeable and helpful the figure, the fairer his (or her) rules. This association was strongest for policeman and teacher. Also, consistent and significant relationships exist between attitudes toward the fairness of authorities' rules and classroom behavior. Compliant children viewed authorities' rules as just, and aggressive (noncompliant) ones saw them as unfair. These associations were stronger for more distant authority figures and at older ages.

FIGURE 6-12
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE
OF FIGURES' RULES, BY GRADE
(U.S. CAUCASIAN)



Item: "How many of (figure's) rules are fair?"

Scale: 1 - None; 6 - All.

TABLE 6-16

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF POSITIVE AND PUNITIVE DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND BELIEF IN THE JUSTICE OF THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

JUSTICE OF RULES WITH:	AUTHORITY FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
		GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Willingness to help	Father	.29*	.32*	.44*	.41*	.36*	.30*
	Mother	.25*	.18	.32*	.26*	.18	.38*
	Teacher	.28*	.37*	.39*	.46*	.35*	.22*
	Policeman	.32*	.15	.16	.19*	.39*	.47*
	Government-President	.12	.16	.22*	.39*	.20*	.26*
Affective attachment (liking)	Father	.36*	.06	.53*	.44*	.53*	.51*
	Mother	.20*	.30*	.25*	.20*	.46*	.52*
	Teacher	.52*	.51*	.51*	.52*	.58*	.50*
	Policeman	.51*	.42*	.47*	.29*	.50*	.50*
	Government-President	.43*	.46*	.47*	.41*	.24*	.23*
Power to punish non-compliance	Father	.10	.19	.15	.30*	.17	.12
	Mother	-.01	.21*	-.05	.10	.09	.30*
	Teacher	.13	.30*	-.01	.13	.17	.14
	Policeman	.03	.10	.02	.19	.10	.18
	Government-President	.03	.09	-.20	.05	-.06	.02
Inevitability of Punishment	Father	.06	.13	-.00	.23*	.03	.10
	Mother	-.00	.25*	-.26*	.03	-.08	.05
	Teacher	-.01	.09	-.22*	-.08	.03	.03
	Policeman	.13	.13	.02	.18	.10	.10
	Government-President	.04	.17	.14	.10	.08	.04

Note: * Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 6-17

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF IN THE JUSTICE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.21*	.29*	.20*	.26*	-.24*	-.23*	-.19	-.21*
	6	.13	.17	.19	.18	-.25*	-.08	-.28*	-.11
	8	.16	.18*	.21*	.26*	-.23*	-.15	-.18*	-.20*
Mother	4	.05	.02	.02	.05	.14	-.01	.04	.00
	6	.22*	-.04	.27*	.03	-.19*	.15	-.33*	.01
	8	.24*	.21*	.32*	.20*	-.34*	-.11	-.35*	-.18*
Teacher	4	.15	.25*	.20*	.25*	-.06	-.23*	-.11	-.23
	6	.21*	.29*	.30*	.21*	-.22*	-.32*	-.24*	-.31*
	8	.13	.33*	.22*	.40*	-.18*	-.27*	-.28*	-.33*
Police	4	.11	.09	.08	.08	-.10	-.18*	-.08	-.15*
	6	.21*	-.04	.24*	.06	-.23*	-.10	-.22*	-.09
	8	.17*	.27*	.30*	.31*	-.23*	-.26*	-.27*	-.26*
City	4	.05	.09	.08	.04	-.10	-.20*	-.04	-.20*
	6	.13	-.00	.15	-.04	-.20*	-.10	-.14	-.11
	8	.22*	.26*	.28*	.30*	-.27*	-.18*	-.27*	-.20*
Government	4	.13	.04	.14	-.04	-.27*	-.12	-.19*	-.10
	6	.12	.03	.21*	.18	-.10	-.06	-.10	-.17
	8	.18*	.21	.25*	.31*	-.27*	-.21*	-.22	-.22*
Friends	4	.05	.20*	.04	.06	-.07	-.12	-.08	-.18*
	6	.26	.13	.29*	.10	-.11	-.11	-.14	-.04
	8	.18*	.28*	.10	.22*	.10	-.20*	.05	-.21*

Note: * Indicates significant correlation.

d. The Enforcement of Rules and Laws

Rule enforcement in the family. Children's responses to the question "Who sees that the rules of your family are obeyed or enforced?" revealed a pattern similar to that observed in response to the question "Who usually makes the rules in your family?" (see Table 6-18). Regardless of their age, sex, or social status, children saw rule-makers in the family also as rule-enforcers. The major unit of rule-enforcing and rule-making were the father and mother acting together, followed again by the whole family, with the same decline observed with age. Clearly, children saw legislation and enforcement as part of the same process.

Data collected through the interview questions "Who can make you follow rules and laws?" and "Who cannot make you follow rules and laws?" indicated that for these children, age, power, and role-related status were the chief dimensions differentiating those who may dominate and those who must submit. These children did not view all adults as commanding obedience but maintained differences among categories. Adults close to children who commanded resources or evoked sanctions relevant to children's experiential world and life-view were vested with more power than less familiar adults. Peers were not viewed as important sanctioning or rule-enforcing figures. Parents were seen as the most powerful rule-enforcers, closely and increasingly with age, followed by the policeman. Authority and power were linked: persons with no power, age, or status ascriptions commanded little obedience or compliance.

TABLE 6-18

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN ENFORCING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	13	14	11	9	6
	6	8	8	8	7	9
	8	10	11	9	7	12
Total			11	9	8	9
Mother	4	9	13	5	10	8
	6	14	13	14	16	12
	8	14	19	10	16	13
Total			15	10	14	11
Father and Mother together	4	51	50	52	50	52
	6	46	44	48	46	47
	8	57	56	58	56	57
Total			50	53	51	52
Whole Family	4	27	23	32	21	33
	6	32	35	29	31	33
	8	19	15	23	21	17
Total			24	25	24	28

Note: Item: "Who sees that the rules of your family are obeyed or enforced?"

Item Scale: Percentage choice of one alternative.

B3. The Child's Internalization of Norms

From the standpoint of the theory of political and moral development and of practical implications as they might be encountered in the classroom or other institutions of the community, one of the most significant issues in the socialization of compliance is the extent to which the rules and sanctions of the society are internalized by the maturing child. The issues surrounding the process of internalization and the research that has been done on this topic are complex and voluminous, and it is not within the intent of this report to deal extensively with the empirical and theoretical context of internalization. The reader who wishes to pursue this facet of the problems may find an excellent review in a presentation by Aronfreed (1967) and in the discussions of Kohlberg (1963, 1964) already mentioned in this report. The purpose of this section is to present results of the data collected from the Caucasian children of the U.S. research groups. The relevance of these results to theory in the field is more appropriately summarized in the summary sections of the report.

In this part of the report, the data which are subsumed in a general way under internalization of rules have to do with two types of responses: those that report feelings of guilt or self reproach on the part of the child following noncompliance with authority and those which report a desire to impose the rules of authority figures upon other children.

a. Subjective Response to Noncompliance

The questionnaire included several items which asked about the child's emotional discomfort in response to disobeying an authority figure. Two types of questions were used. The first followed this general wording: "When you break your (figure's) rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?" The response to this series of inquiries was noted on a scale from 1 (No, not at all) to 6 (Yes, very, very much).

The pattern of response by grade and by figure to this group of items from the U.S. Caucasian children is shown in Figure 6-13. There is a decline in reported feelings of guilt for all figures and institutions. The response to friends, however, remains at an even level across the grades. The magnitude of decline is not constant for all figures. The religious leader shows least drop; the city, policeman, and teacher show the greatest decline. This suggests that the changes that occur with age are not simply differences in response set, or in a general reluctance to admit to feelings of guilt, but rather that, with age, differentiations are being made among the figures.

The reasons for these differentiations are not apparent from the data. However, they appear to be related to the child's experience and might be expected to vary considerably from one country to another. The decline appears for figures with whom the child interacts frequently as well as for figures more distant from his immediate arena. The figure for whom feelings of guilt do not seem to decrease markedly during the later elementary school years is friends.

The social status differences on these items vary considerably from one figure to another. They do not appear on items dealing with parental figures or the teacher. There are social status differences in response to the question about the religious leader, however, with lower status children expressing more guilt (low SES means at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 4.82, 4.82, and 4.09, respectively; high SES means were 4.55, 3.84, and 3.50, respectively). For other figures, especially policeman, government, and city, the difference between the two groups is that high status children tend to express more feelings of guilt at grade four and show a more rapid drop in such feelings by grade eight (see Tables 6-19 through 6-21).

Girls express more feelings of guilt over disobedience than do boys. This sex difference in subjective response to noncompliance is consistent across all figures but is particularly marked for mother (where girls' means are 4.87, 4.91, and 4.07 for grades 4, 6, and 8 respectively, and boys' means are 4.42, 4.25, and 3.44 across the grades) and friends (where means for girls are: grade 4, 3.32; grade 6, 3.34; and grade 8, 3.36, and the comparable means for boys are 2.62, 2.68, and 2.55). On the whole, the responses to this set of questions are in line with known differences between boys and girls in the United States in similar areas of behavior (Maccoby, 1967).

Relation of guilt to other variables of the study. Some additional understanding of guilt may be possible by examining the pattern of correlations between guilt and other measures of the child's view of authority figures. For example, do children who like authority figures and think of them as helpful tend to express more guilt over disobedience? Or is it the feeling that authority figures are just in their demands that gives rise to guilt? Another possibility is that children who see authority figures as powerful and likely to punish are more sensitive to the consequences of disobedience and thus more likely to feel guilty. An examination of the correlations of these perceptions may give some clues to the antecedents of guilt over disobedience, or at least indicate its correlates.

15

Since the total number of correlation coefficients is very large for these comparisons, only a summary will be presented here. Table 6-22 shows the correlations between our measure of guilt and measures of attachment (like, helpful), and between guilt and feelings that the authority's rules are just and fair. Table 6-23 shows the correlations between guilt and measures of the figures' punitive characteristics.

The data in these tables of correlation show a stronger relationship between guilt and both measures of attachment and measures of a sense of justice of the rules of the figures than between guilt and the items dealing with punitive power and probability of punishment for disobedience. When this finding is considered in conjunction with the findings regarding the association between perception of authority figures as helpful, likable, and just and classroom behavior, it seems plausible that it is attachment to figures and positive regard for the justice of their rules which are effective in promoting internalization of the norms and rules of the system.

Relationship between guilt and classroom behavior. The significance of guilt as a measure of socialization in relation to compliance systems ultimately must be evaluated by the degree to which feelings of guilt influence behavior in various life situations. That such a relationship does indeed exist seems evident from the pattern of correlations between these measures and the peer nomination indices of behavior within the school context (Table 6-24). These correlations appear to be generally higher for teacher and policeman than for other figures and are higher at grade eight than at grade four. Although not all the coefficients are significant, considering the reliability levels of the data, the pattern leads us to conclude that this relationship does exist. It is significant, too, that it was the feelings of positive attachment and respect, and not perception of punitive power, that appeared to contribute to, or be associated with, feelings of discomfort over noncompliance.

Self-punishment for disobedience. Another item which was intended to reveal feelings of guilt in response to disobedience approached the issue in quite a different way. This question inquired whether the child expected to be punished for breaking rhe rules of an authority figure. The initial query was followed by an additional part of the question: "Who else might punish or scold you?" The responses to most of the alternatives to this question were covered above in the section in which children's perception of inter-system reinforcement of discipline was discussed. One of the alternatives to this item was "I, (me)," meaning that the child would be inclined to punish himself for misbehavior. This item, as described above, was repeated for several authority figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, city, government). The number of times that a child responded that he would punish himself if he broke the rules of authority figures (counted across the six situations) yielded an overall index of self-punishment for non-compliance. In this section the responses to this group of items are reported (see Table 6-25).

Although there was a tendency for children to report less intense feelings of guilt as they advanced in grade, this was not true for the punish-self response (Table 6-25). Indeed, the response to the item dealing with the city shows an increase in level of response; other items show some rise, but less marked. There is also little differentiation among the several figures and institutions. With the exception of city, the figures are grouped closely together. This is in contrast to the differentiation on many of the items discussed in this chapter. The lack of age change is comparable to the item dealing with inevitability of punishment.

Social status differences on the punish-self index are not consistent with those found for the guilt items. Children from a high status background show more often a tendency to punish self for misconduct than do low status children. (High SES means: grade 4, 4.33; grade 6, 4.67; grade 8, 4.33. Low SES means: grade 4, 3.04; grade 6, 3.70; grade 8, 3.98). This holds for all figures, showing more consistency from one figure to another than do the guilt items. As in the responses describing feelings of guilt, more of the girls in the group tended to report that they would punish themselves. The means for girls at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 3.98, 4.61, and 4.28, respectively; for boys the means were 3.38, 3.76, and 4.03, respectively.

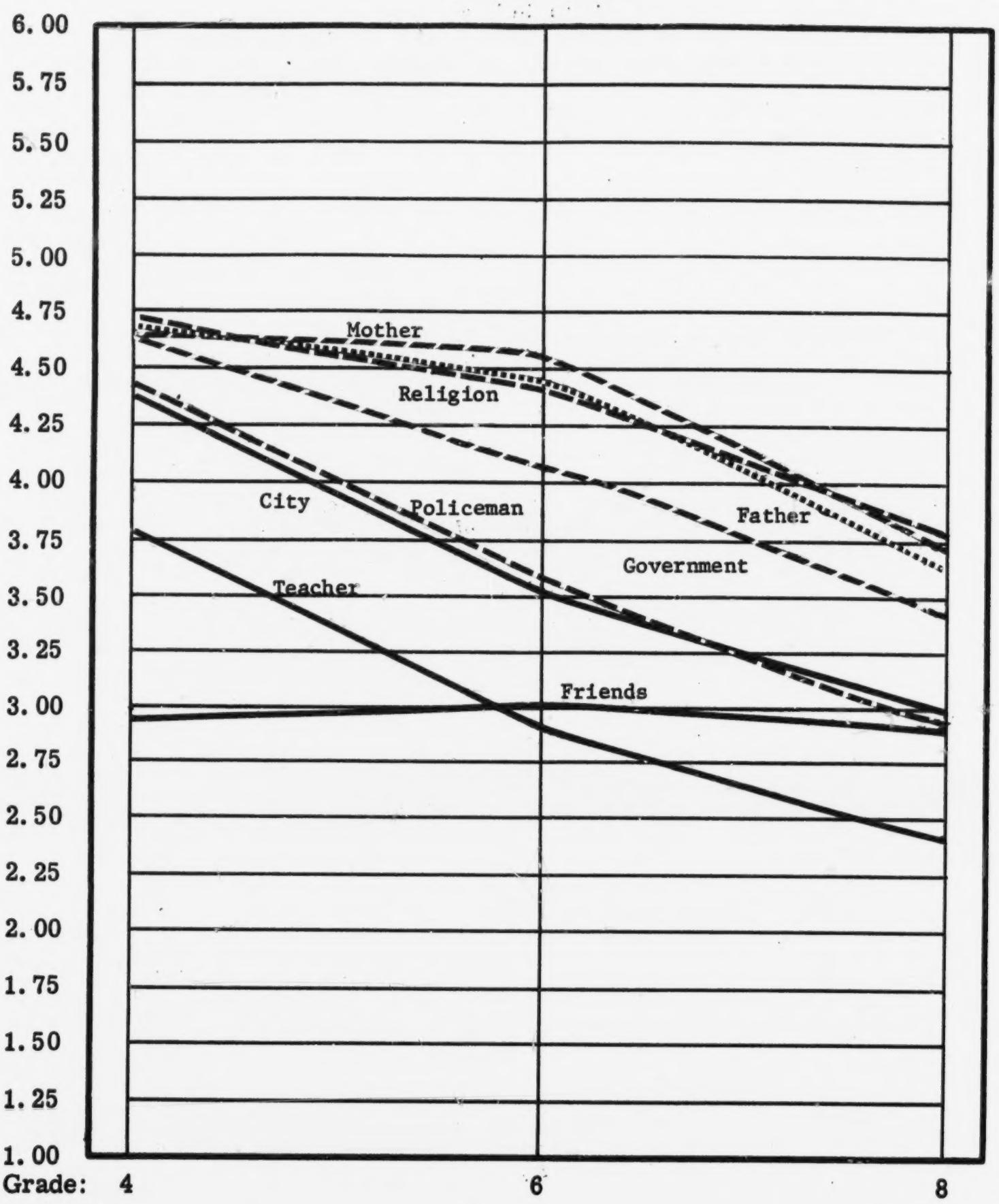
Since this item was designed to elicit feelings of emotional discomfort over noncompliance and was therefore an alternative measure of guilt, it is relevant to examine the relationship between this item and the guilt items discussed above. This association is shown in Table 6-26, which summarizes the correlation coefficients between the two sets of items. The figures on this table show the number of statistically significant correlations across the 6 grade-sex groups. It is clear from this summary that a positive correlation exists between the two measures. Children who report that they would punish themselves in response to punishment by authority figures also indicate on the guilt scales that they would "feel bad" if they disobeyed authority figures, even if they were not discovered. Of the total number of 48 correlations, 30 are statistically significant; a large majority of those dealing with parental authority and with the teacher are above the significant cutoff level. This lends some support to the view that this item also measures feelings of guilt.

Relationship between self-punishment and classroom behavior. Although there is a correlation between the guilt items and the punish-self items, the punish-self responses show less relationship to our behavioral indices. Only three of the group of 12 coefficients across grade-sex groups reach significance level; the direction of the correlation coefficients is not always consistent. We conclude that there is little correspondence between this measure and the behavioral reports of peers. Perhaps this can be explained by the difference in the situations posed by the two types of items. The guilt item presented a situation in which the authority figure did not know of the misconduct; the punish-self item portrayed a situation in which the child had already been punished for misbehavior. This difference of detection and punishment may stimulate more genuine feelings of concern than the tendency to add to and reinforce the punishment already received. Perhaps, in some instances, the response might have been in jest--a rueful reflection about the carelessness of having been caught in the act!

Summary. Guilt feelings over disobedience of the rules of an authority figure decline with age and show differences between boys and girls, with girls expressing more discomfort over noncompliance. Social status differences are minimal. More guilt is expressed in relation to city than to the other figures. Responses to this item are related to classroom behavior--children with little discomfort in the hypothetical situations show more anti-peer and anti-teacher behavior. Feelings of guilt are related positively to feelings of attachment, perception of figures as helpful and just, but are not related to perception of figures as powerful or likely to punish.

An alternative measure of guilt intended to elicit tendencies to punish oneself after punishment by authority figures shows no decline with age and large sex and social class differences. Girls and children from high status homes are more likely to report that they would punish themselves under the hypothetical situations described. These self-reports show very little, if any, relationship to classroom behavior.

FIGURE 6-13
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH FIGURE'S RULES, BY GRADE
(U.S. CAUCASIONS)



Item: When you break (figure's) rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?
Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

TABLE 6-19

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH POLICEMEN'S RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.42	4.43	4.06	4.22	4.70	4.56	4.63	4.57	4.30
SIX	3.60	4.13	3.57	3.85	3.72	2.77	3.25	3.96	3.23
EIGHT	2.90	3.47	2.59	2.97	3.13	2.59	2.84	3.28	2.59
TOTALS				3.65			3.53	3.89	3.34

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) GRADE, SEX. ITEM: "WHEN YOU BREAK POLICEMEN'S ORDERS AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 6-20

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH CITY'S RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.34	4.49	3.74	4.08	4.57	4.68	4.63	4.53	4.18
SIX	3.56	4.04	3.56	3.80	3.71	2.81	3.27	3.89	3.22
EIGHT	2.95	3.48	2.62	3.00	3.15	2.71	2.91	3.30	2.67
TOTALS				3.60			3.55	3.87	3.31

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) GRADE, SEX. ITEM: "WHEN YOU BREAK THE CITY'S LAWS OR RULES AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 6-21

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NON-COMPLIANCE WITH GOVERNMENT'S RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.62	4.61	4.19	4.38	5.07	4.72	4.90	4.84	4.43
SIX	4.10	4.70	4.02	4.36	4.37	3.19	3.75	4.56	3.65
EIGHT	3.42	3.91	3.16	3.47	3.71	3.09	3.37	3.80	3.12
TOTALS				4.04			3.97	4.38	3.69

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: (OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES) GRADE, SEX. ITEM: "WHEN YOU BREAK THE LAWS OR RULES OF THE UNITED STATES AND NO ONE KNOWS ABOUT IT, DO YOU FEEL BAD?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 YES, VERY, VERY MUCH.

TABLE 6-22

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, LIKEABLE AND JUST AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Guilt with: Affiliation (liking for authority figures						
Father	.25*	.06	.43*	.39*	.32*	.37*
Mother	.19	.23*	.35*	.38*	.47*	.49*
Teacher	.45*	.49*	.47*	.53*	.51*	.50*
Policeman	.30*	.44*	.48*	.53*	.43*	.62*
President	.17	.43*	.23*	.22*	.19	.30*
Guilt with: Perception of authority figures as helpful						
Father	.19	.25*	.44*	.21*	.23*	.34*
Mother	.15	.20*	.36*	.17	.14	.31*
Teacher	.13	.42*	.38*	.37*	.21	.17
Policeman	.22*	.12	.22*	.25*	.24*	.33*
Religious Leader	.24*	.40*	.42*	.39*	.24*	.28*
President	.06	.24*	.36*	.16	.26*	.24*
Friends	.21*	.21*	.40*	.32*	.29*	.33*
Guilt with: Perception of rules of authority figures as fair						
Father	.26*	.25*	.45*	.37*	.34*	.51*
Mother	.26*	.48*	.42*	.50*	.51*	.53*
Teacher	.45*	.43*	.46*	.50*	.48*	.40*
Policeman	.27*	.59*	.32*	.29*	.39*	.54*
Friends	.45*	.34*	.43*	.55*	.11	.44*
Government	.24*	.37*	.34*	.19	.22*	.38*
City	.43*	.43*	.51*	.13	.32*	.45*

Note: * Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 6-23
RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF PUNITIVE DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES, AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(U. S. CAUCASIANS)

FIGURES CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Guilt With: Power of Figure to Punish						
Father	.19	.18	.23*	.30*	.31*	.21*
Mother	.12	.30*	.09	.09	.30*	.25*
Teacher	.22*	.18	.06	.17	.14	.13
Policeman	.24*	.00	.03	.29*	.24*	.17
Religious Leaders	.04	.34*	.14	.30*	.34*	.28*
President	.08	.22*	.24*	.18	.20*	.09
Judge	.14	.19	.04	.02	.11	-.16
Friends	.16	.28*	.23*	.17	.25*	.31*
Guilt With: Likelihood that Figure will Punish Disobedience						
Father	.18	.16	.07	.29*	.35*	.03
Mother	.12	.21*	-.14	.26*	.21*	.10
Teacher	.22*	.19	.04	.08	.21*	.14
Policeman	.09	.18	.16	.18	.21*	.17
Government	.20*	.17	.40*	.26*	.20*	.15
City	.16	.21*	.12	.03	.22*	.23

Note: * Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 6-24

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GUILT AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.05	.09	.06	.02	-.05	-.03	-.09	-.04
	6	.06	.22*	.08	.25*	-.17	-.15	.07	-.29*
	8	-.03	.17	.02	.18	-.24*	-.11	-.13	-.12
Mother	4	.05	.17	-.04	.12	.02	-.11	-.05	-.15
	6	.02	.11	.03	.22*	-.02	-.07	-.06	-.21*
	8	.03	.14	.14	.17	-.22	-.11	-.20*	-.12
Teacher	4	.03	.08	.04	-.01	.03	-.14	.00	-.09
	6	.10	.25*	.23*	.27*	-.13	-.24*	-.19*	-.30*
	8	.04	.29*	.22*	.29*	-.20*	-.21*	-.25*	-.26*
Policeman	4	.00	.11	-.09	.05	-.07	-.12	-.08	-.09
	6	.00	.20*	.09	.18	-.25*	-.20*	-.15	-.23*
	8	.17	.33*	.23*	.30*	-.33*	-.26*	-.25*	-.28*
Religion	4	.06	.03	.01	-.05	-.03	.00	.01	.04
	6	-.06	-.08	-.06	.06	.03	.04	.06	-.08
	8	-.01	.20*	.18	.22*	-.26*	-.14	-.25*	-.16
Government	4	.06	.09*	-.03	.03	-.17	-.10	-.10	-.11
	6	-.11	.17	-.06	.12	.08	-.11	.16	-.09
	8	.11	.35*	.20*	.32*	-.27*	-.24*	-.22*	-.29*
City	4	.08	.10	.04	.01	-.23*	-.09	-.20*	-.09
	6	-.01	.24*	.03	.20*	-.08	-.18	-.02	-.18
	8	.11	.38*	.23*	.36*	-.24*	-.29*	-.21*	-.30*
Friends	4	.09	.12	.06	.05	-.08	-.12	-.12	-.10
	6	.14	.05	.19	.09	-.06	-.15	-.09	-.10
	8	.17	.29*	.10	.23*	-.11	-.23*	-.08	-.22*
Punish-Self Index (1)	4	-.04	.24*	.05	.09	-.01	-.12	.00	-.15
	6	-.08	.06	.01	.05	.11	.06	.11	-.11
	8	-.02	.14	.07	.24*	-.15	-.14	.08	-.19*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

(1) For content of Punish-Self Index see Table 6-25, footnote.

TABLE 6-25

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF Ss REPORTING PUNISHMENT OF SELF FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WITH RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

FIGURES	GRADE FOUR					GRADE SIX					GRADE EIGHT				
		SOCIAL STATUS		SEX			SOCIAL STATUS		SEX			SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	55	45	66	60	51	57	47	67	62	52	57	53	61	58	56
Mother	49	37	61	53	45	57	48	66	65	49	54	50	58	55	52
Teacher	47	34	60	52	43	52	46	58	57	47	47	43	52	49	46
Policeman	51	40	62	57	46	55	43	66	60	49	54	50	60	61	48
City	62	47	78	66	59	72	63	81	80	64	71	68	74	75	67
Government	47	34	60	51	43	56	48	63	62	50	57	51	64	61	54

Note. Significant Effects: (Punish-Self Index) SES, Sex. Item: "Besides . . . (figure), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey (figure's) rules?" Alternative: "I (me)" Index: Number of "Yes" responses across 6 figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, city, government). Indes scale: 0-6.

TABLE 6-26

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF INTERNALIZATION OF RULES AND NORMS OF COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS: BELIEF THAT DISCIPLINE BY ONE AUTHORITY FIGURE WILL BE REINFORCED BY OTHERS AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT MEASURES (ACROSS DIFFERENT FIGURES)	GUILT OVER DISOBEDIENCE OF FIGURES (NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS)								TOTAL SIG. CORREL.	TOTAL POSSIBLE CORREL.
	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	RELIGIOUS LEADER	GOV'T	CITY	POLICE	FRIENDS		
Would punish self	5	4	5	1	4	5	3	3	30	(48)
Parents reinforce parents	3	2	1	2	1	1	1	-	11	(48)
Parents reinforce non-family authority figures	2	1	1	3	3	2	3	1	16	(48)
Other family reinforce parents	1	1	-	1	1	1	1	1	7	(48)
Other family reinforce non-family figures	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	12	(48)
Total family reinforce school	2	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	15	(48)
Non-family figures reinforce parents	2	2	4	4	1	2	1	2	18	(48)
Non-family figures reinforce school	1	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	5	(48)
Non-family figures reinforce other non-family figures	1	2	2	3	3	3	3	3	20	(48)
TOTALS	18	14	18	20	15	19	18	12	134	(432)

Note. Tally includes coefficients of .19 and above. All tallied significant correlations are positive.

b. Identification with the Norms of the System

In addition to questions about the child's discomfort over not obeying rules of the system and his tendency to punish himself if he disobeyed, the questionnaire included several items which probed the child's identification with the norms of the system and with the authority figures who enforce them. The questions were of this order: "When other children break your (figure's) rules, what do you do?" Several alternatives were offered for this question. The first alternative was, "I do nothing." Other alternatives included a verbal protest, reporting the offense to the authority figure involved or to other authority figures, and directly attempting to punish the offender. Each of these alternatives included opportunities for a "Yes-No" response.

In this section the results of these questions for the U.S. Caucasian group are summarized. The data are grouped in terms of the responses given to each of the several authority figures individually and in indices derived by summing across the five figures and systems to provide a stable measure. The results by grade, of reaction to peers who break the rules of authority figures are shown in Tables 6-27 and 6-28.

There are several interesting general trends and patterns in these data. The first is that for all figures except the teacher the two types of verbal protest ("I would tell him he was wrong," or "I would ask why ") draw the largest percentage of "Yes" responses. The second is that the "I do nothing" response increases for each figure, particularly between the sixth and the eighth grades. The third is the decline in each instance of attempts to deal with the situation by appealing either to the figure whose rules have been disobeyed or to other adults. This decline is apparent across all grades but on the whole appears to accelerate slightly for some figures between grades six and eight. Fourth, the most extreme alternative, "I would try to punish them," draws a very low percentage of positive responses except in the instances in which the parents' rules are broken. There the responses stay at about the same level, around 15 percent, and are roughly comparable for both father and mother. For other figures, the percentages, which begin low, decline to less than 5 percent by grade eight.

There are several differences among the responses to peers' breaking rules of authority figures. The tendency is to report peers' disobedience to the authority figure whose rules were broken. In the case of father or mother, either parent is seen as appropriate. This inclination to appeal to the authority figure whose rules were disobeyed declines very rapidly, possibly through the emergence within the peer group of the taboo against tattling.

Another difference among figures is the greater tendency to protest against peers' noncompliance with the rules of the city as compared to the teacher's rules. This difference is shown by the fact that for the teacher the "Do nothing" response ranks first in the alternatives chosen at grade eight. Also, for older children the responses "I would tell them they are wrong" and "I would ask why" together average out to about 50 percent. In instances when the rules of the city are broken these verbal protests average closer to 62 percent for eighth graders; the "Do nothing" response is much lower, falling to 44 percent in contrast to the 63 percent by eighth graders for the teacher. The pattern of choices indicates that children's concern for peers' disobedience of religions' rules is intermediary between their high concern for city's rules and relatively low concern for teacher's rules.

These data suggest that the teacher is the least salient of the figures with respect to this kind of identification with the norms of the classroom as represented by the teacher. This is congruent with the responses to another item reporting the figures whose punishment the child fears the most. On this item the teacher draws the smallest number of nominations, beginning at less than 5 percent at grade four and dropping to almost zero by grade eight. The policeman ranks second behind the father by grade eight on this item and the religious leader falls between parents and teacher. The responses to the item inquiring about feelings of guilt show a similar pattern for the teacher. She ranks lowest among the figures, including the peer group. A comparable result appears on the tendency to punish oneself if one has been punished by some authority figure. The teacher does not appear as salient, compared to other figures, in producing guilt or as a powerful figure to these children, and they are less inclined to identify with her when other children defy her rules and requests.

A summary of the sex and social status differences across the indices devised from the items dealing with responses to peers' noncompliance is shown in Table 6-28.

The pattern of differences between the social status groups is consistent across the indices. Children from middle class backgrounds are more likely to select the alternative "Do nothing" than are lower class children; this parallels the tendency for other alternatives to be selected more frequently by children from working class than higher class backgrounds. Inspection of the individual items reveals that the social class differences are especially pronounced on items that express an appeal to some other authority figures, or to the figure himself, and are somewhat less prominent on items that express direct confrontation with the offender. The children from working class backgrounds in this group of subjects thus seem to be more oriented toward authority and perhaps toward the norms of the system, at least in their response to noncompliant behavior in their peers. It seems possible that this kind of orientation is congruent with the research results of Kohn (1959) which showed that parents from working class backgrounds are more likely to be concerned about the formal aspects of rules and laws, placing a greater premium than do middle class parents upon strict conformity with the norms of the family or other systems. It is also consistent with the work of Hess and his associates (1965, 1967, 1968) which indicates that working class parents are more likely to be oriented toward controlling their children's behavior by appeal to normative systems. They are more likely, for example, to describe the school to the child as a place in which one has to obey the rules of the teacher and do what he is told. When parents orient children to control by imposing the laws and rules of the system rather than by more cognitive rationales, they may indeed orient the child toward the status positions of the social system, making him more sensitive to the power of authority figures in relation to his own behavior and more likely to turn to authority for assistance in imposing the norms upon other children.

The sex differences on these items are not consistent. There are significant differences in only two indices: "Ask why" and "Try to punish." More girls than boys report that they would "Ask why" while more boys than girls report that they would "Try to punish" the person who had broken the rules or laws. For the "Try to punish" alternative, these differences are relatively large, particularly at the higher grade levels. The absolute percentages, however, are relatively low in comparison with other types of responses.

Relationship between choices of methods of enforcing rules upon disobeying peers and other methods of internalization of norms. The tendency to try to impose the rules of the system upon peers was designed as a measure of internalization of the norms of the authority figures and systems involved. If it is a useful measure, it should show correspondence with both indicators of guilt and with classroom behavior. This is not to suggest that children who attempt to enforce the rules of the group upon their classmates are necessarily guilty, but that both are evidences of an acceptance of the rules of the adult society in which they live. As the data in Table 6-29 indicate, such a relationship between the two measures exists in the data for this U.S. Caucasian group. This summary of significant correlation coefficients between the two measures presents evidence that the two indicators are related. The possible number of significant correlations in any column is 42; the number along the rows is 42. While not all relationships are significant, the pattern is consistent and is clearly not random.

The coefficients in the last two rows are negative, showing that in these data children who say they would do nothing have a low level of guilt over disobedience to authority. This is especially true for boys in the research group. An examination of the matrix (not shown here) reveals that 21 of the 28 significant correlations for the response "Do nothing" are found in the groups of boys. Six of the seven significant coefficients on the "Try to punish" alternative are provided by boys. For alternatives positively related to guilt, such as "Tell them they are wrong," the imbalance between boys and girls is less extreme; 19 of the 31 significant coefficients come from boys' groups. These differences are not easy to explain. Perhaps an item presenting a confrontation of this sort appealed to boys as more relevant to their own experiences, although it is difficult to see why this would be the case.

Relationship of internalization indices to classroom behavior. Internalization, indicated by reported attempts to deal with peers who disobeyed rules, also shows positive relationships with reports of classroom behavior, although these are not consistent across all the measures. Again, as in the case of items expressing guilt, the children who would attempt to impose the rules of the system upon their peers are the children who are more likely to be seen by their classmates as themselves accepting the norms of the school and the rules of the teacher. These relationships are in the reverse direction for the alternative "Try to punish

them." Children who give this response tend to be seen by peers as not cooperative with the teacher and as having difficult relationships with other children (Table 6-30). The strongest positive relationships occur between classroom behavior and the alternative "Tell them they are wrong." This alternative and the response "Try to punish them," account for most of the significant correlations in the data on this research group.

Summary. Measures of guilt, identification with the system, and other indications of internalization tend to show a decline during the elementary school years, although this does not apply to the tendency to punish oneself if there has been punishment for noncompliance by an authority. Sex differences in these items are quite consistent, especially on items which express feelings of discomfort over noncompliance. There are fewer sex differences in the items which show a tendency to impose the rules of the system upon others. Social class differences are not consistent across these measures. The items dealing with guilt for undetected transgressions show no clear social class differences. However, children from middle class backgrounds are more likely to report that they would punish themselves if they had been punished by the authorities of the system. On the measures that show identification with the norms of the system and with the authorities by imposing rules upon peers, there are clear social class differences with children from the lower class reporting a greater desire to take the side of the system and impose its rules upon other members. The tendency to impose rules upon others is related to cooperative classroom behavior, positively for the alternative "Tell them they are wrong," and negatively for the alternative "Try to punish them."

TABLE 6-27

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES ON REACTIONS FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY TOTAL GRADE (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	FIGURE OR SYSTEM WHOSE RULES ARE DISOBEYED BY PEERS														
	MOTHER			FATHER			TEACHER			RELIGION			CITY		
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8
Ask them why	74	68	72	73	72	77	63	59	54	70	67	62	68	65	61
Tell them they are wrong	74	69	61	77	67	66	68	56	47	69	63	59	77	67	62
Tell my parents	50	48	25	58	54	33	30	27	19	49	41	31	56	55	41
Tell their parents	45	26	12	55	30	15	35	12	06	51	25	10	57	30	15
Tell the figure	66	61	40	62	54	36	62	45	19	61	41	22	63	37	27
Try to punish them myself	15	09	13	16	09	13	10	06	04	13	05	04	10	04	03
Do nothing	33	34	44	35	32	46	46	47	63	36	38	53	34	34	44

Note. Item: "When other children break (figure's) rules, what do you do?" Percentages of "Yes" responses to each of 7 alternatives for 5 figures (mother, father, teacher, church, city), by total grade.

TABLE 6-28

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON RESPONSES FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	SOCIAL STATUS TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	SEX GIRLS	BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Ask Them Why	4	3.41	3.56	3.27	3.78	3.08	0-5	SES,SEX
	6	3.33	3.57	3.05	3.55	3.10		
	8	3.19	3.49	2.94	3.41	2.99		
	Total		3.54	3.08	3.58	3.05		
Tell Them They Are Wrong	4	3.62	3.65	3.59	3.73	3.52	0-5	GRADE,
	6	3.21	3.34	3.06	3.38	3.04		SES
	8	2.88	3.27	2.55	2.91	2.85		
	Total		3.42	3.02	3.31	3.13		
Tell My Parents	4	2.39	2.63	2.17	2.36	2.42	0-5	GRADE,
	6	2.27	2.66	1.81	2.48	2.05		SES
	8	1.44	1.59	1.32	1.62	1.29		
	Total		2.55	1.72	2.11	1.87		
Tell Their Parents	4	2.37	3.19	1.58	2.45	2.31	0-5	GRADE,
	6	1.29	1.97	0.48	1.21	1.38		SES
	8	0.55	0.86	0.29	0.47	0.62		
	Total							
Tell the Figure	4	3.11	3.48	2.74	3.15	3.07	0-5	GRADE,
	6	2.36	2.84	1.89	2.42	2.31		SES
	8	1.44	1.57	1.30	1.45	1.42		
	Total							
Try to Punish Them Myself	4	0.63	0.84	0.43	0.54	0.72	0-5	GRADE,
	6	0.33	0.45	0.18	0.28	0.38		SES,
	8	0.38	0.45	0.32	0.15	0.58		SEX
	Total		0.58	0.33	0.31	0.58		
Do Nothing	4	0.22	0.10	0.35	0.15	0.28	0-5	GRADE,
	6	0.45	0.28	0.66	0.32	0.59		SES
	8	0.74	0.52	0.94	0.76	0.73		
	Total		0.31	0.67	0.43	0.54		

Note. Item: "When other children break (figure's) rules, what do you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to each of seven alternatives for five figures (Father, Mother, Teacher, City, Church).

TABLE 6-29

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF INTERNALIZATION OF RULES AND NORMS OF COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS: RESPONSES IN REACTION TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND GUILT OVER ONE'S OWN NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

TYPE OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE	(NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUP) GUILT TOWARD: FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	POLICEMEN	RELIGIOUS LEADER	GOV'T	CITY	TOTAL SIGNIF. CORREL.	TOTAL POSSIBLE CORREL.
Tell my parents	3	3	5	5	4	5	4	29	(42)
Tell their parents	1	2	3	1	2	3	3	15	(42)
Tell figure	2	2	5	4	5	4	5	27	(42)
Ask them why	4	4	4	4	6	5	4	31	(42)
Tell them they are wrong	3	3	5	5	4	5	6	31	(42)
Try to punish them	-	1*	2*	I*	-	1*	2*	7	(42)
Do nothing	4*	4*	4*	4*	5*	3*	4*	28	(42)
TOTALS	17	20	28	25	26	26	28	168	(294)

Note. Tally includes coefficients of .19 and above. *Indicates negative relationship.

TABLE 6-30

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPES OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

TYPES OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE		PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
	GRADE	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Tell My Parents	4	-.10	.06	-.14	.06	.21*	-.07	.23*	-.08
	6	.10	.03	.13	.06	-.19	-.03	-.12	-.06
	8	.09	.12	.20*	.17	-.10	-.12	-.19	-.09
Tell Their Parents	4	-.08	-.09	-.06	.01	.13	.10	.10	.08
	6	-.08	.01	-.02	.06	.04	-.06	.04	-.14
	8	-.22*	.00	-.01	.01	-.14	-.05	-.18	-.03
Tell Figure	4	.12	.12	.08	.15	.04	-.15	-.02	-.14
	6	.01	.17	.07	.17	-.11	-.05	-.12	-.16
	8	-.18	.08	-.01	.17	-.02	-.09	-.11	-.12
Ask Why	4	.12	.11	.08	.13	-.06	-.01	-.06	-.08
	6	.02	.12	-.01	.02	.06	-.21*	.02	-.17
	8	-.02	.14	.06	.09	.00	-.10	.02	-.10
Tell Them They Are Wrong	4	.30*	.24*	.21*	.25*	-.27*	-.07	-.28*	-.16
	6	.04	.21*	.06	.20	.00	-.31*	.06	-.32*
	8	-.03	.14	.08	.10	-.10	-.10	-.12	-.09
Try to Punish Them	4	-.14	-.18	-.15	-.06	.26*	.23*	.19	.23*
	6	-.16	-.19	-.18	-.14	.16	.28*	.18	.23*
	8	-.09	-.14	-.01	-.18	.09	.23*	.08	.22*
Do Nothing	4	-.07	-.04	-.04	-.05	-.04	.08	-.06	.13
	6	-.04	-.03	-.04	-.08	.03	.11	.01	.11
	8	-.04	-.09	-.11	-.09	.03	-.02	.05	-.03

Note. Scores based on number of "Yes" responses to alternatives, summed across several items dealing with different authority figures.

* Indicates significant correlation.

B4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority

In a previous section of this report (see B2c), the analysis centered upon a description of children's definitions of a fair rule and attitudes toward the fairness of rules of family authority, non-family authority, and peers. The present section supplements the earlier one; it presents data on children's reactions to the unjust demands of authority figures. Previous research indicates that fear of punishment and revenge, and acceptance of the sacredness of adult rules encourages younger children to accept adults' unfair decisions and object less to unjust demands. Apparently, children feel obedience to the law is their duty, primarily because of the power and authority of the adult (Piaget, 1948 ; Hess and Torney, 1967). Younger children, particularly, seem to be status-oriented and to respect authority. Generally they equate status and legitimacy. There is, however, increasing resistance to injustice with maturity (Stodgill, 1937; Radke, 1946; Dolger, 1946; Gardner, 1947; Meister, 1956, Bowerman, 1964; Elder, 1963). Older children no longer perceive status as an absolute and infallible criterion for legitimacy.

Although noncompliance with adult authority figures is clearly an untenable position for most children, questioning the legitimacy of authority tends to be a concomitant of maturity. The major variation on this theme stems from the extent and type of questioning reported. Hess and Torney (1967), in asking the following question: "If you think a policeman is wrong in what he tells you to do, what would you do?" found that only six percent of a pilot group "would not do it." Girls were less questioning and felt less wrong about obeying the "wrong" command than boys. Lower status groups were more likely to acquiesce, do nothing, and see the authority as always right. Boys gave more aggressive responses, more actively sought revengeful alternatives, and, though less verbal than the upper status groups, were more like them in their pattern of exhibiting a questioning attitude toward authority.

Subordination to adult authority prevails among the young, and obedience or passivity dominates their responses. Mature behavior is exemplified by movement away from unilateral, stereotypic obedience to autonomy and rationality in dealing with injustice, regardless of the source. As perceiving authorities as all-powerful decreases, it is reasonable to expect differential (i.e., adjusted to the circumstances) and more active (i.e., questioning, aggressive, rejecting) behavioral responses to injustice.

The items used in this study to probe this complex problem and the ways in which data were analyzed are discussed in the methodology part of this report (Part A). For ease of analysis and presentation, the results are divided into two main sections. The first contains a comparison of the types of response examined across all adult authority figures summarized into one unit (i.e., total authority). This index represents an estimate of the children's willingness to use the specified behavior (i.e., "Do nothing," "Ask why," "Verbal response," "Talk to peers," "Ask parents to intervene," "Get even") against the total adult world in the face of injustice.

In the second section, each type of response is analyzed initially by appropriate groupings (i.e., parents, teacher, other authority) and then in relation to the various figures and to action items treated separately (i.e., mother, father, etc.). The latter analysis is included only when the trends for individual figures or action items diverge from each other and this difference is masked by the index of which they are a part. This approach permits complete analysis of the types of responses utilized by this group of urban Caucasian children in relationship to authority, whether individual, group, or seen as a total adult authority system.

a. Reactions to Injustice from Total Authority

Mean scores for the variably scaled indices of children's reactions to the injustice of a total authority unit were converted into percentages which represent the number of children answering "Yes" to six categories of responses to the injustices from total adult authority (see Table 6-31 and Figure 6-14).

Inspection of these data reveals that, with one exception, the children's rank order of actions toward all unjust adult authority was stable across the grades. Children would "Ask why" most often and "Do nothing" least often. From grade four, "Ask parents to intervene" decreased as a response, exchanging the second for the third rank position with "Talk to peers" which steadily increased from grades four to eight.

Although rank ordering the percentage scores by grades for total authority may have masked the significant movement of some options, it nevertheless provided an instructive picture of the changes in children's coping with adult authority. Children most often employed a rational approach in response to unjust use of authority. Then, they elected either reporting injustice or asking for intervention on their behalf. Interestingly, U.S. Caucasian children, across all grades, selected least often the completely passive, submissive "Do nothing" and the very active, aggressive "Get even" alternatives. They tended to invoke methods of reproach that involve reciprocity, solidarity, and cooperation.

Significant grade effects appeared on all indices except "Verbal response." As noted in the rank order discussion, only "Ask why" and "Talk to peers" increased significantly with age (see Table 6-32). The pattern of change for the latter was particularly striking. As children grew older, they became more questioning of adults and more likely to accept asking why as a legitimate response. Also, with age, siblings and friends apparently increased in importance as consultants and confidants in dealing with the adult world--a not uncommon tendency (Bowerman, 1964). These patterns revealed not only a general willingness to question adults but also a strong movement toward the acceptance of peer rationality, equality, and personal autonomy. Rejection of both passive obedience and retaliatory reactions prevailed at lower and upper grade levels.

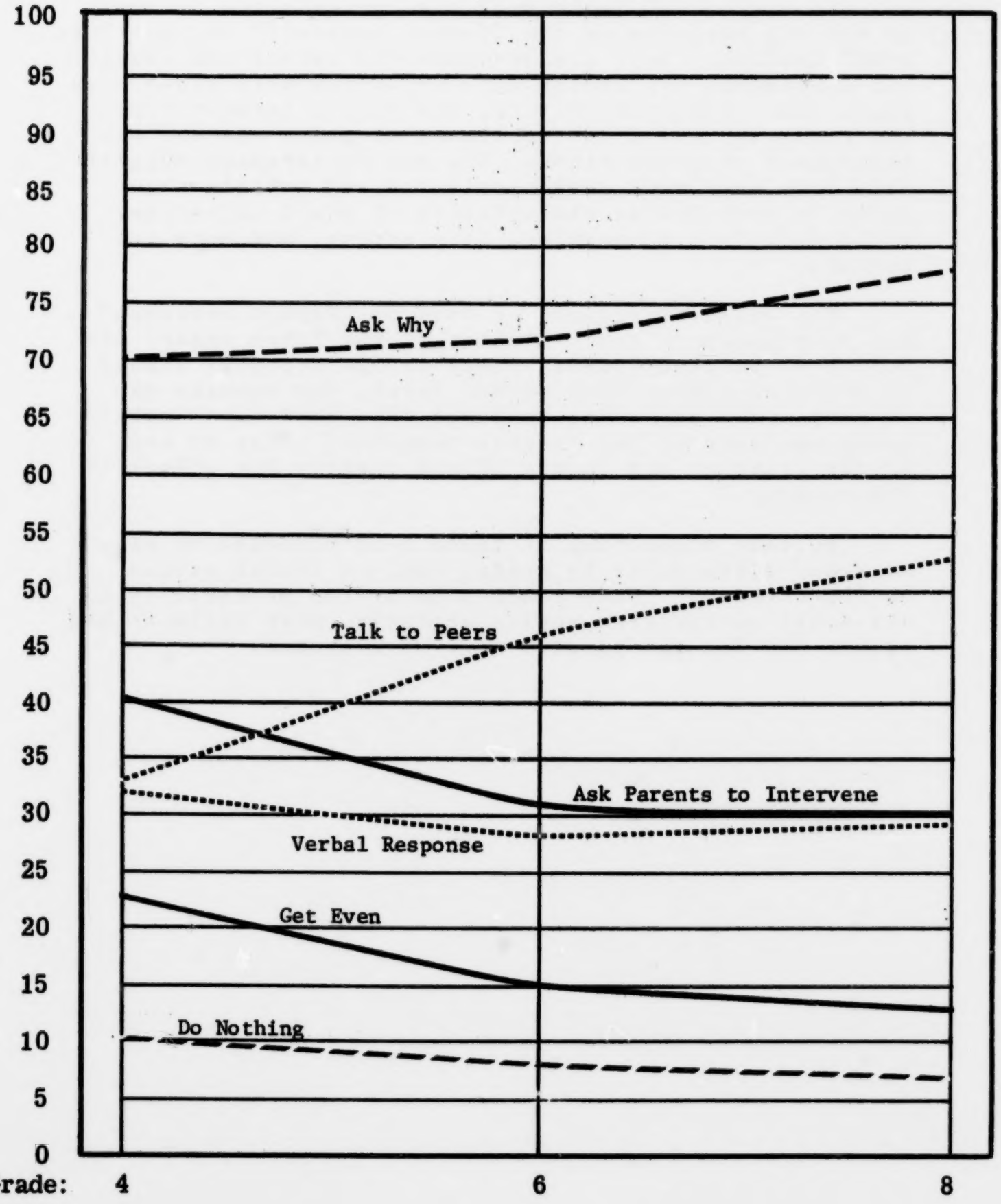
Social status differences occurred primarily on indices involving verbal repudiation (i.e., "Verbal response" and "Talk to peers") of unjust commands. High status children preferred significantly more often than low status children to parry verbally adult injustice--a response consistent with other research (Dolger, 1946; Maas, 1951; Greenstein, 1965; Hess and Torney, 1967). Low status children's preferences for not talking back to or questioning authority figures reflect their deferential treatment of adults, and a rigid belief in the legitimacy of authority, paralleling findings of other investigators (Dolger, 1946; Maas, 1951; Tuma and Livson, 1960; Greenstein, 1965). The more acquiescent pattern of low status children may affect their perception of potentially effective responses to authority (Hess and Torney, 1967). In addition, the frequency of high status children consulting their peers about unjust adult pronouncements was substantially greater than that of low status children. These trends suggest that at earlier ages more high status than low status children felt that by using verbal strategies they could do more about unjust authority. The general social status differences found here correspond to other studies noting the potential enhancing or retarding effect of social class on developing children's sense of justice (Piaget, 1948; Kohlberg, 1963; Hoffman, 1967; Dolger, 1946).

Inspection of Table 6-32 also reveals the saliency of the sex variable on the "Verbal response" and the "Get even" indices. Boys clearly selected verbal and vengeful approaches for coping with injustice more often than girls did. For both indices, the spread between boys and girls increased substantially at grade six and was maintained at grade eight. The sex differences suggest that boys were more action-oriented and hostile than girls in confronting the totality of adult injustice; girls were more conforming, less active, and more prosocial.

The higher frequency of boys on "Verbal response" may be related to the inclusion of the "Show anger" alternative in that index. Since it was probably viewed in physical rather than verbal terms, the results may be confounded by having included this choice. A subsequent analysis of the "Verbal response" index by behavior (action) and figure should clarify the effect of "Show anger."

Further inspection of Table 6-32 revealed no significant differences by grade, sex, or social status on "Do nothing." When confronted by the possibility of all adult authorities acting unjustly, most children had little use for the passive mode of response.

FIGURE 6-14
COMPARISON OF ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE
IN RESPONSE TO UNJUST USE OF AUTHORITY, BY GRADE
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)



Item: If (figure) did something to you that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?

TABLE 6-31

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY FOR FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES), BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES)
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
	4	6	8	4		6		8				4		6		8			
				L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
Do nothing (Resp. Alt. 1)	10	8	7	10	11	7	9	8	7	8	9	11	9	6	10	8	7	8	9
Ask why (Resp. Alt. 2)	70	72	78	70	70	74	69	79	78	74	72	68	72	72	71	77	80	72	74
Verbal Responses (Resp. Alt. 3-6)	32	28	29	33	32	25	30	25	34	28	32	28	37	22	33	24	34	24	35
Talk to Peers (Resp. Alt. 7-8)	33	46	53	29	37	42	50	48	58	40	48	30	36	49	44	54	52	44	44
Ask parents to intervene (Resp. Alt. 9-10)	40	31	30	39	42	32	30	25	36	32	36	39	42	29	32	28	32	32	36
Get Even (Resp. Alt. 11)	23	15	13	25	20	12	17	13	13	17	17	19	26	9	20	8	18	12	22

Note. Item: "If your father (mother, teacher, a policeman, the U.S. Government) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?" Response Alternatives: (1) "I would do nothing and tell no one (I'd keep it to myself) (2) "I would ask him (her, them) why." (3) "I would tell him (her, them) he was unfair." (4) "I would tell him (her, them) not to do it again." (5) "I would show him (her, them) my anger." (6) "I would tell other teachers (policemen) that this teacher (policeman) was unfair." (7) "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it." (8) "I would talk to my friends about it." (9) "I would ask my mother (father) or other adult relatives to stop him (her, them) from doing it again." (10) "I would ask my parents or other adult relatives to talk to him (her, them)." (11) "I would get even with or get back at him (her, them)."

TABLE 6-32

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY ACROSS FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES) BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIAN)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	SCALE INDEX	SIGNIF. EFFECT
Do Nothing	4	.52	.48	.55	.57	.46	0-5	None
	6	.42	.37	.46	.30	.53		
	8	.37	.40	.34	.38	.36		
Total			.42	.45	.42	.45		
Ask Why	4	2.80	2.81	2.78	2.71	2.88	0-4	Grade
	6	2.86	2.97	2.76	2.90	2.83		
	8	3.14	3.17	3.11	3.08	3.20		
Total			2.98	2.88	2.90	2.97		
Verbal Responses	4	5.47	5.58	5.37	4.70	6.25	0-17	Sex
	6	4.71	4.27	5.15	3.75	5.68		SES
	8	4.96	4.21	5.72	4.05	5.87		
Total			4.69	5.41	4.17	5.93		
Talk to Peers	4	3.28	2.90	3.67	2.95	3.62	0-10	SES
	6	4.61	4.25	4.98	4.94	4.39		Grade
	8	5.32	4.78	5.85	5.39	5.24		
Total			3.97	4.83	4.43	4.38		
Ask Parents to Intervene	4	2.02	1.94	2.09	1.93	2.10	0-5	Grade
	6	1.54	1.58	1.50	1.46	1.62		
	8	1.51	1.23	1.78	1.40	1.62		
Total			1.59	1.79	1.59	1.78		
Get Even	4	1.14	1.26	1.01	.97	1.30	0-5	Sex
	6	.74	.62	.86	.46	1.01		Grade
	8	.65	.66	.64	.38	.92		
Total			.85	.84	.60	1.08		

Note. Item: "If your...(figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives comprising each response category across five figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, government).

b. Variations in Reactions to Injustice as a Function of the Identity of Authority Figures

The percentages of children choosing each of the six behavior alternatives in response to injustice by different authority sources are shown in Table 6-33). The data show that choice of the alternative "Do nothing" was more pronounced in the face of injustice from other authority (i.e., policeman and government) than from parents and the teacher. The fact that passivity was more often preferred toward governmental injustice confirms other reports indicating that, in children's view, noncompliance with the government is a basically untenable position, since the dictates of the government are perceived as "most fair" and are "the law" (Hess and Torney, 1967). "Ask why" and "Verbal protests" were chosen more frequently in response to injustice by parents than in reaction to teacher's or other non-family authorities' injustices. By contrast, "Talk to peers" and "Ask for parental intervention" were chosen somewhat more frequently in response to injustice from teacher and other non-family authorities than against parents. Finally, children cited the "Get even" alternative more often in reaction to injustice from parents than teacher and other non-family authorities, an indication that children realize the senselessness of attempts to retaliate against distant and powerful authority figures such as the government and the police.

The analysis by authority groupings clarified and expanded the total authority analysis. Of the patterns indicating childrens' preferences of actions to be taken against the injustices of parents, teacher, and other authority, most interesting is the fact that children gave the greatest number of action responses when confronted with injustice by teacher. At all ages, the teacher was the adult about whom one talked to peers, asked parents or family to intervene, and had the strongest real or fantasied wishes to seek revenge. The saliency of the teacher and the methods selected for dealing with classroom injustice (i.e., talking to peers, seeking parental intervention, or personal revenge) are particularly interesting in light of the teacher's role in the socialization of the child.

Noteworthy differences by age, sex, and social status appeared for all actions except "Do nothing" (see Tables 6-34 to 6-39). The children sampled apparently felt it was legitimate to employ some type of protest or objection about unfair adult acts or commands. Age differences on the other five indices revealed increased

preferences for dealing with injustice verbally and a strong movement toward reliance on peers to face the world of adults. Children at grade eight increased both their questioning of the reasons behind parents' and other authority's injustice and discussion of such demands with peers. These trends support the notion, previously discussed, of a growing need in maturing children for rationality, reciprocity, and independence. Interestingly, the age differences on these indices did not hold for teacher injustices. Evidently, children's experiences with authority figures in the school may have reduced their belief that asking why is a viable response and, although not significantly, they enhanced consultation with peers. The pattern of inquisitive, verbal, and peer-oriented responses reflected in the U.S. Caucasian grade eight children's increased "Ask why" and "Talk to peers" choices was also observed in other countries participating in the study (see Part C).

At grade four, children's higher scores on the vengeful "Get even," especially for parents and non-school authorities (other authority), illustrated the use by younger children of less rational and more aggressive modes of dealing with injustice. The immaturity and dependency of the younger age group was also seen in the more frequent choice of the alternative "Ask parents to intervene" in matters of home or school injustice. Growing independence and the wish for autonomy in opposing injustices can be seen in the significantly fewer number of older children choosing the option "Ask parents to intervene" in response to injustice by parents and teacher.

Among the more salient sex differences were the boys' significantly higher mean scores for the teacher on the "Ask why," "Verbal response," and "Get even" indices. This suggests that more boys than girls would actively question, reject, and resist teachers' unjust commands. Males may be less obedient and more resistant in the school context.

Boys also resisted other authority by using vengeful and basically assertive verbal tactics more than girls, and demonstrated greater unwillingness to accede to unjust other authority figures. This pattern of greater male aggression extended into the family. Boys clearly resisted parental injustice, entertaining the notion of "Get even" significantly more often than girls. These data were consistent with other findings reporting boys to be more aggressive, less compliant, less conforming, and less dependent on authority figures than are girls.

High status children showed significantly higher mean scores on the "Ask why," "Verbal response," "Ask parents to intervene," and "Talk to peers" indices for parents. High status children more actively questioned parental actions, felt disposed to make known their objections, and requested parental or familial intervention. SES differences extended beyond the familial realm. High status children more frequently sought counsel and freely discussed injustices perpetrated by the school system and other non-family authorities as evidenced by significantly higher scores on "Talk to peers" for teacher and other authority.

The unexpected finding was the larger mean score of the lower status group on "Ask why" for teacher and other authority. While high status children asked parents "Why?" more frequently, low status children were more inclined to challenge the teacher or other authority, primarily the policeman. Apparently, high status children felt this approach more justifiable or, perhaps, useful in the home; low status children felt it had more utility in the school or on the street. These differential expressions may have reflected lower status children's feeling that they were more efficacious handling these injustices themselves than involving their parents, who may have demonstrated little efficacy in the school or community environments. It may also be that, within the school and community environments, these children were permitted to ask why and thus were more likely to have rational confrontations in those situations rather than at home. The differential questioning of adult dictums by the two social status groups merits further investigation, but the present findings strengthened previous contentions that: (1) lower class children see their homes as more authoritarian (Maas, 1951) and (2) they have higher regard for the policeman (Hess and Torney, 1967). The lower status group's disposition to question or ask the rationale behind unfair action was contrary to other findings on the acquiescence and conforming of low status groups with authority preferences (Maas, 1951; Greenstein, 1965). What may be appearing is some request for equal treatment instead of unqualified obedience to adult constraint.

Below are presented some noteworthy discrepancies in the frequencies with which different types of verbal responses and "Talk to siblings" vs. "Talk to friends" appeared to be used with individual authority figures.

Although the pattern of increasing verbal exchange with peers was by far the prevailing one, divergent tendencies between "Talk to friends" and "Talk to siblings" emerged which clarified the "Talk to peers" index (see Table 6-40). Younger children generally talked about equally with siblings and friends but, as age increased and non-familial, friendship group associations increased in salience, children were more likely to discuss injustice with friends, particularly unjust acts of non-familial figures. For all figures, including mother and father, communication with friends increased noticeably across grades, although, quite expectably, older children still discussed father's injustice more with their siblings than with friends. Injustice from the mother tended to be discussed with friends more than did injustice from the father.

On "Talk to siblings," the individual figures clustered quite closely together. The greater variance on "Talk to friends" suggested, perhaps, that children in discussions with non-family associates discriminated more among persons about whom they would and would not talk.

For all authority figures except government, both "Talk to siblings" and "Talk to friends" were chosen more often by older than by younger children. The choice of these responses to governmental injustice increased from grades four to six, then declined. Thus, the significant grade change on "Talk to peers" for the other authority index was essentially due only to the steep increase observed for policeman.

An examination of individual figures included in the indices revealed that the same divergence in trend between policeman and government emerged on two of the four action items from which the "Verbal response" index was constructed (see Table 6-41).

On the action item "Tell the authority figure he was unfair," policeman ranked third and government fifth. The frequency with which this action was chosen for each of these two figures was greater by fourteen to twenty-three percentage points for the policeman. On the action option "Tell the authority not to do it again," policeman ranked second and government fifth at the youngest and oldest levels.

Also, the options "Show anger" and "Tell the authority figures when they were unjust" were chosen at all grade levels, but especially by the oldest group, more frequently in response to injustice from mother than

father. Of the parental figures, then, the mother emerged as the one against whom it is easier to express verbal aggression. This substantiates findings of other investigators on children's greater tendency to view the father as a more forbidding, punitive authority than the mother. Hence, quite predictably, children regardless of age may be able to express their feelings to their mother more openly and honestly. This finding is consistent with results on asking why. Across all grades, "Ask why" was cited substantially more often in response to injustice from the mother than from the father.

Finally, in "Telling a teacher or policeman" about unjust acts of other teachers and policemen, there was an increasing sex difference with age. More boys than girls would chance reporting an adult's injustice to his colleague (see Table 6-41).

Relationships between antecedent perceptions and responses to injustice. Children's perceptions of authority figures should affect their style and method of dealing with authorities' injustices. Data in Table 6-42 present the antecedent correlates of children's behavioral responses. Overall, there were many more significant correlations for figures' positive characteristics than for estimates of their punitive power or their strictness in punishing disobedience.

Children's ratings of the punitive power of parents, teacher, and other authority correlated with each of the six injustice indices in only 20 of a possible 324 correlations (see Table 6-42). Except for the fact that there were no significant correlations on "Do nothing," significant relationships were relatively evenly distributed over the other action indices and showed no striking or consistent trends. On the second potency rating, belief in the inevitability of punishment by three authority groupings, there were only 12 significant correlations. This constitutes fewer than would be expected by random variation.

Finally, children's ratings of the guilt they experience following rule-breaking correlated significantly with their preferred reaction to unjust authority in 96 of a possible 324 relationships. These correlations were most frequent for "Verbal response" and "Get even." Apparently, children who experience high guilt tend neither to respond verbally nor to seek revenge (see Table 6-42).

Much stronger relationships emerged between children's reactions to injustice and their perception of the justice of authorities' rules and the degree to which they see authority figures as likable and helpful. There were 50 significant correlations with helpfulness, 66 significant correlations with affective attachment, and 111 significant correlations with fairness of rules. With few exceptions, children who felt that authorities are helpful, likeable, and provide just rules rejected the most active forms of retaliation when faced with injustice (i.e., they would not give a verbal reproach, nor would they ask parents to intervene, or get even). Particularly, they did not employ verbal reproaches or get even tactics. They tended to do nothing (passive response) or talk to peers if they felt the figures were helpful, and to ask why (affiliative, interpersonal response) if they liked them.

Most correlations between all modes of coping with injustice from authority and children's views on both positive and punitive characteristics of authority figures were negative. In other words, both expectations of punishment and regard for the authority figures' positive characteristics seemed to relate to children's tendency to avoid aggressive methods of resisting adult injustice. However, avoidance of verbal reproaches, requests for parental aid, and wishes for revenge were in more systematic correspondence with measures of children's perception of authority figures as helpful, likeable, and just and their guilt feelings over rule-breaking than with their regard for punitive characteristics.

Relationship between reactions to injustice by adult authority and classroom behavior. Product-moment correlations between children's behavior and their responses to injustice by the adult authority groupings of parents, teacher and other authority yielded 85 significant relationships out of a total of 432. The highest frequency of significant correlations occurred for the youngest and oldest children, i.e., children at grades four and eight (see Table 6-43). Over twice as many significant correlations emerged at each of these ages than at the grade six level. While at grade four approximately two-thirds of the significant correlations were between noncompliant behavior and reactions to injustice, at grade eight there were an equal number of significant correlations for compliant and noncompliant behavior. Interestingly, a large majority of the significant relationships, 65 out of a total of 85, emerged between PNI ratings and the response categories "Verbal response" and "Get even." These were the most active and hostile choices for response to injustice; therefore, quite

logically, good and bad children would demonstrate strongest feelings on these indices. In particular, the "Get even" response related strongly to child behavior, especially compliant behavior.

In general, correlations were negative for compliant children and positive for noncompliant children. As might be expected, "good" children tended to reject most types of reactions to injustice by authorities. The only positive significant correlation clusters which emerged for compliant children were for "Do nothing" at grade six and "Talk to peers" at grade eight.

Summary. Comparison of the six action indices by authority systems revealed the following patterns. Questioning home rule increased significantly with age and occurred more frequently for upper status children. The revelation of the teacher as the least questioned, most discussed, and most actively avenged reflects the common availability of this figure as well as the "acceptability" of rejecting his authority. Within this context, the role and influence of the teacher as a socializing agent and of the school as an experiential source for developing concepts of justice must be reviewed.

Children's commitment to the questioning approach was seen in the increase with age on the "Ask why" and "Talk to peers" responses. The primacy of the "Ask why" action response across the figures illustrated the essential commitment by this group of children to rationality and discussion. The secondary position of peer consultation emphasized the importance of agemates as authoritative social, emotional, and intellectual resources. This pattern was further reflected in the dramatically low positions of the "Get even" alternative. This action response received the fewest choices across all ages and all figures.

The significant age decline for parental intervention when teachers are seen as unfair, contrasted to the interesting upswing between grades six and eight for other authority, implies a mixed skepticism about the infallibility and judgment of these systems (Hess and Torney, 1967). With increasing age, there seemed to be a significant shift to a more autonomous, social, and rational framework and greater peer involvement (Piaget, 1948; 1962; Kohlberg, 1963; Bowerman, 1964).

The upper status groups' higher preferences for peer exchange and parental intervention reflected expectations. The less frequent resort to verbal responses by the lower status group was consistent with the lower class' general compliance with authority (Dolger, 1946).

Boys were significantly more "verbal" toward teacher or other authority injustice than girls, affording further evidence of their penchant for more aggressive, noncompliant expression. Boys would also get even more actively than girls in their search to "right" the injustices of parents, teacher, and other non-family, non-school adults. That boys perform or fantasize more aggressively than girls--choosing less acceptable, social, or compliant expressions--was confirmed in the present data (Sears, 1958, 1961; Patel and Gordon, 1960; Lansky, 1961).

Consistent relationships existed between perception of the justice of adults' rules and a tendency to actively respond to injustice. Increasingly, children--even those who felt authority figures were fair--expressed their autonomy and opted for talking with peers, particularly in coping with parental injustice.

Correlations were generally negative for classroom well-behaved, compliant children. Theopposite was true for children seen as aggressive and noncompliant. As might be expected, "good" children rejected active opposition to injustice by authority.

TABLE 6-33

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, GROUPED AS PARENTS, TEACHER AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES)
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
	4	6	8	4		6		8				4		6		8			
				L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
1. Do nothing																			
Parents	7	6	4	10	4	6	5	6	2	7	4	8	6	4	6	3	6	5	6
Teacher	7	6	5	4	9	5	6	4	5	4	7	8	5	5	7	5	5	6	6
Other Authority	16	12	12	12	18	10	15	12	12	12	15	17	14	8	16	14	10	13	14
2. Ask why																			
Parents	77	82	87	72	82	78	86	85	89	78	86	78	76	85	79	88	86	84	80
Teacher	59	52	62	67	51	62	42	65	60	65	51	54	64	49	54	56	69	53	63
Other Authority	66	71	78	70	62	79	63	83	73	77	66	62	71	71	70	77	79	70	73
3. Verbal Responses																			
Parents	37	34	37	32	42	26	41	28	46	29	43	32	42	31	36	36	38	33	39
Teacher	30	24	26	34	26	25	24	27	24	29	25	26	35	14	34	16	36	18	35
Other Authority	29	24	25	32	26	24	25	20	28	26	26	25	33	19	30	18	31	21	31
4. Talk to Peers																			
Parents	31	38	49	27	35	36	40	44	54	36	43	29	33	41	36	52	46	41	38
Teacher	38	52	61	34	42	44	61	56	66	45	56	34	42	56	50	61	61	50	51
Other Authority	32	50	53	28	36	48	54	48	59	41	50	28	36	55	46	52	55	45	46
5. Ask Parents to Intervene																			
Parents	36	24	23	31	40	25	24	15	30	24	32	33	38	24	24	19	26	25	30
Teacher	45	37	30	48	42	40	34	29	31	39	36	45	45	29	45	29	31	34	40
Other Authority	42	34	38	42	43	34	35	32	43	36	40	41	44	34	34	36	39	38	39
6. Get even																			
Parents	24	17	13	26	22	14	20	14	12	18	18	21	26	12	21	10	16	14	22
Teacher	26	19	18	27	25	17	22	17	19	20	22	21	31	10	29	8	27	13	19
Other Authority	20	10	10	24	16	9	12	10	11	14	13	17	23	6	15	4	16	9	18

Note. Item: If your...(figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Response Alternatives: See list in Table 6-31, footnote.

TABLE 6-34

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "DO NOTHING" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.14	.21	.18	.19	.09	.09	.09	.15	.13	0-2	None
	6	.11	.12	.10	.11	.06	.15	.10	.09	.13		
	8	.08	.08	.15	.11	.04	.07	.05	.06	.11		
Total					.14			.08	.10	.12		
Teacher	4	.07	.07	.01	.04	.10	.09	.09	.08	.05	0-1	None
	6	.06	.07	.03	.05	.02	.11	.06	.04	.07		
	8	.05	.05	.04	.04	.05	.06	.05	.05	.05		
Total					.04			.07	.06	.06		
Other Authority	4	.31	.25	.24	.24	.43	.31	.37	.34	.28	0-2	None
	6	.25	.15	.26	.21	.19	.40	.30	.17	.33		
	8	.24	.26	.23	.25	.30	.18	.24	.28	.21		
Total					.23			.30	.26	.27		

Note. Item: If your....(figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do? Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative "I would do nothing and tell no one (I'd keep it to myself)" for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government).

TABLE 6-35

COMPARISON OF MEANS AND CATEGORY "ASK WHY" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	1.54	1.48	1.39	1.43	1.64	1.67	1.65	1.56	1.53	0-2	SES,
	6	1.64	1.59	1.55	1.57	1.81	1.62	1.71	1.70	1.58		Grade
	8	1.74	1.77	1.62	1.70	1.74	1.82	1.78	1.76	1.72		
	Total				1.57			1.72	1.67	1.61		
Teacher	4	.59	.61	.73	.67	.46	.56	.51	.54	.64	0-1	Sex, SES
	6	.52	.61	.62	.62	.37	.47	.42	.49	.54		
	8	.62	.58	.73	.65	.54	.66	.60	.56	.69		
	Total				.65			.51	.53	.63		
Other Authority	4	.66	.64	.77	.70	.59	.64	.62	.62	.71	0-1	SES,
	6	.71	.81	.76	.79	.62	.64	.63	.71	.70		Grade
	8	.78	.86	.79	.83	.68	.79	.73	.77	.79		
	Total				.77			.66	.70	.73		

Note. Item: "If your ... (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative "I would ask why," for parents, (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman).

TABLE 6-36

COMPARISON OF MEANS AND CATEGORY "VERBAL RESPONSES" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	2.21	1.70	2.16	1.93	2.10	2.87	2.49	1.90	2.52	0-6	SES
	6	2.04	1.36	1.83	1.59	2.40	2.55	2.48	1.88	2.19		
	8	2.22	1.39	1.99	1.69	2.89	2.60	2.75	2.14	2.29		
Total					1.74			2.57	1.98	2.33		
Teacher	4	1.22	1.25	1.51	1.38	.83	1.30	1.06	1.04	1.41	0-4	Sex
	6	.98	.54	1.47	1.00	.60	1.30	.95	.57	1.38		
	8	1.03	.58	1.60	1.09	.68	1.28	.98	.63	1.44		
Total					1.16			1.00	.74	1.41		
Other Authority	4	2.04	2.07	2.46	2.26	1.45	2.19	1.82	1.76	2.32	0-7	Sex
	6	1.70	1.29	2.07	1.68	1.31	2.15	1.73	1.30	2.11		
	8	1.71	.97	1.89	1.43	1.60	2.39	1.99	1.28	2.14		
Total					1.79			1.85	1.45	2.19		

Note. Item: "If your ... (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives: (1) "I would tell ... (figure) he (she, they) was (were) unfair," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government). (2) "I would tell ... (figure) not to do it again," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government. (3) "I would show ... (figure) my anger," for parents (father, mother), teacher, other authority (policeman, government). (4) "I would tell other teachers or the principal (or other policemen) that this teacher (or policeman) was unfair," for teacher and other authority (policeman).

TABLE 6-37

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "TALK TO PEERS" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTAL	TOTAL BY SEX GIRLS	TOTAL BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	1.24	1.10	1.08	1.09	1.22	1.56	1.39	1.16	1.32	0-4	SES, Grade
	6	1.54	1.56	1.36	1.46	1.69	1.55	1.62	1.63	1.46		(lin.)
	8	1.97	1.82	1.68	1.75	2.38	1.99	2.18	2.10	1.83		
	Total				1.43			1.73	1.63	1.54		
Teacher	4	.76	.64	.72	.68	.71	.19	.85	.67	.85	0-2	SES, Grade
	6	1.05	.93	.84	.89	1.29	1.15	1.22	1.11	1.00		(lin.)
	8	1.22	1.15	1.10	1.13	1.29	1.34	1.32	1.22	1.22		
	Total				.90			1.13	1.00	1.02		
Other Authority	4	1.28	1.08	1.18	1.13	1.16	1.71	1.44	1.12	1.44	0-4	SES, Grade
	6	2.02	1.98	1.81	1.90	2.42	1.85	2.14	2.20	1.83		(lin.)
	8	2.13	1.92	1.89	1.91	2.21	2.49	2.35	2.07	2.19		
	Total				1.64			1.98	1.80	1.82		

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it," and "I would talk to my friends about it," for Parents (Mother, Father), Teacher, and Other Authority (Policeman, Government).

TABLE 6-38

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTAL BY SEX TOTAL	TOTAL BY SEX GIRLS	TOTAL BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.72	.59	.65	.62	.72	.90	.81	.66	.77	0-2	SES, Grade
	6	.48	.54	.45	.50	.40	.53	.47	.47	.49		
	8	.46	.21	.38	.30	.55	.68	.61	.38	.53		
	Total				.47			.63	.50	.60		
Teacher	4	.45	.54	.42	.48	.36	.49	.42	.45	.45	0-1	Grade
	6	.37	.34	.47	.40	.25	.43	.34	.29	.45		
	8	.30	.30	.27	.29	.27	.36	.31	.29	.31		
	Total				.39			.36	.34	.40		
Other Authority	4	.85	.89	.80	.84	.75	.96	.86	.82	.88	0-2	None
	6	.69	.71	.66	.68	.67	.72	.70	.69	.69		
	8	.75	.62	.68	.65	.83	.88	.86	.73	.78		
	Total				.72			.80	.75	.78		

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative: "I would ask my mother (father) or other adult relatives to stop him (her) from doing it again," for Parents (Father, Mother), and "I would ask my parents or other adult relatives to talk to (figure), "for Teacher,and other authority (Policeman, Government).

TABLE 6-39

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "GET EVEN" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTAL BY SEX TOTAL	TOTAL BY SEX GIRLS	TOTAL BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.48	.44	.58	.51	.41	.49	.45	.42	.53	0-2	Sex,
	6	.34	.14	.40	.27	.35	.47	.41	.24	.43		Grade,
	8	.26	.23	.36	.29	.19	.28	.23	.21	.32		(lin.)
	Total				.36			.36	.29	.43		
Teacher	4	.26	.23	.31	.27	.19	.31	.25	.21	.31	0-1	Sex
	6	.19	.07	.28	.17	.13	.30	.22	.10	.29		
	8	.18	.06	.27	.17	.10	.28	.19	.08	.27		
	Total				.20			.22	.13	.29		
Other Authority	4	.40	.43	.53	.48	.25	.39	.32	.34	.46	0-2	Sex,
	6	.21	.07	.29	.18	.17	.30	.24	.12	.30		Grade
	8	.21	.11	.30	.20	.07	.37	.22	.09	.33		(lin.)
	Total				.29			.26	.18	.36		

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative, "I would get even with or get back at (figure)," for Parents (Father, Mother), Teacher, Other Authority (Policeman, Government).

TABLE 6-40

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ALTERNATIVE "TALK TO BROTHERS AND SISTERS" AND "TALK TO FRIENDS" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM MOTHER, FATHER, TEACHER, POLICEMAN AND GOVERNMENT, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

FIGURES		TALK TO BROTHERS AND SISTERS					TALK TO FRIENDS				
			SOCIAL STATUS		SEX			SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Mother	4	35	29	41	32	38	31	27	34	30	31
	6	44	43	44	46	42	42	37	47	41	43
	8	48	37	59	52	44	55	45	59	58	51
	Total		36	48	43	41		36	47	43	42
Father	4	35	30	40	32	38	24	25	23	22	25
	6	42	40	43	45	38	28	27	30	31	26
	8	54	46	62	59	49	41	42	40	40	41
	Total		39	78	45	42		31	31	31	31
Teacher	4	33	31	35	30	35	44	38	50	38	50
	6	39	33	45	40	38	66	56	78	71	62
	8	43	39	46	43	43	80	74	87	80	81
	Total		34	42	38	39		56	72	63	64
Policeman	4	31	28	33	28	33	33	30	36	28	38
	6	46	42	50	49	45	52	43	61	48	55
	8	48	43	53	48	48	73	69	77	69	77
	Total		38	45	42	42		47	58	48	57
Government	4	30	26	34	27	32	36	30	41	30	41
	6	47	48	46	55	39	58	57	58	69	46
	8	39	32	45	38	39	55	48	61	52	58
	Total		35	42	40	37		45	53	50	48

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Response Alternatives: "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it," and "I would talk to my friends about it."

TABLE 6-41

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES TO VARIOUS TYPES OF VERBAL REACTIONS TO INJUSTICE FROM FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES (MOTHER, FATHER, TEACHER, POLICEMAN, AND GOVERNMENT)
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

AUTHORITY FIGURES		TELL FIGURE HE WAS UNFAIR					TELL FIGURE NOT TO DO IT AGAIN					SHOW THE FIGURE MY ANGER					TELL OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES				
	GRADE	TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX	
			L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B
Mother	4	54	44	63	44	63	23	22	24	16	30	38	32	44	32	44					
	6	54	40	69	52	57	18	19	16	11	25	41	28	54	42	40					
	8	68	58	78	67	69	18	10	26	15	22	42	31	53	40	44					
	Total		47	70	54	63		17	22	14	26		30	50	38	43					
Father	4	49	43	55	46	52	26	26	27	28	29	33	29	37	30	36					
	6	47	38	57	47	48	16	16	17	11	22	28	20	37	26	31					
	8	54	41	68	50	59	12	9	15	11	12	29	21	37	32	26					
	Total		41	60	48	53		17	20	15	21		23	37	33	31					
Teacher	4	45	50	40	38	52	21	24	19	14	29	30	33	27	26	34	28	35	20	27	28
	6	36	39	33	19	53	11	12	10	4	19	29	25	34	22	37	21	25	17	13	30
	8	44	49	39	28	60	14	12	15	6	21	24	21	28	16	32	23	27	18	13	32
	Total		46	37	28	55		16	15	8	23		26	30	21	34		29	18	18	30
Policeman	4	46	48	44	40	51	23	26	21	16	31	25	26	24	20	31	36	39	32	34	37
	6	44	40	48	38	50	16	18	14	11	22	29	28	30	22	36	23	25	21	20	26
	8	52	46	59	44	61	17	14	19	8	25	23	15	32	17	30	26	29	24	19	34
	Total		45	50	41	54		19	18	12	26		23	29	20	32		31	26	24	32

TABLE 6-41 (CONTINUED)

AUTHORITY FIGURES		TELL FIGURE HE WAS UNFAIR					TELL FIGURE NOT TO DO IT AGAIN					SHOW THE FIGURE MY ANGER					TELL OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES				
	GRADE	TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX	
			L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B
Government	4	32	38	27	32	33	19	24	15	15	24	25	30	19	21	28					
	6	25	24	25	17	32	13	14	12	5	20	22	19	24	16	26					
	8	29	27	31	23	35	9	5	12	5	13	16	8	23	12	19					
	Total		30	28	24	33		18	13	8	19		19	22	16	24					

Note. Item: "If your ... (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?"

TABLE 6-42

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY FIGURES AND THEIR CHOICES OF METHODS OF FACING AUTHORITY FIGURES' INJUSTICES, ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

FEATURES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE						TOTAL NUMBER OF CORREL. SIGNIF.	POSSIBLE
	DO NOTHING	ASK WHY	VERBAL RESPONSES	TALK TO PEERS	ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE	GET EVEN		
Willing to Help	2*		19	5*/1	6	17	7*/43	324
Likable		4*	26	1*	9	26	5*/61	324
Rules Fair	3*		44	5	21	39	3*/109	324
Guilt	4*/4	2*	37	1*/4	1*/9	34	8*/88	324
Power to Punish		2*	3	3*/3	1*/3	5	6*/14	324
Inevit. of Punishment		1*	3	1*/3	1*	1*/2	4*/8	324
Total Signif. Correl.	9*/4	9*	132	11*/16	3*/48	1*/123		
Total Possible Correl.	324	324	324	324	324	324		

Note. Number of possible correlations for each cell comprises 54 coefficients computed for three groupings of authority figures (parents, teacher, other authority) across six sampling divisions (two sex groups by three grade levels) (3X3X6).
* Indicates positive relationship.

TABLE 6-43

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CATEGORIES OF RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS
Do Nothing:									
Parents	4	.09	.04	.09	.01	-.16	-.00	-.14	-.02
	6	.13	.13	.11	.08	-.08	-.12	-.16	-.04
	8	-.04	-.09	.02	.04	-.12	.02	-.16	-.06
Teacher	4	.04	.07	.02	.05	-.08	-.15	-.09	-.14
	6	-.01	.32*	-.01	.31*	.02	-.20*	.03	-.25*
	8	.08	-.06	.17	.05	-.15	-.11	-.15	-.12
Other Auth.	4	.03	-.06	-.01	-.05	-.06	.03	-.10	-.03
	6	-.04	.20*	-.02	.25*	-.04	-.11	-.05	-.01
	8	-.01	-.11	-.00	-.07	.02	-.01	-.00	-.03
Ask Why:									
Parents	4	.01	.15	.02	.13	.03	-.03	.04	-.10
	6	.01	.13	-.02	.07	.10	-.17	.11	-.19*
	8	-.12	.09	-.10*	.03	-.05	-.05	.06	-.03
Teacher	4	-.02	-.02	-.00	.06	.08	.07	.13	.08
	6	.09	-.03	.03	-.05	.11	.00	-.03	.05
	8	-.12	-.01	-.15	-.05	.07	.01	.15	.04
Other Auth.	4	.09	.04	.06	.07	-.07	.10	-.02	.09
	6	.01	-.02	.05	-.11	.07	.05	.01	.07
	8	-.08	.09	-.13	-.04	.03	.02	.13	.08
Verbal Responses:									
Parents	4	-.24*	-.08	-.14	-.03	.20*	.08	.17	.10
	6	-.14	-.11	-.13	-.17	.06	.15	.19*	.16
	8	-.11	-.14	-.21*	-.16	.10	.19*	.21*	.20*
Teacher	4	-.24*	-.25*	-.16	-.15	.36*	.34*	.32*	.34*
	6	-.08	-.16	-.13	-.23*	.11	.25*	.12	.32*
	8	-.08	-.17	-.12	-.23*	.10	.22*	.18	.24*
Other Auth.	4	-.26*	.15	-.18	-.04	.37*	.23*	.35*	.26*
	6	-.04	-.16	-.04	-.18	.11	.14	.10	.11
	8	-.09	-.12	-.10	-.13	.06	.15	.13	.16

TABLE 6-43 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS
Talk to Peers:									
Parents	4	-.21*	.02	-.14	.04	.27*	-.01	.21*	.04
	6	.05	.16	-.04	-.05	.03	.06	.12	.09
	8	.12	.21*	-.03	.15	.14	-.03	.09	-.03
Teacher	4	-.04	.07	-.00	.08	.18	-.08	.09	-.04
	6	.11	.05	.05	.00	-.15	.02	-.04	.07
	8	-.04	.17	-.16	.13	.24*	-.05	.19*	-.03
Other Auth.	4	.00	.16	.05	.14	.14	-.08	.10	-.03
	6	.20*	.12	.14	.02	-.12	-.03	-.09	-.07
	8	.04	.27*	-.09	.23*	.12	-.04	.10	-.04
Ask Parents to Talk or Stop:									
Parents	4	-.13	-.05	-.02	.02	.14	.10	.14	.14
	6	-.07	-.03	-.09	-.10	.08	.13	.12	.10
	8	-.08	-.03	-.13	-.03	.08	.01	.11	.05
Teacher	4	-.02	-.16	.05	-.08	.12	.20*	.11	.18
	6	-.03	-.08	-.10	-.18	.04	-.01	.08	.13
	8	.06	.04	.14	-.04	-.16	-.02	-.18	-.02
Other Auth.	4	-.12	-.06	-.05	.00	.15	.05	.19*	.09
	6	.10	-.04	.08	-.09	.02	.05	.01	.00
	8	.09	.24*	.07	.08	-.16	.08	-.14	-.02
Get Even:									
Parents	4	-.24*	-.27*	-.19*	-.19*	.23*	.28*	.21*	.28*
	6	-.08	-.10	-.10	-.06	.16	.05	.09	.09
	8	-.19*	-.21*	-.20*	-.15	.21*	.28*	.14	.21*
Teacher	4	-.25*	-.15	-.17*	-.10	.36*	.26*	.26*	.22*
	6	.03	-.20*	-.03	-.25*	.04	.17	.05	.25*
	8	-.12	-.20*	-.19*	-.20*	.20*	.20*	.20*	.23*
Other Auth.	4	-.22*	-.19*	-.21*	-.11	.33*	.26*	.31*	.27*
	6	-.06	-.14	-.16	-.10	.19*	.26*	.19*	.19*
	8	-.17	-.15	-.14	-.14	.16	.21*	.10	.15

Note. * Indicates significant correlation.

B5. Participation in Authority Systems

One of the major objectives of socialization in all societies is to bring the child to a level of competence and experience that will facilitate his participation in the affairs of the adult society. The extent to which he participates in decision-making and norm-enforcing activities of the group will vary from one type of system to another and from individual to individual within any system. Despite these variations, however, the extent and nature of participation and the process by which it is developed are critical features of the socialization process.

This section presents several indices of the child's perception of himself as a member of authority systems and the extent to which he is effectively involved in them.

a. Participation in Political Systems

It is useful to distinguish between two aspects of political involvement and participation of members of a political community. One type of participation involves inner, subjective states as indicated by feelings of interest, loyalty, and patriotism; the other is direct overt action of one sort or another. In considering the political socialization of children, it is especially significant to examine the extent to which the subjective involvement is expressed, since overt political behavior is not typically viewed as appropriate for children, and the most significant form of participation for most citizens--voting--is prohibited. Our questions, therefore, were designed to elicit expressions of political interest, a sense of political efficacy, and an account of whether the child engaged in certain specified political activities. The item on political interest was modified from a long line of research on political interest. The wording of the item was: "How much are you interested in reading or talking about our country and the people who run it? For example, how much do you care about what they do and how our country is run?" The response to this question ranged on a six-point scale from "Not at all" to "Very, very much."

Political interest. The level of political interest reported by the children of the research group is summarized by grade, social status, and sex in Table 6-44. The mean response is in the category "Much." There is little change in level of interest between the fourth and eighth grades; the rise in interest at grade six is probably not significant. As in other reports of children's

interest in political behavior and affairs, respondents from high status homes report more interest than do children from working class backgrounds. These differences become greater with increase in grade, suggesting that children from middle class homes have their interest in political matters reinforced and supported by the family and community and that children from working class homes have less reinforcement from the social and cultural environment. Previous research (Hess and Torney, 1967) indicates that children from the middle class see their parents as more interested in politics than do children from working class homes. It may be this difference in the social context that accounts for the greater divergence as children progress in school.

Across all grades, high status boys are more interested in political matters than are girls; low status girls report more political interest than do boys (see Tables 6-44). In the low status group, the sex differences are small and decrease with age; in the high status group the sex differences are more pronounced across grades and increase as children grow older. Although there are many attempts to explain the difference between girls and boys (or men and women) in degree of political interest, most of these explanations are not especially convincing. It is significant that this is one of the areas of learning that shows an advantage for boys; although not well understood, the difference seems reasonably established by research.

Political efficacy. Some of the most general features of the child's sense of efficacy with respect to the political arena have been studied in the United States (Hess and Torney, 1967; Easton and Dennis, 1967). In the studies conducted by Hess and Easton in the United States it was found that efficacy with respect to the national government tends to increase during the elementary school years. It is also related to social status, intelligence, and sex. Children from middle class homes feel more efficacious than those from the working class; within each social status group the children who are relatively intelligent feel more efficacious than those who are less talented. However, although adult surveys show differences in feelings of efficacy between males and females, no such trends appeared in the data reported by Hess and Easton.

The growing literature about efficacy and participation and their relation to academic and other areas of behavior demonstrates that these are significant variables which contribute to the individual's self-concept and to other types of achievement viewed positively by the society (Coleman, 1966; P. Sears, 1964; Erikson, 1950).

Political efficacy was measured in this study by two items which were then combined to form an index. These items were: "Could your family have any part in what happens in our country and how it is run? For example, if your parents were very much against a law that Congress or the President planned to pass, could your parents do something about it?" and "Do the people who run our country care what your family thinks?" These two items are obviously adapted from standard questions used in public opinion research by sociologists and political scientists to assess feelings of effectiveness or helplessness in adult audiences in this country.

In contrast to earlier research which showed that a sense of efficacy rises during the elementary school years (Hess and Torney, 1967; Easton and Dennis, 1967), the data from this more limited study show little change with increase in grade (Table 6-45). There are also other differences; the differentiation by social class is less pronounced in these data than in those reported from the Hess-Easton studies. The difference in research group size and in the number of different geographical regions from which the groups were drawn brings into question the results reported here. Perhaps a wider sampling of items should be utilized in attempts to elicit responses dealing with problems of efficacy. It is possible, also, that one of the classrooms involved in the study may have been exposed to unusual experiences with respect to the ability of a citizen to influence government. In any case, the data presented here should be considered with caution.

Political activity. The items dealing with political socialization also included measures of the extent of political activity that the children of the groups have acquired. Four questions were used, covering such acts as reading and talking about political events, passing out leaflets, wearing buttons, and marching in a demonstration or parade. A "political activity" index was devised by summing across these four items to give a score for each child, ranging from zero to four.

Children become more active in their participation in the political life of the community as they grow older (Table 6-46). This increase occurs for both boys and girls, although boys tend to have a slightly higher level of activity at all grades. As reported in previous work, political activities are more frequent among children from middle class communities than among children from working class origins. This may be a result of the different social contexts and an outgrowth of the difference in

political interest reported above. At both grades six and eight, there is a significant relationship between political interest and political activity, as reported by the research group (see Table 6-48).

Relationships between measures of political socialization and children's perception of authority. Interest in political affairs and sense of political efficacy, as reported in the research literature, are associated with a number of other characteristics, such as social status, sex, and intelligence. Our data give an unusual opportunity to examine the association of the three measures of political socialization used in this study with other attitudes toward political and nonpolitical authority.

Table 6-47 presents the number of significant correlations across grade-sex groups between each of the measures of political socialization and children's perception of various characteristics of family and nonfamily authority figures. Inspection of this table suggests that there is practically no significant relationship between children's perception of authority figures' punitive features and their political interest, sense of political efficacy, and involvement in political activities. However, political interest and sense of political efficacy were substantially associated with children's perception of authority figures as helpful, likable, and providing fair rules; the relationships were even stronger with children's feelings of guilt over violation of authority figures' rules. That is, children who believe that authority figures are helpful, fair, and likable, and experience intense guilt for breaking their rules, are very likely to be interested in the political affairs of their society. Similarly, children who feel that adult citizens, like their parents, can effectively participate in the management of affairs of the society are very likely to see authority figures (political and nonpolitical) as helpful, fair, and likable and feel guilty when they break authorities' rules. This pattern of mutuality in the citizen-government relationship suggests that effective participation in an authority system is not a matter of simple obedience or disobedience of rules but an expression of a larger matrix of orientations and feelings of reciprocal respect, responsibility, and obligation.

Also of interest is the finding that political activity tended to be negatively related to children's perception of both positive and punitive features of authority figures. However, very few of the correlations between these variables were significant; most of them referred to children's perceptions of punitive characteristics of authority figures. That is, children who

attributed high punitive power to authority figures were less likely to be involved in political activities.

Additional indications about these complex relationships are reflected in the interrelations among the three measures of political socialization used in this study. As can be seen in Table 6-48, a sense of political efficacy correlated positively and significantly with political interest for all six grade-sex groups, but only for the younger children (grades four and six) with political activity; at grade eight, the relationship between sense of political efficacy and political activity was almost zero for both boys and girls. Perhaps these coefficients by sex confound SES differences in the direction of correlations. However, a sense of political efficacy correlated positively and significantly with political activity for the older rather than the younger age-sex groups (grades six and eight). These correlations may indicate that, for older children, political activity is more strongly related to their interest in political affairs than to their feelings about the political efficacy of their families.

Relationships between peer ratings of classroom behavior and measures of political interest, efficacy, and activity. The relationships between these variables (see Table 6-49) indicate that political interest, feelings of efficacy, and political activity are not significantly related to classroom behavior, although there are several correlations which are significant. The pattern is not sufficiently clear to argue that political interest, efficacy, or activity are important variables in determining the type of behavior rated by peers in the classroom. It seems more plausible to see it as another expression, perhaps not clearly formulated or perhaps not adequately measured, of a cluster of attitudes toward authority which speak of the acceptance of the norms and values of the system.

Summary. United States Caucasian responses to the three measures of political socialization indicated: (1) A quite strong political interest, which remained stable with age, was stronger among high status than low status children and, within the former SES group, was stronger among boys than among girls; in the lower SES group the sex differences were small and the trends reversed; (2) A moderate sense of the family's political efficacy, which increased with age for both sexes, was stronger among boys than girls, and over all grades somewhat stronger among high status than low status children; (3) A moderate degree of participation in political

activities, which increased with age and, across all grades, was more frequent among high status than low status children.

The three measures of political socialization were positively and significantly interrelated for most of the sex-grade groups. Other correlational data suggested that children who believe that authority figures are helpful, fair, and likable, and experience guilt for breaking their rules, are very likely to develop a high degree of political interest and a strong sense of political efficacy. There was practically no significant relationship between political interest and efficacy and beliefs regarding the punitive features of authority figures.

Political activity tended to be negatively related to children's regard for both positive and punitive characteristics of authority figures. The distribution of these negative correlations (most of which occurred between political activity and perception of punitive features of authority figures) suggests that children who attribute high punitive power to authority figures and believe in the inevitability of their punishing disobedience are less likely to be involved in political activities.

Political interest, feelings of efficacy, and political activity did not appear to be important variables in determining children's behavior in the classroom setting as rated by peers.

TABLE 6-44

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON POLITICAL INTEREST, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS
Four	4.35	4.56	4.09	4.30	4.23	4.56	4.40	4.38	4.32
Six	4.52	4.37	4.26	4.32	4.75	4.79	4.77	4.55	4.50
Eight	4.34	4.12	4.15	4.14	4.07	4.92	4.51	4.09	4.55
Totals				4.25			4.53	4.32	4.46

Note. Significant effects: Sex by SES. Item: "How much are you interested in reading or talking about our country and the people who run it? For example, how much do you care about what they do and how our country is run?" Item scale: 1 - Not at all; 6 - very, very much.

TABLE 6-45

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON FEELINGS OF POLITICAL EFFICACY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS
Four	2.84	2.79	2.73	2.76	2.90	2.93	2.91	2.85	2.83
Six	2.80	2.79	2.31	2.55	3.13	3.07	3.10	2.95	2.65
Eight	3.14	3.16	3.29	3.23	2.91	3.19	3.06	3.02	3.24
Totals				2.87			3.02	2.94	2.95

Note. Significant effects: SES by grade. Index based on combination of 2 items: "Could your family have any part in what happens in our country and how it is run?" and "Do the people who run our country care what your family thinks?" Item Scale: 1 - No, not at all. 6 - Yes, very, very much.

TABLE 6-46

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	2.02	1.44	1.78	1.63	2.26	2.53	2.40	1.88	2.15
Six	2.45	2.12	1.98	2.05	2.81	3.06	2.93	2.44	2.47
Eight	2.66	2.06	2.28	2.18	2.98	3.16	3.07	2.57	2.74
Totals				1.96			2.81	2.30	2.47

Note. Significant Effects: Grade, SES. Index No. of "Yes" responses for 4 items. "I have read, talked, worn a button, done other things." Index scale 0 - 4.

TABLE 6-47

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN THREE MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES BY SEX ACROSS ALL GRADES (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Wants to Help									
Father		1	1				1		1
Mother		2	2		1	1			
Teacher	2	1	3		2	2	1*	1*	2*
President	1		1		1	1	1*/1		1*/1
Policeman	1		1	1	2	3			
Relig. Leader	2		2		1	1			
Total Signif. Correl.	6	4	10	1	7	8	2*/2	1*	3*/2
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36
Likable									
Father					1	1			
Mother		1	1		1	1			
Teacher	1		1	1		1	1*		1*
Policeman	2	2	4		1	1			
President	2	2	4	3	1	4		1*	1*
Total Signif. Correl.	5	5	10	4	4	8	1*	1*	2*
Total Possible Correl.	15	15	30	15	15	30	15	15	30

TABLE 6-47 (CONTINUED)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Power to Punish									
Father							1		1
Mother				1		1			
Teacher								1*	1*
Policeman								2*	2*
President							2*/1		2*/1
Judge									
Relig. Leader		1	1	1	1	2	1*		1*
Total Signif. Correl.	0	1	1	2	1	3	3*/2	3*	6*/2
Total Possible Correl.	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42
Inevitability of Punishment									
Father								1*	1*
Mother				1	1*	1*/1		1*	1*
Teacher				1		1	1		1
City Government		1	1	1		1			
Policeman									
Total Signif. Correl.	0	1	1	3	1*	1*/3	1	2*	2*/1
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36

Note. *Indicates negative correlations.

TABLE 6-47 (CONTINUED)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION: POLITICAL INTEREST GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	POLITICAL EFFICACY GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	POLITICAL ACTIVITY GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Rules Fair									
Father	1	2	3	1		1			
Mother	1	1	2		1	1			
Teacher	2	2	4		1	1			
Government	1	2	3	2	2	4	1		1
Policeman	3	1	4				1	2*	2*/1
City	3	1	4	3	1	4			
Total Signif. Correl.	11	9	20	6	5	11	2	2*	2*/2
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36
Guilt Inducing									
Father	2		2		2	2	1		1
Mother	2		2	1	2	3			
Teacher	2	2	4	1	1	2			
Religion	3		3	1	2	3	1*	1	1*/1
Government	3	2	5	2	2	4			
City	3	3	6	1	2	3			
Policeman	3	3	6	2	1	3			
Total Signif. Correl.	18	10	28	8	12	20	1*/1	1	1*/1
Total Possible Correl.	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42

TABLE 6-48

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THREE MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
			Political Activity			
Political Interest	.18	.14	.36*	.36*	.22*	.38*
Political Efficacy	.21*	.18	.38*	.37*	-.03	.09
			Political Efficacy			
Political Interest	.27*	.19*	.28*	.28*	.33*	.22*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 6-49

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

MEASURES OF SOCIALIZATION	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Political Efficacy	4	-.03	.06	-.07	-.00	-.04	.07	-.02	.09
	6	.07	.06	.20*	.07	-.03	-.06	-.07	-.05
	8	.20*	.11	.13	.10	-.08	-.03	-.02	-.01
Political Interest	4	-.04	.18	-.01	.15	-.01	-.14	-.02	-.11
	6	.07	.05	.08	.04	-.11	-.20*	-.10	-.19*
	8	.08	.18	.18	.33*	-.11	-.10	-.10	-.16
Political Activity	4	-.11	-.16	-.10	-.22*	.08	.14	.10	.19*
	6	.09	.10	.12	.12	-.08	-.03	-.04	-.06
	8	.01	.06	-.06	.20*	.07	.00	.15	-.04

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Participation in Family and Classroom Decision-making

As part of the investigation of the participation of children in the operation of the compliance systems of which they are members, we inquired about involvement in decision processes in the home and school. The rationale for this type of inquiry was to examine the relationship between feelings of efficacy in one system with those in another and to study the correlates of such participation. It seemed possible that a child who feels himself a part of the family organization in the sense that he has an effect upon the family's activities and behavior through its decision-making functions might have come to see himself as an effective member of other systems as well. One underlying issue is the role of the family in producing citizens who feel effective and who wish to participate in the organizations in which they find themselves. The relevance of both home and school activities for a sense of interest and efficacy in the larger political community is an extension of this basic problem of the role played by different socializing agents of the society.

Two parallel questions were used in inquring about the child's decision-making activities in the home and school groups. These followed the format: "How often do you help make the decisions in your family (classroom)?" Responses were checked on a six-point scale. There are few changes by grade in the feelings of being part of the family council; whatever the factors which lead to the sense of efficacy in family decisions, they have had their impact before grade four. There are also no clear-cut sex differences.

The differences between the social status groups are significant, however. Children from middle class homes feel more effective as participants in the family group decisions, as indicated by the means at grades four, six, and eight, which were 3.19, 3.30, and 3.13, respectively, for lower status children, and 3.44, 3.55, and 3.45, respectively, for children from higher status backgrounds.

The means for participation in making classroom decisions were slightly lower than those concerning participation in making decisions in the family. The two items were similar in that they showed no significant sex differences (we assume that the difference at grade six on the item concerning participation in classroom decisions is a chance variation) (see Table 6-50). Also, both items showed significant SES differences: children from the

high status group report more participation in the decisions that are made in the classroom than do children from working class levels (see Table 6-50). This finding is congruent with other data on middle class children's generally greater feelings of efficacy, reflecting, perhaps, a more adequate sense of effectiveness. In the low status group, girls are more effective than boys at every grade level; in the high status group, boys surpass girls at grades four and eight, with a reversal at grade six. It is doubtful that these patterns represent real differences, although there is some reason to believe that lower status girls do, indeed, feel that they have a greater role in the decision-making activities than do boys.

Correlates of the child's sense of participation in decision-making processes in the family and the classroom. The child's sense of effectiveness in the family is significantly associated with a sense of effective participation in the classroom decision-making processes; the correlations between the two items were significant for five of the six grade-sex groups (see Table 6-51). However, there is less correspondence between the child's sense of personal effectiveness at home and in the classroom and his sense of his family's political efficacy. Only three of the six grade-sex groups showed significant correlations between sense of personal efficacy at home and sense of family's political efficacy. Also, four of the six grade-sex groups showed significant correlations between sense of personal efficacy in the classroom and sense of family's political efficacy (see Table 6-51).

Also interesting is the finding that political activity is related to the child's sense of personal effectiveness at home as well as at school. Of the six correlation coefficients across grade-sex groups for each of these pairs of variables, four were significant between sense of personal efficacy at home and political activity, and three between sense of personal efficacy in the classroom and political activity (see Table 6-51). On the other hand, while at grade eight the child's sense of personal efficacy in the family was significantly associated with the other measures of his feelings of participation in authority systems, the association of these measures with his sense of personal efficacy in the classroom was inconsistently significant.

Relationships between peer ratings of behavior and measures of sense of personal efficacy in decision-making in the family and classroom. A sense of effectivness in family decision-making processes was not related significantly to classroom behavior; only one of the six grade-sex groups showed significant correlations (see Table 6-52). However, a sense of personal effectiveness in classroom decision-making processes was positively associated with peer ratings of cooperative behavior with both peers and teacher; the relationship was significant for boys at grade six and for both sexes at grade eight.

Apparently, the classroom presents an arena quite different from that of the home. In the family a share in the decision-making process may follow from family policy and may be facilitated by the relatively small size of the group. In the classroom the relationship among the children is more formal, the setting under less benign supervision, and the competition more keen. This may introduce variables which have to do with assertiveness and verbal skills that might be less essential in the family group.

Summary. Responses to the questions used to assess children's sense of personal efficacy in decision-making processes of their families and classrooms indicated that, over all grades, U. S. Caucasian children feel slightly more efficacious as members of the family than the classroom council. Across all grades, high status children reported a higher sense of efficacy in both social settings. None of the two measures showed significant grade or sex differences.

The two measures were positively and significantly interrelated for five of the six sex-grade groups. The relationship between the child's sense of personal effectiveness in either the family or the classroom council and his sense of his family's political efficacy was less consistent across grade-sex groups. Political activity was significantly associated with children's sense of personal efficacy in both the family and the classroom. For eighth graders the three measures of political socialization were more consistently associated with their sense of personal efficacy in the family than in the classroom setting.

Of the two measures of children's sense of personal efficacy in decision-making processes at home and at school, only the latter correlated significantly and positively with cooperative classroom behavior; the association was consistently significant for the older children.

TABLE 6-50

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING IN THE CLASSROOM, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	3.10	3.02	2.82	2.91	3.08	3.48	3.28	3.05	3.15
SIX	3.12	3.19	2.65	2.92	3.76	2.91	3.35	3.45	2.76
EIGHT	3.22	3.30	3.07	3.18	3.15	3.37	3.27	3.22	3.23
TOTALS				3.02			3.29	3.23	3.09

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: SES, SEX BY GRADE. ITEM: "HOW OFTEN DO YOU HELP MAKE THE DECISIONS IN YOUR CLASSROOM?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NEVER; 6 - ALWAYS.

TABLE 6-51

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG VARIOUS MEASURES OF INVOLVEMENT
IN AUTHORITY SYSTEMS
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

MEASURES OF PARTICIPATION IN AUTHORITY SYSTEMS	GRADE FOUR GIRLS	GRADE FOUR BOYS	GRADE SIX GIRLS	GRADE SIX BOYS	GRADE EIGHT GIRLS	GRADE EIGHT BOYS
			FAMILY DECISION MAKING			
Classroom Decision Making	.42*	.23*	.26*	.21*	.22*	.17
Political Efficacy	.26*	-.00	.10	.21*	.14	.27*
Political Interest	.04	.01	-.03	.17	.19*	.28*
Political Activity	.27*	.11	.13	.32*	.19*	.28*
			CLASSROOM DECISION MAKING			
Political Efficacy	.23*	.12	.29*	.23*	.25*	.17
Political Interest	.13	.08	.08	-.14	.14	.14
Political Activity	.18	.15	.30*	.20*	.06	.19*

Note. * Indicates significant correlation

TABLE 6-52

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SENSE OF PARTICIPATION IN FAMILY AND CLASSROOM DECISION MAKING PROCESSES AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

SENSE OF PERSONAL PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS
In the family	4	.09	-.04	.00	-.09	-.04	.00	-.02	.02
	6	-.0]	.06	-.02	.10	.12	-.07	.08	-.05
	8	.22*	.09	.11	.05	-.04	.06	.06	.02
In the classroom	4	.0]	.03	.03	.03	-.02	.06	.06	.01
	6	.12	.26*	.15	.26*	-.02	.01	-.10	-.04
	8	.34*	.27*	.20*	.27*	-.05	-.00	.01	-.06

Note. * Indicates significant correlation

C. Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom

The Peer Nomination Inventory, a sociometric technique, was used to assess children's behavior at school as rated by their classmates. The behavioral descriptions included in the PNI formed two factors, one of compliant or positive classroom behavior and one of noncompliant or negative classroom behavior. Each group of items included behavior toward peers and toward the teacher. The frequency of Ss nominated under behavioral descriptions denoting compliance toward peers and teacher yielded a total positive score. The frequency of Ss nominated under items describing noncompliant behavior toward both peers and the teacher yielded a total negative score. The two total scores for compliance and noncompliance were subsequently broken down into four set scores, each summarizing the frequency of Ss nominated for compliant and noncompliant behavior toward peers and toward the teacher, respectively. Response variations by sampling divisions (SES, sex, and grade) were tested for significance for both the total scores (positive and negative) and the set scores (i.e., peer-to-peer positive, peer-to-teacher positive, peer-to-peer negative, and peer-to-teacher negative).

C1. Compliance and Noncompliance in the Classroom

Total scores for compliant and noncompliant behavior (see Tables 6-53 and 6-54) indicate that, across all grades, children nominated for compliant classroom behavior outnumbered those nominated for noncompliant behavior. Across all grades, compliant behavior appeared to be more frequent toward peers than toward the teacher (see Table 6-53). On the other hand, at grade four noncompliant behavior was slightly more frequent toward peers than toward the teacher, while at grades six and eight noncompliant behavior was slightly more often directed against the teacher than against peers (see Table 6-54).

The frequency of compliant behavior, whether seen in total or with respect to peers and the teacher, was significantly affected only by sex. Across all grades and within both SES groups, girls were nominated significantly more often than boys for compliant behavior. Sex differences on the total positive scores and the peer-to-teacher positive set scores were substantially more pronounced within the low status than within the high status group (see Table 6-53). Sex affected the scores

for noncompliant behavior also. Across all grades and within both SES groups, more boys than girls were nominated for noncompliance with peers as well as with the teacher. Sex differences were substantially more pronounced within the low status than the high status group (see Table 6-54).

With grade, the total scores for noncompliant behavior changed curvilinearly, increasing from grade four to six and dropping again by grade eight to approximately the same level as at grade four. With respect to the set scores for noncompliance, the frequency of noncompliance with peers dropped significantly from grade four to eight, after a slight increase by grade six. By contrast, noncompliance with the teacher increased from grade four to six, but the score for eighth graders was still higher than that for fourth graders.

Both set scores for noncompliance varied significantly by social status, with more low status than high status children being nominated across all grades for noncompliance with peers and the teacher. The SES difference was also apparent in the total score for noncompliant behavior, but it did not reach as high a level of significance as did the set scores (see Table 6-54).

On the basis of these data, it may be concluded that the quality of U.S. Caucasian children's behavior toward both peers and the teacher is influenced more by their sex than by any other sampling factor. Boys were more often nominated than were girls for noncompliant classroom behavior and less often for compliant behavior. The consistency with which this sex difference is evidenced in peer ratings of both compliant and noncompliant classroom behavior confirms previous research findings, according to which aggressive behavior is more frequent among boys and compliant behavior more frequent in girls (Kagan, 1964).

The finding that sex differences in the frequency of both compliant and noncompliant classroom behavior were more pronounced within the low status than within the high status group is also in line with previous research findings. Reporting their views on what is desirable in the behavior of each sex, lower SES mothers, compared to those of higher status, were found by Kohn (1959) to make a sharper distinction between boys and girls. Kagan and Moss (1962) also found that involvement of girls in masculine activities is directly related to the educational level of the family. Social class differences in sex role standards were also found in studies of peer-culture prestige values (Pope, 1953); Hall and Keith (1964) found that masculine sex-role preference was

demonstrated more clearly by lower class than by upper class elementary school boys, while upper class girls tended to receive higher scores for femininity than did lower class girls.

The finding that only scores for noncompliance varied by social status and that the difference was not as large as the sex difference is also in line with recent research reviews which question the validity of research studies ascertaining that more aggressive behavior is found among lower status than among higher status children (Hess, in press).

Relationships between PNI set scores. Correlations between peer-to-peer positive and peer-to-teacher positive scores as well as between peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher negative scores are all positive and high (see Tables 6-55 and 6-56). No sex or social status differences are apparent in these correlations. These findings indicate that both compliant and noncompliant behavior tend to be generalized across situations. In other words, children who were reported by their peers as "fair," "helpful," "friendly," and "getting along with peers" also tended to be seen as "helpful, "obedient," and "cooperative with the teacher" and "seldom scolded by her." The likelihood that children who were nominated as engaging in behavior such as "insulting peers," "making rude gestures," "starting fights," "fighting back when hit," and "not getting along with peers" would also be rated as "disobeying the teacher," "making fun of her," "disturbing the class during the leasson," "not doing their best in academic matters," and "being often scolded by the teacher" was also high. Correlations tended to decrease slightly with age, indicating that the tendency for transfer of behavior across situations (from peers to teacher and vice versa) decreases as children grow older.

As expected, correlations between positive and negative total and set scores were all negative (see Table 6-57). Although not as high as the correlations within the categories of positive and negative ratings, they were all significant. Apparently, the manifestations of compliance and noncompliance described in the PNI were substantially contrasted in most children's behavior and/or most raters' judgments about their peers.

Over all grades, correlations between peer-to-teacher positive and negative ratings were higher than correlations between peer-to-peer positive and negative ratings. Also, the former remained constant or increased in magnitude with grade (particuarly for high status children), while the latter followed a curvilinear change with grade, the correlations for eight graders being lower than those for younger children of both sexes and SES groups. It may be inferred from these findings that peer-to-peer behavior is more likely to be actually inconsistent in quality (i.e., compliant vs. noncompliant) than is peer-to-teacher behavior. Personal likes and dislikes and friendship ties among subgroups of classroom peers probably account for the greater inconsistency of ratings for compliant and noncompliant behavior toward peers than toward the teacher. Increase of potency of friendship ties with approach of adolescence probably accounts for the increased inconsistency of peer-to-peer positive and negative ratings at the eighth grade.

TABLE 6-53

COMPARISON OF GRADES, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX ON SCORES FOR COMPLIANT BEHAVIOR
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Total	4	37.04	42.16	30.28	36.22	40.07	35.66	37.86	41.12	32.97	Sex
	6	34.76	40.44	26.74	33.59	39.56	32.30	35.93	40.00	29.52	
	8	37.78	41.80	28.81	35.31	41.74	38.78	40.26	41.77	33.80	
	Total				35.04			38.02	40.96	32.10	
Peer-to-Peer	4	38.15	42.87	31.46	37.16	40.91	37.34	39.13	41.89	34.40	Sex
	6	36.35	40.39	30.38	35.38	39.71	34.91	37.31	40.05	32.65	
	8	41.08	43.11	34.78	38.94	44.00	42.44	43.22	43.55	38.61	
	Total				32.89			36.13	40.06	28.97	
Peer-to-Teacher	4	35.98	41.51	29.24	35.38	39.17	33.99	36.58	40.34	31.61	Sex
	6	33.11	40.24	22.98	31.61	39.46	29.74	34.60	39.85	26.86	
	8	34.46	40.50	22.89	31.69	39.49	34.96	37.22	39.99	28.92	
	Total				32.89			36.13	40.06	28.97	

TABLE 6-54

COMPARISON OF GRADES, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX ON SCORES FOR NONCOMPLIANT BEHAVIOR
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Total	4	26.03	20.18	37.12	28.65	17.81	29.00	23.41	19.00	33.06	Sex, Grade
	6	30.71	21.93	42.79	32.36	22.54	35.57	29.06	22.24	39.18	(Curvilinear)
	8	25.56	16.85	38.16	27.50	19.81	27.41	23.61	18.33	32.79	
	Total				29.51			25.36	19.85	35.01	
Peer-to-Peer	4	27.39	22.07	38.88	30.47	18.12	30.51	24.32	20.09	34.70	Sex, SES
	6	29.11	21.90	39.81	30.85	21.79	32.96	27.37	21.84	36.38	Grade
	8	22.73	15.74	34.09	24.91	16.52	24.57	20.55	16.13	29.33	(Linear and
	Total				28.75			24.08	19.36	33.47	Curvilinear)
Peer-to-Teacher	4	24.71	18.31	35.38	26.84	17.65	27.49	22.57	17.98	31.43	Sex, SES
	6	32.26	21.88	45.88	33.88	23.08	38.21	30.64	22.48	42.05	Grade
	8	28.40	17.94	42.38	30.16	23.06	30.23	26.65	20.50	36.31	(Curvilinear)
	Total				30.30			26.62	20.32	36.60	

TABLE 6-55

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMOUNG RATINGS OF POSITIVE BEHAVIOR
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(U.S. CAUCASIAN)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	TOTAL POSITIVE				PEER TO TEACHER POSITIVE			
SEX		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES		LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer to Peer Positive	4	.97	.96	.96	.96	.89	.87	.87	.87
	6	.97	.96	.95	.93	.90	.87	.76	.80
	8	.93	.89	.90	.88	.75	.71	.64	.66
Peer to Teacher Positive	4	.97	.97	.97	.97				
	6	.98	.97	.92	.96				
	8	.94	.95	.91	.93				

TABLE 6-56

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMONG RATINGS OF NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(U.S. CAUCASIANS)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	TOTAL NEGATIVE				PEER TO TEACHER NEGATIVE			
SEX		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES		LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer to Peer Negative	4	.97	.95	.97	.97	.89	.84	.90	.89
	6	.97	.92	.93	.90	.87	.74	.81	.75
	8	.93	.93	.96	.93	.83	.79	.88	.81
Peer to Teacher Negative	4	.97	.97	.98	.97				
	6	.97	.95	.97	.96				
	8	.97	.96	.98	.97				

TABLE 6-57

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN RATINGS OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. CAUCASIANS)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	PEER-TO-PEER NEGATIVE				PEER-TO-TEACHER NEGATIVE				TOTAL NEGATIVE			
SEX:		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES:		LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer-to-Peer Positive	4	-.63	-.45	-.62	-.70	-.79	-.57	-.72	-.72	-.73	-.54	-.69	-.73
	6	-.63	-.61	-.65	-.51	-.73	-.72	-.69	-.65	-.70	-.71	-.71	-.64
	8	-.44	-.44	-.59	-.35	-.43	-.39	-.59	-.45	-.46	-.44	-.61	-.43
Peer-to-Teacher Positive	4	-.57	-.36	-.54	-.54	-.67	-.52	-.68	-.63	-.64	-.47	-.63	-.60
	6	-.55	-.59	-.56	-.50	-.72	-.76	-.78	-.72	-.66	-.73	-.72	-.67
	8	-.59	-.55	-.50	-.53	-.68	-.74	-.70	-.72	-.68	-.69	-.63	-.67
Total Positive	4	-.62	-.42	-.60	-.64	-.75	-.57	-.73	-.70	-.71	-.52	-.68	-.69
	6	-.60	-.62	-.65	-.53	-.74	-.77	-.78	-.73	-.69	-.75	-.76	-.69
	8	-.55	-.54	-.60	-.49	-.60	-.64	-.72	-.66	-.61	-.64	-.69	-.62

C2. Summary of Relationships between Questionnaire Variables and Peer Ratings of Compliant and Noncompliant Classroom Behavior

The correlational data reported in previous sections of this chapter suggest the existence of psychologically meaningful relationships between attitudes toward authority and behavior within an authority system--the school. It should be noted once again that not all coefficients were significant or in the expected direction. Given that correlations were computed by sex by grade, they may confound some significant social status differences observed in the ratings of certain questionnaire variables and in the PNI scores of noncompliant peer-to-teacher behavior.

One of the most striking indications obtained through the correlational data concerned the lack of impact upon children's behavior in the classroom of: (1) their awareness about the authority figures' power to punish; (2) their belief that punishment by an authority figure is an inevitable consequence of noncompliance with his (or her) rules; and (3) their belief that disciplinary acts of one authority figure will be reinforced by other authority figures.

By contrast, the association of perception of authority figures as likable, willing to help, and as making and enforcing fair rules with peer ratings of classroom behavior was significant and in the expected direction. Liking for authority figures, and especially belief in the fairness of their rules, appeared to be more potent correlates of classroom behavior (enhancing compliance with both peers and the teacher and avoidance of noncompliant behavior) than was belief in the figures' willingness to help.

Moreover, the association between measures of these three positive dimensions of the child's image of authority figures (i.e., likable, helpful, and providing fair rules) and the measures used in this study to disclose the child's internalization of norms was substantially stronger than the relationship between measures of his views about the punitive features of authority and measures of his internalization of norms. The responses of the U.S. Caucasian children (as those of other national samples) provided clear indications that internalization of societal standards, resulting in feelings of guilt over their violation and in a wish to enforce them upon others by using socially acceptable methods, is enhanced by a high regard for the positive dimensions of authority

rather than by children's awareness of their punitive powers. It is not surprising, then, that our measure of guilt following undetected transgressions was strongly (and in the expected direction) associated with peer ratings of classroom behavior. Also, as expected, of the various methods that may be used to enforce rules upon disobeying peers, the one denoting verbal appeal to reason (i.e., the option "I would tell the offenders they are wrong") was consistently associated positively with peer ratings of cooperative behavior and negatively with non-compliant behavior. By contrast, children who thought that to enforce authority rules upon disobeying peers they should try to punish the offenders were those who had a reputation among their classmates for being noncompliant with both peers and the teacher. Interestingly, correlations of the alternative "Do nothing" in the face of peers' disobedience of authority rules with PNI indices, although not significant, indicated a consistently negative relationship between indifference toward rule-breaking by peers and a reputation for cooperative classroom behavior and a positive relationship between this attitude and a reputation for noncompliance with both peers and teachers.

Another set of questionnaire variables which proved to be meaningfully related to the child's image of authority and his overt behavior in the classroom setting was that concerning the methods preferred by children to cope with injustice from authority figures. Assuming that children's perceptions of authority figures would affect their style and method of dealing with authorities' injustices, we counted the number of significant correlations between children's ratings of the authority figures as likable, helpful, fair, and guilt-producing and the frequency with which they chose each of the six types of responses to authority figures' injustices (i.e., "Do nothing," "Ask why," "Verbal protests," "Talk to peers," "Ask parents to intervene," and "Get even"). The frequency (and direction) of correlations between the above variables was compared with the frequency and direction of correlations between children's ratings of the authority figures' punitive characteristics (power to punish and consistency or strictness in punishing disobedience) and the frequency with which they chose each of the six types of responses to authority figures' injustices.

The findings indicate that regard for both the punitive features of authority figures and their positive characteristics relate negatively with all modes of coping with injustice but positively with the alternative of doing nothing to oppose actively their injustices.

The scarcity of significant correlations between regard for the punitive powers of authority figures and choices of reactions to cope with their injustices suggested that there is pratically no relationship between these variables. However, children's ratings of the guilt they experience when they break rules correlated significantly with their preferred reactions to unjust authorities. Correlations were most frequent for choices of "Verbal protests" and "Get even" reactions. Children who experience high guilt over rule violations tend to avoid verbal protests and/or revengeful practices.

Also strong were the relationships between children's reactions to injustice and their perception of the authority figures as likable, fair, and helpful. With few exceptions, children who had a high regard for these qualities of authority figures avoided the most active methods of coping with authorities' injustices, i.e., verbal protests, revenge, and solicitation of parental intervention on their behalf; these children would rather "Do nothing" or "Talk to peers" about injustices of authority figures whom they believed to be nurturant, or they would "Ask why" if the injustice came from an authority figure whom they liked.

Correlations between choices of reactions to injustice and classroom behavior were also revealing. Again, the majority of significant coefficients, 65 out of a total of 85, concerned relationships between PNI indices and choice of "Verbal protests" and "Get even" tactics to cope with injustice from authority figures. Choice of these two most active and aggressive modes of coping with unjust authorities correlated positively with a reputation for noncompliance. The only positive and significant correlation clusters which emerged for compliant children were those for "Do nothing" and "Talk to peers." Compliant children would "Do nothing" to oppose injustice from authority figures or they would react by discussing the matter with peers.

The association of each of the three measures of political socialization with children's images of authority figures indicated that political interest and sense of family's political efficacy were in consistently positive correspondence with regard for the authority figures' willingness to help, belief in the justice of the figures' rules, liking the figures, and especially with internalization of norms of the system as reflected in children's feelings of guilt for noncompliance with the systems' norms. Perception of the authority figures' punitive power and belief in the inevitability of their punishing

disobedience were not associated with political interest and sense of political efficacy of the family. On the other hand, very few correlations between political activity and perception of the authority figures as helpful, likable, fair, and guilt-producing were significant; the direction of the relationship was not consistent. The relationship between perception of authority figures' punitive power and political activity was more often significant; the direction of most of the significant correlations suggested that for these children avoidance of involvement in political activities may be enhanced by a high regard for the authority figures' power to punish. However, unlike for other national samples (e.g., Greece), there was practically no indication for the U.S. Caucasian group that high regard for the positive dimensions of authority figures prevents involvement in political activities.

Intercorrelations among the three measures of political socialization also suggested that political interest was significantly and positively associated across all grade-sex groups with sense of political efficacy of the family. On the other hand, political activity correlated positively and signifcantly with political interest for children at grades six and eight, while its correspondence with sense of family's political efficacy was significant only for fourth and sixth graders. At grade eight, the low level of correlations between political activity and sense of family's political efficacy may confound social status differences in the direction of association between the two variables; these correlations may also indicate that older U.S. Caucasian children with high political interest are likely to participate in political activities regardless of whether or not they believe their families to be efficacious when attempting to influence the management of national affairs.

Correlations between the three measures of political socialization and peer ratings of classroom behavior were rarely significant; there was no clear pattern to suggest that political interest, efficacy, or activity have any significant bearing on the types of classroom behavior rated by peers.

Inspection of correlations among peer ratings of classroom behavior and children's reports about their personal effectivenss in the decision-making processes of their families and the classroom indicated no significant relationship between classroom behavior and a sense of personal effectiveness in the family decision-making council; however, there was a significant positive

correspondence between peer ratings of cooperative behavior with peers and teachers and older children's sense of personal effectiveness in the classroom decision-making processes. These findings are interesting in view of the fact that the two measures of children's feelings of personal effectiveness are significantly and positively interrelated for all sex-grade groups.

Also of interest is the finding that for the U.S. Caucasian children, unlike other national samples (e.g., Greece), political activity was significantly and positively related with children's sense of personal effectiveness in both the family and the classroom. In other words, while in both the United States and Greece experiences of democratic functioning of the classroom group appear to be conducive to a sense of personal effectiveness in accord with group standards (reflected in cooperative classroom behavior among older children), political activity in the United States is enchanced by a sense of personal effectivness in both the family and the classroom, and in Greece political activity is enhanced by children's sense of effectiveness only within the family. Apparently, in the United States, unlike in Greece, the school authorities are not inclined to consider political activity in children as inappropriate.

NOTE

The Summary and Conclusions and the References for both the U. S. Caucasian and the U. S. Negro chapters are found at the end of the U. S. Negro chapter.

A. Introduction

As was indicated earlier in this report, within one of the countries--the United States--two research groups were studied in order to provide a variety of cultural backgrounds and presumably somewhat different outlook toward the authority system of the society. In the United States, of course, Negroes represent a minority that historically was subjected to control by the dominant society. Traditionally, the American Negro has been expected to be compliant and accepting of an inferior status and has had few opportunities for protest and for effective challenge of injustice. In addition, there has been, until recently, relatively little opportunity for the Negroes in America to exercise influence upon the political system or upon the schools and other institutions of the society. The results and implications of Negroes' position in the United States have been described in many monographs and papers and will not be elaborated here. In the last five years, however, there has been open opposition, expressed in marches, boycotts, riots, and other forms of objection, to authority figures, institutions, and rules in the society. Most of these have taken place as protests against local authority, but the spirit of protest is fairly widespread and a sense of greater efficacy through protest is becoming part of the attitudes of American Negroes toward civil authorities and laws. Our data were taken during the earlier part of the current civil rights movements. They were obtained in or near the city of Chicago, for the most part in areas that had strong civil rights organizations or community organizations devoted to improving the economic and social position of Negroes in the society. It is likely, then, that most of the children who filled out their questionnaires were aware of the new spirit of protest as well as the more traditionally compliant and accepting role that their parents had been expected to play. For this reason, the data on the American Negro child are particularly relevant. Although our sampling of middle-class Negro children was not as adequate as we would have liked (see part A), the groups of working-class children came from one of the inner city areas in Chicago and possibly reflected the attitudes of Negro children in other parts of the country.

On the basis of an extensive literature, it would be expected that Negro children would feel more alienated in the society and see themselves as less effective in relation to authority figures, at least to non-family authority figures, and may also feel less trust in the benevolence of authority figures. This provides the opportunity to examine the notion that, despite the attitudes of adults about them, small children tend to see authority figures as benign and that this perception then erodes with increasing age, depending upon the characteristics of the authority figure, the position of the subject in society, and the values of his peer group. In general, Negro children would be expected to have lower regard for non-family authority and to be more likely to expect punishment as a result of noncompliance. They would also feel less guilt in relation to authority figures and rules on the logic that because the system is essentially unjust, noncompliance is a justified form of response. Also, Negro children might perceive authority figures to have greater power and believe that the various systems of society support and reinforce one another in order to help compel obedience to rules and authority figures. These are not presented here as specific hypotheses to be tested, but rather as a background of expectations against which to consider the data that will be reported.

B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System

B1. Images of Authority Figures

a. Affective Attachment

Previous research on political socialization in the United States has suggested the hypothesis that perception of distant authority figures is related to one's own feeling of vulnerability in the society, particularly in relation to the figures involved. This hypothesis appears to hold for social class differences in the United States among Caucasians (Hess and Torney, 1967). Following the hypothesis that subjects who feel vulnerable in the society endow authority figures with more power and expectation of benign qualities, one would expect that Negro children would see non-family authority figures in somewhat more positive terms. Figure 7-1 summarizes the data obtained in response to the item inquiring about personal liking for five authority figures. These data show that the President was an object of very high regard for the young children of the research group, but that this feeling declined rapidly between grades four and eight. The regard for policeman and teacher was at about the same level at a point that could be called moderately positive. Again, the decline in positive affect for these two figures was marked between grades four and eight. There was a slight drop in regard for family authority figures, which is significant for the two parents combined, but even so parents' rating was very high by eighth grade. In comparison with Caucasian children in the United States, the Negro children saw the President in more positive terms but the teacher and policeman in less positive terms. It should be noted with respect to the teacher and policeman that most of the teachers in the schools attended by these children were Negroes; many if not most of the policemen in the area tested, particularly in the area of working class schools, were also Negroes. This is an important point with reference to the correlates associated with these decreases of positive feelings.

There were no sex differences or social class differences on this set of items, with the exception of those concerned with the teacher on which girls were somewhat more positive than boys; this difference is significant (see Table 7-1). Significance tests with respect to the policeman were done as part of a group of authority figures, and they do not necessarily extend

to the policeman himself. However, the data in Table 7-2 suggest that there were differences between the middle and low status groups, with the policeman receiving higher regard from the middle class children than from the working class children. Indeed, by the end of the eighth grade, it also appears that there was a sex difference as well, particularly in the low status groups. The mean affect rating of 1.97 for eighth grade low status boys is one of the most negative ratings in the entire group of responses. It would appear from these data that young children have a fairly positive view of the policeman even in the inner-city urban areas, but that by grade eight much of this positive feeling has been dissipated. The change in level of regard has a number of implications. Among other things, it seems likely that children who began with an expectation that an authority figure is benign but who found this image degraded by subsequent experience might be expected to be even more cynical and bitter in feelings and behavior toward this particular authority figure. It is also notable that these negative feelings seemed to be particularly directed toward the law enforcement figure. While the regard of lower class Negro boys for teachers, at the end of grade eight, was not high, it was considerably above that directed toward the policeman (see Tables 7-1 and 7-2).

Of particular interest, however, is the attitude toward the teacher. The quality of public education has been challenged by representatives of the civil rights movements in recent years in the United States; and children in the particular community had been exposed to leaflets and other forms of communication which protested policies of the public schools, with specific criticisms of schools in the area.

Relationship between attachment to figures and classroom behavior. The relation of these attitudes of affiliation with the various figures to classroom behavior is indicated by the correlation coefficients in Table 7-3. It is apparent from this data that affective attachment to the teacher was negatively correlated with PNI indices of uncooperative behavior in the classroom, particularly for sixth and eighth graders. Also, affective attachment to the teacher was positively related to peer ratings of cooperative behavior toward both peers and the teacher, particularly for eighth grade girls.

Regard for the policeman was also negatively related with uncooperative behavior in the classroom for eighth grade girls but not for boys.

Perception of authority figures as helpful. Correlations between "liking" and "help" items were positive and significant for most grade-sex groups and for all figures (see Table 7-4). The likelihood that children who like an authority figure will also have a high regard for the figure's helpfulness appears to be substantial for U.S. Negroes as for U.S. Caucasians. However, it has already been noted that there are great differences between the feelings of personal liking for authority figures and other aspects of the figures' role and personality. This difference is possibly no more evident in any instance than in the difference between the two items "Do you like (figure)?" and "Does (figure) want to help you when you need it?" The general summary of the data on this point is shown in Figure 7-2. There are several features of these data that are immediately apparent; one is that there was relatively little decline across the age range in terms of regard for most of the figures' helpfulness. This is in some contrast to findings pertaining to children's perception of other dimensions of authority figures. There is an exception with respect to the policeman and the President, whose ratings declined moderately. However, neither of these reached the low level of regard that was evident in the item inquiring about personal liking. Of interest also is the position of the religious leader among the other figures; he was seen as more helpful than the father (who declined in rating on this item) and was rated nearly as positively as the mother on nuturant qualities. The teacher ranks relatively low, although her actual position is quite favorable, in terms of scale level, and her relative position among the figures rises with age. This is in contrast to findings about children's feelings of personal affection for all non-family figures and suggests both a differentiation of authority roles as perceived by the children, and a recognition that the teacher's role is to assist.

A similar differentiation occurred for the policeman but the difference between the two aspects of his role is not nearly so marked.

There were no social status or sex differences on the children's view of their parents' or of the teacher's helpfulness, nor did social class or sex differences show for the policeman or for other authority figures considered as a group. There was some tendency for girls to be more positive toward the President on this item than were the boys; the means pertaining to girls were 5.10, 4.58, and 4.34 at grades 4, 6, and 8; the corresponding means for boys were 4.90, 3.99, and 4.06. It is not certain, however, that this is a significant difference.

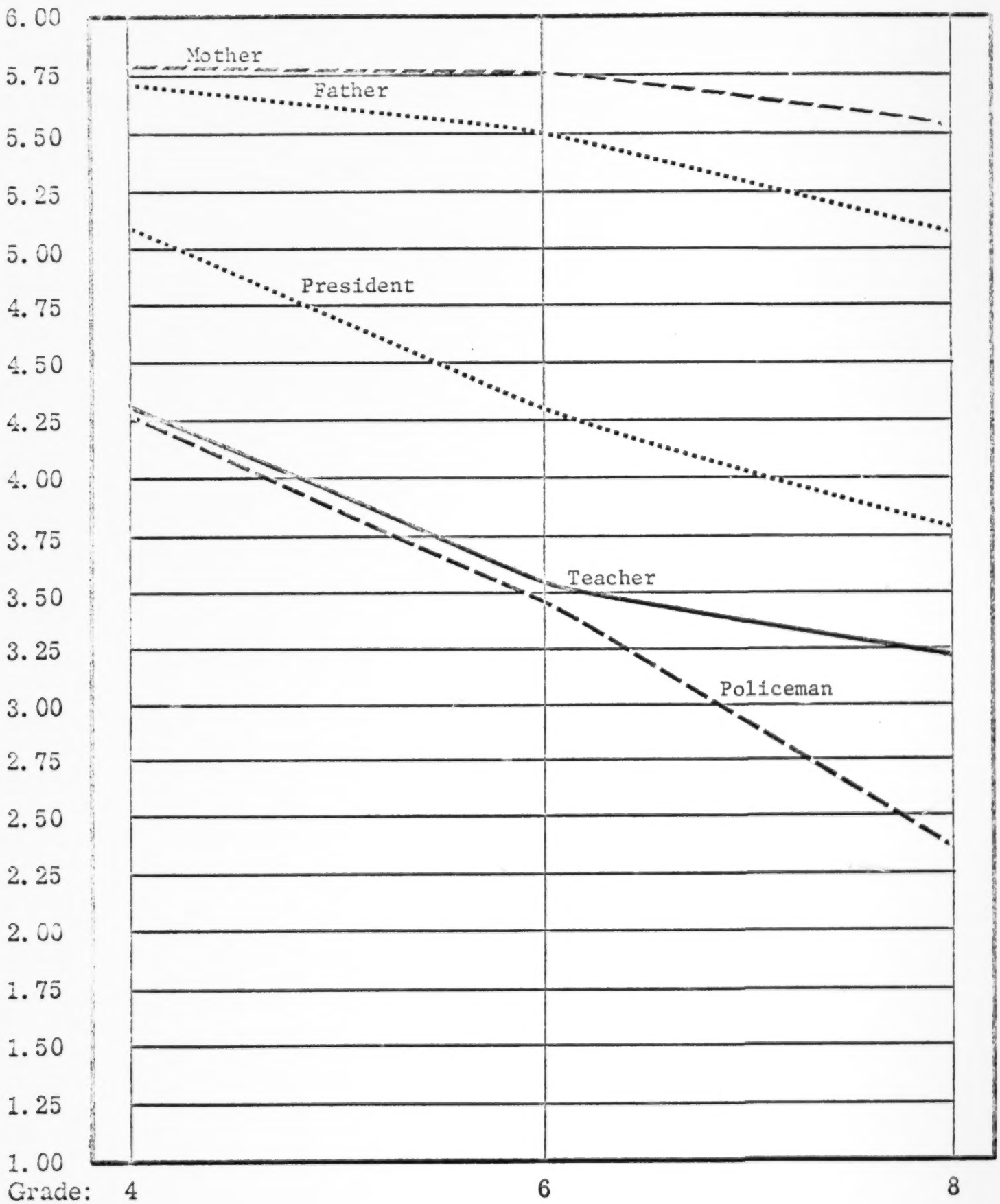
Relationship between view of authority figures as helpful and peer ratings of classroom behavior. Correlations shown in Table 7-5 indicate that view of authority figures, particularly the teacher, as helpful is significantly related to classroom conduct. The relationship is more consistent for sixth and eighth graders; in these grades, students of both sexes having a high regard for their teacher's helpfulness were less likely to be rated by their classmates as displaying uncooperative behavior toward peers and/or the teacher. Eighth grade girls perceiving their teacher as helpful were also more likely to be seen by their classmates as behaving in a cooperative way toward either peers or the teacher. In general, the relationship between ratings of authority figures' helpfulness and peer ratings of classroom behavior seems to be more potent for the Negro than the Caucasian U.S. children.

Summary. Fourth grade U.S. Negro children expressed highly positive feelings for all authority figures. With age, feelings of attachment to all figures compared declined significantly. The decline was most pronounced with respect to the policeman, President, and teacher. With the exception of the teacher, for whom girls expressed somewhat more positive feelings than did boys, no other sex or SES differences were apparent in the data.

Although liking for authority figures was positively and significantly associated with perception of them as helpful, the patterns of U.S. Negro children's responses to these two sets of items were substantially different. Across all grades, the ratings of individual figures were less differentiated on the scale of "willingness to help" than on the scale of "liking," and a decline of means with age was less marked on the former than on the latter scale. Older children expressed less trust than did the younger for the nurturant qualities of the father, policeman, and President. No sex or SES differences affected the ratings of parents' and the teacher's helpfulness; however, girls tended to have somewhat more positive views than boys regarding the Prime Minister's helpfulness.

Correlations between "liking" and "help" items on the one side and peer ratings of classroom behavior on the other indicated that both these measures of children's orientations toward authority correlated positively with cooperative behavior and negatively with noncompliant behavior in the classroom.

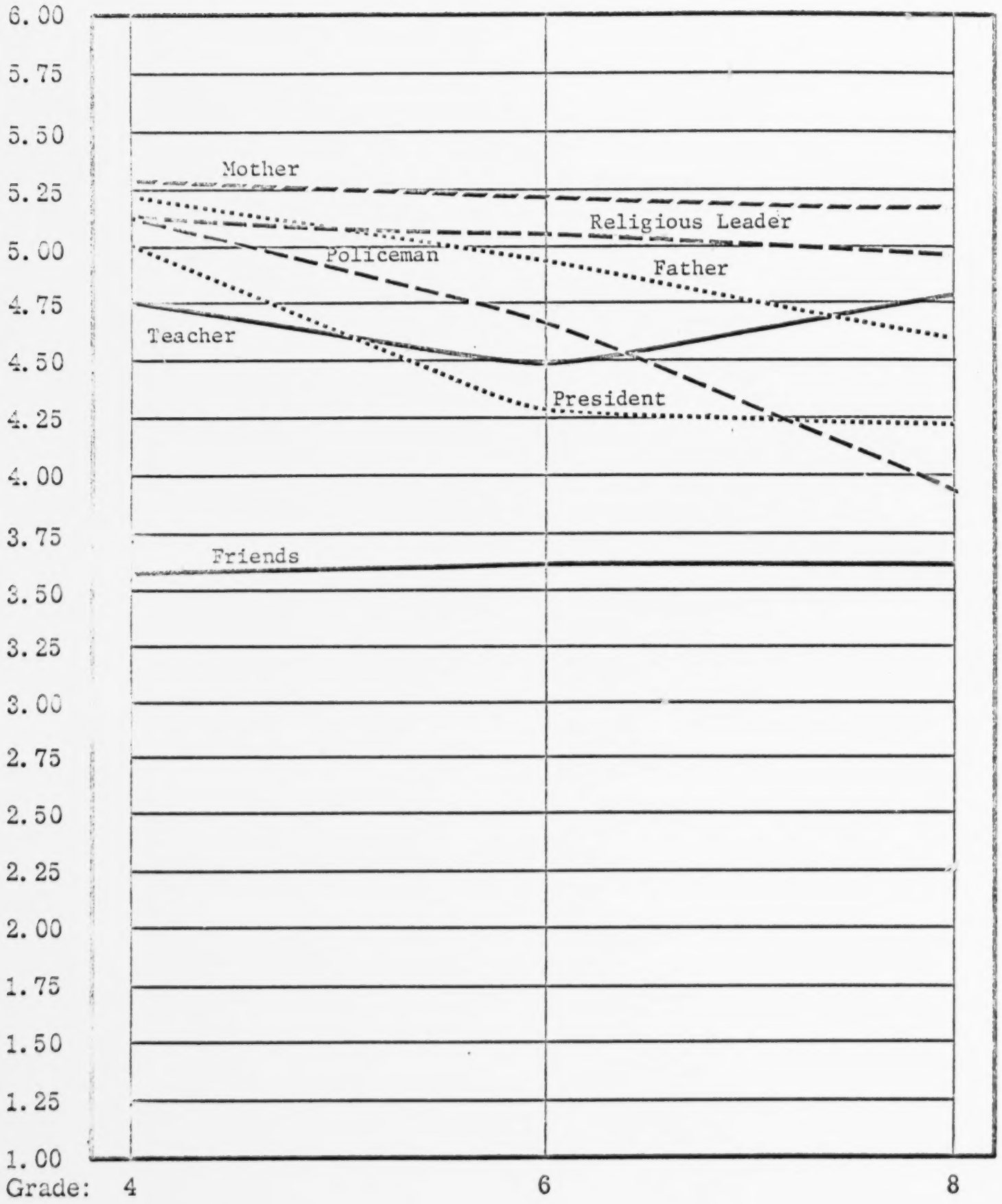
FIGURE 7-1
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT
TO AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE
(U.S. NEGRO)



Item: Do you like (figure)?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

FIGURE 7-2
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
AS HELPFUL, BY GRADE
(U.S. NEGRO)



Item: Does (figure) want to help you when you need it?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 7-1

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO TEACHER,
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	4.29	4.81	3.77	4.30	4.06	4.59	4.26	4.49	4.03
Six	3.54	3.86	3.59	3.72	3.60	2.63	3.21	3.75	3.32
Eight	3.21	3.53	2.88	3.24	3.22	3.07	3.15	3.43	2.94
Totals	3.70			3.76			3.59	3.92	3.45

Note. Significant effects: Grade, Sex. Item: "Do you like your teachers? Item Scale: 1 - No, Not at all; 6 - Yes, very very much.

TABLE 7-2

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ATTACHMENT TO POLICEMAN,
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	4.25	4.31	4.01	4.16	4.24	4.68	4.40	4.28	4.22
Six	3.44	3.39	3.24	3.31	3.95	3.30	3.68	3.62	3.25
Eight	2.34	2.51	1.97	2.27	2.50	2.43	2.47	2.50	2.13
Totals	3.38			3.26			3.60	3.50	3.24

Note. Significant effects: (other authority figures) Grade.
Item: "Do you like policemen?" Item Scale: 1 - No, not at all;
6 - Yes, very very much.

TABLE 7-3

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ATTACHMENT TO AUTHORITY FIGURES (LIKING) AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. NEGRO)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.14	.03	.13	.06	-.08	.00	-.08	-.00
	6	.00	.08	.04	.08	-.07	-.01	-.15	-.02
	8	.08	.08	.07	.14	-.14	-.17	-.14	-.12
Mother	4	-.04	.10	-.09	.10	.08	-.01	.12	-.01
	6	.04	.02	.08	.11	-.10	-.03	-.17	-.13
	8	.10	-.20*	.14	.02	-.11	.10	-.13	.01
Teacher	4	-.02	.14	.02	.24*	-.09	-.19*	-.10	-.16
	6	.11	.12	.14	.11	-.30*	-.16	-.40*	-.26*
	8	.21*	.14	.34*	.15	-.27*	-.14	-.38*	-.22*
Policeman	4	-.10	.12	-.09	.15	-.03	-.14	-.01	-.09
	6	.08	.13	.15	.16	-.17	-.10	-.20*	-.18
	8	.11	-.01	.07	.00	-.24*	.04	-.26*	-.04
President	4	-.02	.19*	.01	.17	-.18	-.17	-.18	-.15
	6	-.01	-.14	-.05	-.14	-.20*	.07	-.17	.07
	8	-.04	-.20*	-.02	-.02	-.02	.13	-.04	.10

Note. * Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 7-4

CORRELATION BETWEEN LIKING FOR AUTHORITY FIGURES AND PERCEPTION OF THEM AS HELPFUL BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. NEGRO)

FIGURES	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	.16	.29*	.38*	.26*	.61*	.29*
Mother	-.01	.28*	.41*	.06	.44*	.37*
Teacher	.17	.30*	.70*	.38*	.34*	.13
Policeman	.21*	.18	.52*	.30*	.15	.40*
President	.20*	.09	.33*	.45*	.37*	.26*

Note. * Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 7-5

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. NEGRO)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER		NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS		NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.03	-.08	.07	-.09	.02	.07	.02	.06
	6	-.12	.06	-.06	.16	-.08	.03	-.03	-.03
	8	.07	.10	-.02	.15	.05	-.09	-.00	-.16
Mother	4	-.07	.19	-.11	.19*	.07	-.16	.08	-.16
	6	.15	.05	.23*	.14	-.19*	.01	-.25*	-.03
	8	.20*	.04	.15	.10	-.09	.04	-.16	-.03
Teacher	4	-.14	-.04	-.12	-.08	.05	-.14	.08	-.12
	6	.09	.09	.11	.06	-.26*	-.22*	-.35*	-.27*
	8	.27*	.16	.20*	.15	-.28*	-.19*	-.32*	-.22*
President	4	-.14	-.24*	-.11	-.36*	-.04	-.08	.05	.06
	6	-.03	-.24*	-.13	-.18	.12	.16	.16	.17
	8	-.06	.09	.15	.32*	-.13	-.18	-.23*	-.22*
Policeman	4	-.11	.16	-.14	.23*	.02	-.20*	.02	-.21*
	6	.11	.03	.13	-.02	-.21*	-.05	-.24*	-.10
	8	-.17	.01	-.17	.06	.10	.01	.10	-.02
Religious Leader	4	.05	-.20*	.06	-.04	-.02	.15	-.01	.21*
	6	-.11	-.12	-.06	-.11	-.04	.12	-.01	.19*
	8	-.15	.14	-.01	.22*	.12	-.08	.12	-.14
Friends	4	.02	.04	-.00	.04	-.10	.07	-.12	.08
	6	.04	.01	.05	.09	.24*	-.02	.05	-.10
	8	.07	.15	.05	-.02	-.10	-.07	-.08	-.06

Note. * Indicates significant correlation.

b. Perception of the Power of Authority Figures to Punish Noncompliance

The responses of the U. S. Negro children to this item are shown in Figure 7-3. It is evident from this graph that the figures rated fall into three groupings: the first includes parents and the judge; the second includes the policeman, the President, and the teacher; and the third the religious leader and friends, both of whom were seen to have relatively little punitive power. Parental figures and the judge seemed to lose little of their punitive power in the eyes of children of this research group over the fourth to eighth grade range. The second and third groups, however, showed a significant decline as children grew older. In general, this pattern indicates a greater differentiation among the figures by eighth grade than fourth grade children, a finding compatible with other results of this study and with previous research.

Of particular interest is the identification of the judge, as early as the fourth grade, as a figure with high punitive power. Differentiation of his role from that of the policeman apparently takes place early in the children's experience.

There are relatively few significant differences between the high and low status groups in their perception of the authority figures' power to punish noncompliance. High status children saw their father as slightly more powerful on this item than did low status children; the means for the low status group were 5.13, 5.39, and 4.99 at grades 4, 6, and 8; the corresponding means for the high status group were 5.55, 5.51, and 5.18. It is not clear, however, that this is a significant difference. The differences between the two SES groups in reference to the mother are even smaller (the means were 5.08, 5.51, 5.61 for the low status groups at grades 4, 6, and 8 and 5.38, 5.42, and 5.65, respectively, for the high status group). There are virtually no differences between the two social status groups on the perception of the teacher on this item, and very little for other authority figures, policeman, judge, and President.

Although we had expected that the U.S. Negro children, compared to the U.S. Caucasian, would see authority figures as more powerful, as measured by this item, that turns out not to be the case. Although the groupings of figures are the same for the two U.S. samples there are some differences in their perception of teacher,

policeman, and President. The teacher was seen as having more power to punish by U.S. Caucasians than by U.S. Negroes. There is also a little more similarity between father and mother for the Caucasians; otherwise, the two ethnic groups seem to be quite similar on this particular item.

There are no sex differences in the perception of father's and mother's power to punish. Neither are there differences between boys and girls in their perception of teacher's punitive power. There are differences between the sexes, particularly at the early grades, in their view of other non-family authority figures' power to punish (see Table 7-6). However, the magnitude and direction of these differences varied by figure; fourth and sixth grade boys perceived the policeman as more powerful than did girls (means for boys at these grades were 4.91 and 4.54 while the corresponding means for girls were 4.39 and 4.37); at the eighth grade, this difference was reversed with girls attributing the policeman more power to punish than did boys (at grade 8, the means were 3.59 for boys and 3.94 for girls). No sex differences appear with respect to the judge's punitive power, but there is a different perception of the President; boys tended to see the President as having more power to punish a person when he does wrong than did girls of this research group (means for boys were 4.80, 4.38, 3.88 at grades 4, 6, and 8; the corresponding means for girls were 4.02, 3.86, and 3.65). The view of the religious leader shows some sex difference, with boys perceiving him as having more power to punish (boys' means at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 3.02, 2.98, and 2.32; the corresponding means for girls were 3.13, 2.67, 1.97). The sex difference does not show up at the fourth grade, and it is not clear how significant it is. Since policeman, judge, religious leader and President were grouped under "other authority figures," the relative contribution of each of these to the significant difference by sex, on the composite index, must be estimated from the individual item scores.

Relationship between view of authority figures' power to punish and classroom behavior. The relationship of this item to behavior in the classroom is of particular interest (see Table 7-7). According to these data, it is belief in parents' rather than teacher's punitive power that correlates significantly (and in the expected direction) with peer ratings of classroom behavior. Although the correlations between teacher's power to punish and PNI indices of classroom behavior are in the expected direction for most of the sample subgroups, they are not significant.

On the other hand, correlations between PNI indices of classroom behavior and belief in father's punitive power are consistently significant and in the expected direction only for eighth grade boys. Belief in mother's punitive power correlates positively with cooperative classroom behavior also for eighth grade boys. The corresponding correlations for girls are not significant, however.

The pattern of responses to the item, "Whose punishment do you fear the most?" is found in Table 7-8. The pattern of these responses suggests that perception of a figure's power to punish is not necessarily associated with a child's fear of the figure's punishment. For example, children in the fourth grade did not differentiate between father and mother in terms of his or her power to punish. However, there is a substantial difference in the percentage of children who fear their mother's vs. their father's punishment. More children mentioned the father than the mother as the figure whose punishment they fear the most. This changes significantly across grades with nominations of the father dropping and nominations of the mother rising so that, by eighth grade, there is no difference in the number of children nominating each of these two figures. The increase with age of the frequency of children fearing the mother's punishment most parallels a similar increase in children's perception of the mother's power to punish.

Another figure whose nominations as the figure whose punishment is feared the most increased with grade is the policeman. Yet, children's perception of the policeman's power to punish decreased between fourth and eighth grade. More children nominated the President than the teacher as the figure whose punishment they fear most, but no differentiation appeared between these figures in terms of their perceived power to punish noncompliance.

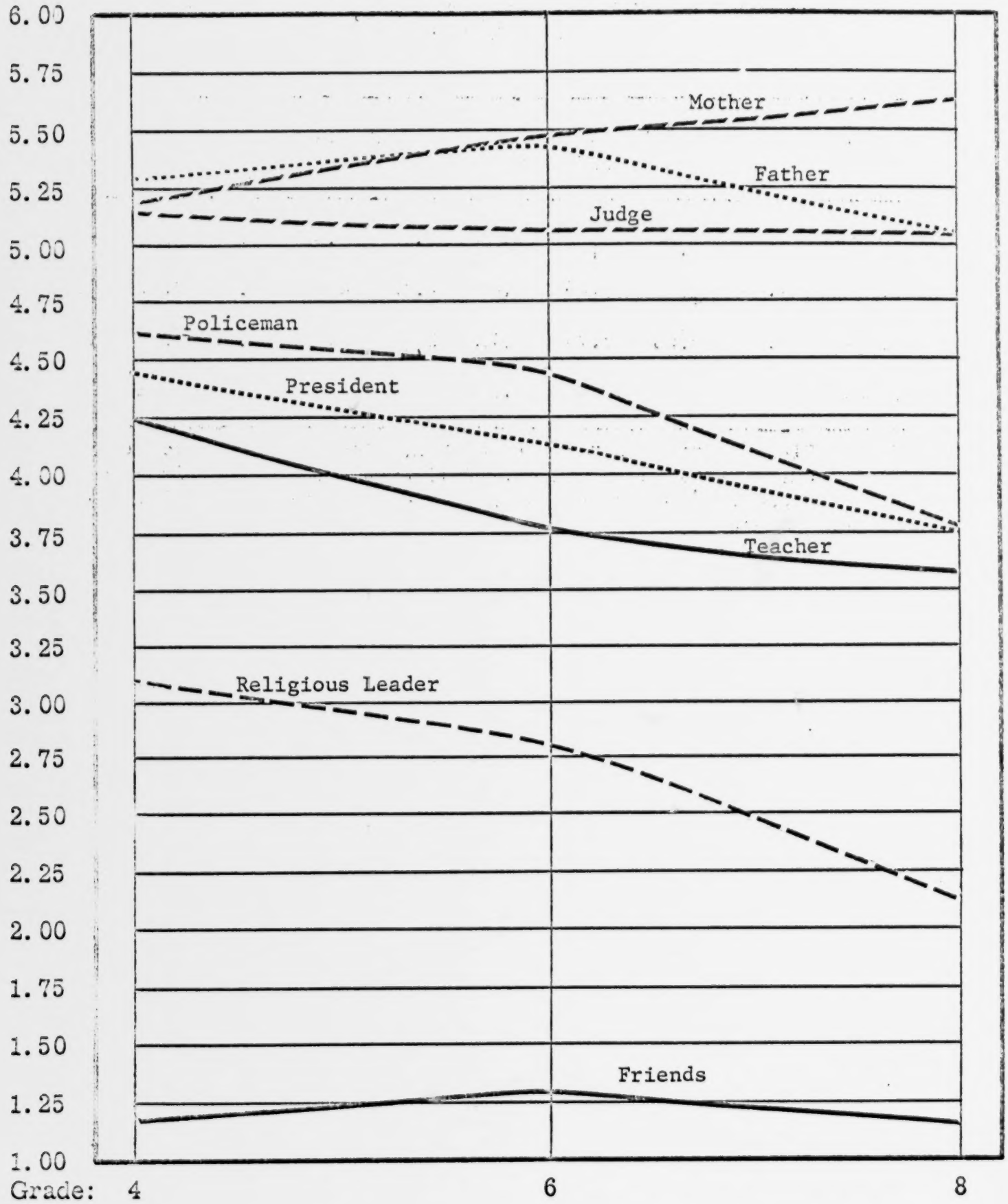
Summary. Of the eight figures considered, parents and the judge ranked highest on the scale of power to punish; policeman, President, and teacher ranked second, with their means clustered quite closely together, and the religious leader and friends ranked even lower. With age, children's estimates of the punitive power of the policeman, President, teacher, and religious leader decreased, while little change with age was apparent in the ratings of the punitive power of parents and the judge.

High status children attributed to their parents somewhat more power to punish than did low status children; the SES difference was more pronounced for the father than the mother.

Sex differences were significant only for the index concerning non-family and non-school authority figures; boys showed a higher regard than girls for the punitive power of all figures comprising that index except for the judge, where no sex differences were apparent.

The relationships between perception of the punitive power of authority figures and classroom behavior indicated that the two sets of variables tend to be related, especially for eighth grade boys; for this group, high regard for the punitive power of parents (especially the father) correlated positively with scores of compliant behavior and negatively with scores of noncompliant behavior at school.

FIGURE 7-3
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH, BY GRADE
(U.S. NEGRO)



Item: Does (figure) have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 7-6

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEW OF SEVERAL AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. NEGRO)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	4.20	4.04	4.31	4.18	4.04	4.55	4.24	4.04	4.39
Six	4.08	3.87	4.26	4.08	4.12	4.03	4.08	3.97	4.19
Eight	3.69	3.65	3.79	3.71	3.79	3.50	3.66	3.69	3.69
Totals				3.99			4.02	3.91	4.11

Note. Significant effects: Grade, Sex. Index based on combination of 4 items: "Does the President (Policeman, Judge, Religious Leader) have the power to punish you when you do wrong?" Item Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 7-7

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF THE POWER OF AUTHORITY FIGURES TO PUNISH NONCOMPLIANCE AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. NEGRO)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.02	.04	-.02	.08	.04	-.00	.08	.03
	6	.04	-.08	.04	.04	.11	.09	.15	.09
	8	.07	.30*	.02	.22*	-.06	-.19*	-.07	-.19*
Mother	4	.06	.11	.09	.13	.06	.07	.01	.06
	6	-.06	-.05	-.07	-.06	.21*	.14	.18	.11
	8	.08	.30*	.05	.23*	-.08	-.12	-.15	-.17
Teacher	4	-.09	-.03	-.14	-.06	-.06	.14	.02	.14
	6	-.04	-.03	.06	.00	-.05	-.06	-.22*	-.08
	8	.11	.13	.06	.06	-.14	-.10	-.12	-.17
Policeman	4	.04	.09	-.00	.10	-.23*	.00	-.15	.04
	6	-.06	.00	-.01	.02	.18	.04	.08	.06
	8	-.03	-.03	-.20*	-.02	.14	-.04	.12	-.06
President	4	.10	-.04	.15	-.07	-.12	-.02	-.19*	.01
	6	.24*	-.06	.23*	-.02	-.06	.06	-.07	-.04
	8	.07	-.09	.09	-.12	-.02	-.07	-.02	.03
Judge	4	-.03	.12	-.01	.13	.10	-.02	.13	-.04
	6	.15	.02	.17	.07	-.13	-.06	-.16	-.08
	8	.08	-.13	.08	-.02	-.10	-.05	-.09	-.05
Religious Leader	4	-.24*	-.05	-.16	-.04	-.03	.04	.05	.10
	6	.05	-.18	.04	-.03	-.05	.01	-.11	.01
	8	.03	.14	.12	.30*	-.04	-.21*	-.09	-.15
Friends	4	.10	-.01	.22*	.01	-.01	.06	.06	.02
	6	.02	-.13	.04	-.17	-.13	.09	-.13	.12
	8	.04	-.03	.02	.05	-.14	.04	.05	.02

Note. * Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 7-8

AUTHORITY FIGURES WHOSE PUNISHMENT IS FEARED THE MOST.
PERCENTAGES OF NOMINATIONS BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

	FIGURES					
	Mother	Father	Teacher	Policeman	Religious Leader	President
Grade 4 Total	16	44	04	13	02	17
Low Status	18	35	08	16	03	16
High Status	13	52	01	10	00	18
Girls	17	39	05	13	02	18
Boys	14	48	03	12	01	17
Grade 6 Total	22	38	02	15	01	17
Low Status	27	39	03	14	00	12
High Status	16	37	00	15	01	22
Girls	24	40	02	13	01	11
Boys	19	35	02	16	00	23
Grade 8 Total	33	33	00	20	02	08
Low Status	30	29	01	26	04	05
High Status	37	38	00	13	00	10
Girls	47	24	01	19	01	04
Boys	19	42	00	21	03	11

Note. Item: "Whose punishment do you fear the most?" Friends and Anyone else omitted.

c. Children's View of the Consequences of Non-compliance--Inevitability of Punishment

The responses of U.S. Negro children to the item dealing with beliefs in inevitability of punishment for disobedience of the rules of various authority figures are shown in Figure 7-4. This figure shows little differentiation of responses among the several systems and figures. It seems unlikely that these differences among figures are significant, and, in addition, there is very little change by grade. The greatest changes appear to be those associated with the parents, where the mean for father drops from a high of 4.79 at grade 4 to 3.96 at grade 8. There is less decline for mother, but, if viewed together with the father's mean, it is a significant drop. No great changes appear for teacher or for other authority figures.

The social class differences on these responses are minimal; however, there are sex differences for father, mother, and for other authority figures (Father: the means at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 4.98, 4.56, 4.22 for boys and 4.63, 4.15, 3.76 for girls. Mother: 4.71, 4.64, 4.13 for boys and 4.43, 4.35, 4.21 for girls. Policeman: 4.46, 4.46, 3.92 for boys and 4.08, 3.87, 4.06 for girls. City: 5.14, 4.35, 4.48 for boys and 4.53, 4.40, 4.26 for girls. Government: 4.31, 3.69, 4.31 for boys and 3.90, 3.24, 3.70 for girls). The differences are in the same direction for responses to the teacher, but these do not achieve significance at the .001 level. In each case, the boys thought it more likely that they would be punished as a result of noncompliance. This was especially true at the younger age levels. There is a change in this sex difference at grade eight for mother and for policeman, indicating a sharp decline between grades six and eight for boys.

Relationships between belief in the inevitability of punishment by authority figures for disobedience of their rules and peer ratings of classroom behavior. These data are shown in Table 7-9. While there are few significant correlations for girls, there are some interesting patterns for boys. For sixth and eighth grade boys, belief that city officials will inevitably punish them for noncompliance correlates positively with compliant classroom behavior and negatively with noncompliant behavior. However, for sixth grade boys, negative classroom behavior correlates positively with belief in the inevitability of punishment by father, mother, teacher, and government. Inevitability of punishment by teacher and government also correlates negatively with positive classroom

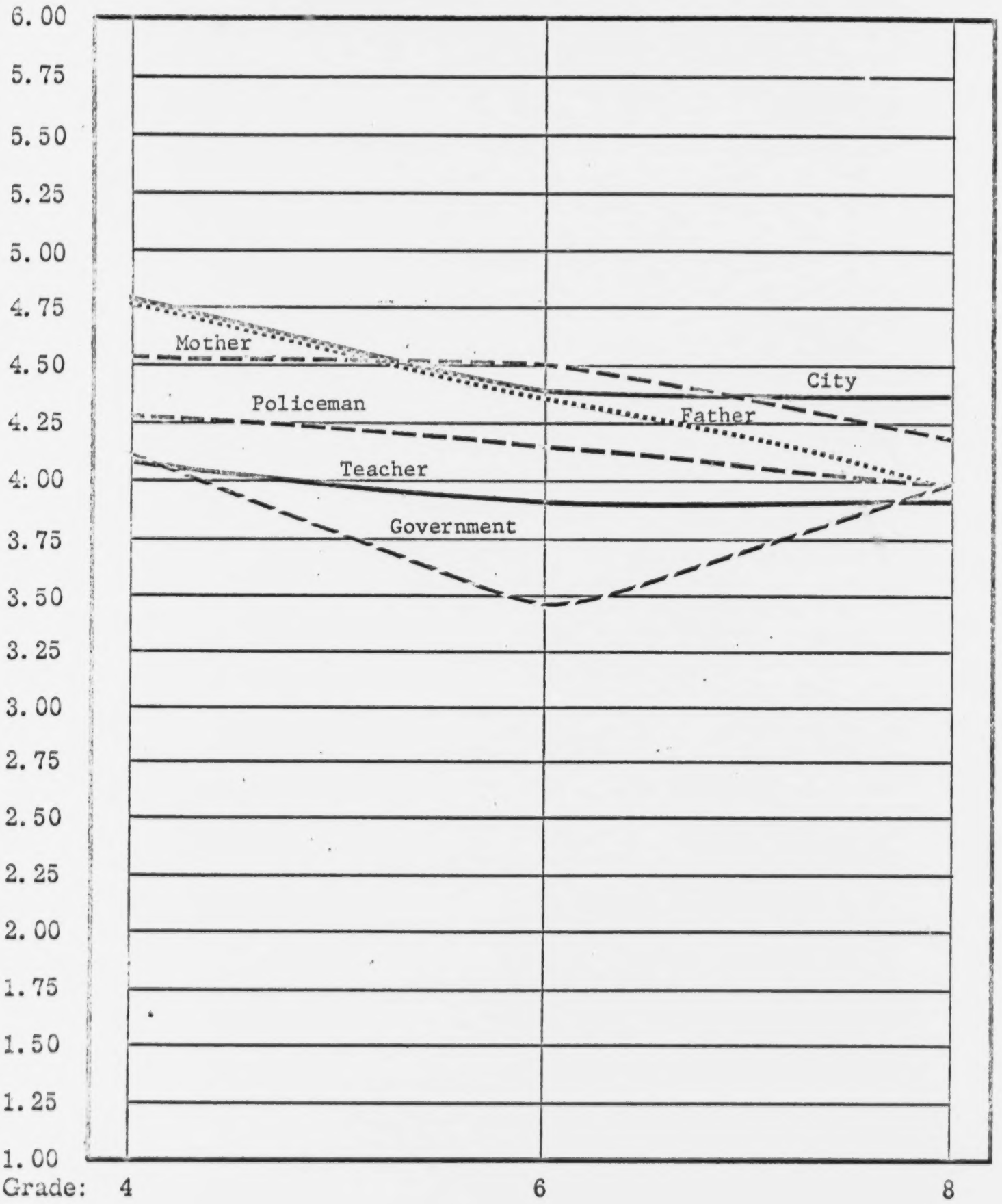
behavior. In other words, sixth grade boys who see the punishment of father, mother, teacher, and government as inevitable are seen as exhibiting noncompliant behavior within the classroom. While this pattern is very consistent for sixth grade boys in relation to the figures mentioned, it is not found for any other sex or grade groups.

Summary. The ranking of figures and systems on the scale of inevitability of punishment indicated little discrimination among them and no substantial change with age in children's beliefs about the likelihood of punishment following noncompliance.

Responses to this item did not differ by SES but there were significant sex differences on the ratings of all figures and systems considered, except the teacher; in each case, boys demonstrated stronger beliefs than did girls in the inevitability of getting punished for noncompliance with the figures' rules.

Correlations between responses to these questionnaire items and peer ratings of classroom behavior were consistently significant for sixth grade boys; however, the direction of the relationship differed, depending on the authority figures. Beliefs in the inevitability of punishment by city officials correlated positively with compliant behavior and negatively with noncompliant behavior; the relationship was in the opposite direction for sixth grade boys believing in the inevitability of punishment for disobedience of rules of all other authority figures.

FIGURE 7-4
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT
FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH AUTHORITY FIGURES' RULES, BY GRADE
(U.S. NEGRO)



Item: If you do not obey the laws or rules of (figure), does he punish you?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 7-9

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF IN INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT FOR DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND SYSTEMS AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. NEGRO)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER		NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS		NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.09	-.04	.00	.03	-.06	-.07	-.03	-.03
	6	-.06	-.03	-.06	-.01	.12	.19*	.18	.24*
	8	.06	.02	.16	.05	-.09	-.02	-.12	-.03
Mother	4	-.01	.10	-.10	.02	-.07	-.04	-.11	-.07
	6	-.05	-.11	-.07	-.13	.08	.25*	.07	.25*
	8	.06	.00	.17	.01	-.10	-.00	-.13	-.07
Teacher	4	.06	.01	.05	-.03	-.14	.08	-.17	.01
	6	-.08	-.25*	-.03	-.19*	.09	.20*	.01	.29*
	8	.11	.09	.04	.11	-.11	-.04	-.07	-.07
City	4	-.09	.04	-.11	.06	-.04	.12	.00	.08
	6	.06	.20*	.00	.19*	.04	-.11	.01	-.12
	8	.05	.19*	-.02	.20*	-.06	-.19*	-.10	-.25*
Government	4	-.14	-.09	-.22*	-.08	-.18	-.06	-.11	-.06
	6	.02	-.16	.03	-.22*	-.15	.23*	-.09	.21*
	8	.19*	.02	.13	.07	-.14	-.02	-.20*	-.08
Policeman	4	-.02	.02	-.01	.17	-.14	-.03	-.14	-.05
	6	.08	-.04	.07	-.02	-.11	.18	-.12	.13
	8	.01	-.10	.02	-.17	.06	.09	.01	.16

Note. * Indicates significant correlation.

d. Inter-system Support for Sanctions Against Non-compliance

Children's beliefs about the degree to which authority figures are likely to enforce each other's rules are important to an understanding of their image of authority. These beliefs were assessed through questionnaire items dealing with children's expectations that punishment from an authority figure (or a system's officials) for disobedience of their rules will be reinforced by other authority figures. The responses of U.S. Negro children are presented in Tables 7-10 and 7-11 and Figures 7-5 through 7-9.

Inspection of Table 7-10 shows that high percentages of Negro children believe that both their parents support the discipline of all other authority figures. This belief remains constant across grades and does not vary by sex or SES (see Table 7-11). There also appears to be no discrimination among non-family authorities as recipients of parental support for their obedience requirements. However, belief that parents' discipline will be reinforced by other authority figures was expressed by substantially fewer children. Across all grades, more children expect that their parents' discipline will be reinforced by other members of the family, and substantially fewer expectations for reinforcement of parental discipline by the policeman, teacher, religious leader, and anyone else were reported (see Figure 7-5). In addition, belief in non-family authorities' support of parents' discipline declined significantly with age, while belief in parents' support of non-family authorities remained constant. This may be an indication that actual experiences--presumably increasing with age--help modify children's beliefs about mutual support between family and non-family authorities.

Data regarding the figures expected to reinforce the teacher's discipline are shown in Figure 7-6. Across all grades, parents and the principal appeared to be the figures most often expected by U.S. Negro children to reinforce the discipline of the teacher. Other members of the family, the policeman, religious leader, and anyone else were cited by fewer children across all grades. Fourth graders cited the policeman more often than other members of the family as reinforcers of the teacher's discipline. However, belief in parents', principal's, and other family members' support of teacher's discipline remained constant with grade while belief that punishment from the teacher will be reinforced by the policeman, religious leader and anyone else declined as children grew older.

Data regarding the figures expected to reinforce the discipline of city officials (see Figure 7-8) indicate that, over all grades, parents and other family members were expected more often than the teacher, religious leader, or anyone else to reinforce punishment for disobedience of city rules. Also, expectations that parents and other family members will reinforce the discipline of city officials remained constant from grade four to eight, while belief in the teacher's, religious leader's, and anyone else's support of the disciplinary acts of city officials declined with grade.

Similarly, parents, policeman and judge were cited across all grades substantially more often than were the teacher, religious leader, and anyone else as reinforcers of the discipline of national government officials (see Figure 7-9). Policeman and judge were cited slightly less often than parents as reinforcers of the discipline of national government officials. In addition, responses regarding parents, policeman, and judge remained constant with grade, while belief in the teacher's, religious leader's, and anyone else's reinforcement of the discipline of national government officials declined significantly with grade.

An interesting finding that differentiated U.S. Negro from U.S. Caucasian children was that belief in parents' reinforcing the discipline of non-family authorities was more potent in the former than the latter (compare Tables 7-11 with 6-8). In U.S. Negro children's view, parents appeared to be more supportive of the teacher's discipline than did the principal; similarly, parents were seen as more likely to reinforce punishment for disobedience of the rules of city and national government than were the judge and the policeman.

The statistical significance of sampling variations in children's beliefs about inter-system support was tested for scores (or indices) summarizing response frequencies for groups of individual figures. These groupings are shown in Table 7-11. The indices for parents' support of non-family authorities, other family members' support of parents, total family's support of school, friends' support of school, and friends' support of all authority figures showed no significant variations by grade, sex, or SES. Belief in non-family authorities' support of parents' and teacher's discipline declined significantly with increasing grade. Belief in anyone else's support of all authority figures' discipline also declined with grade. Belief in other family members' support of non-family authorities changed curvilinearly, increasing from grade four to six and remaining stable from grade six to eight.

Social status variations affected the indices of non-family authorities' support of parents and non-family authorities' support of each other. Belief in non-family authorities' support of parents' discipline was expressed significantly more often by low status than by high status children. Also, belief in non-family authorities' support of each other decreased with age among low status children but changed curvilinearly among those of high status; thus, while at the fourth grade this belief was stronger among low status than among high status children, by eighth grade the relationship was reversed.

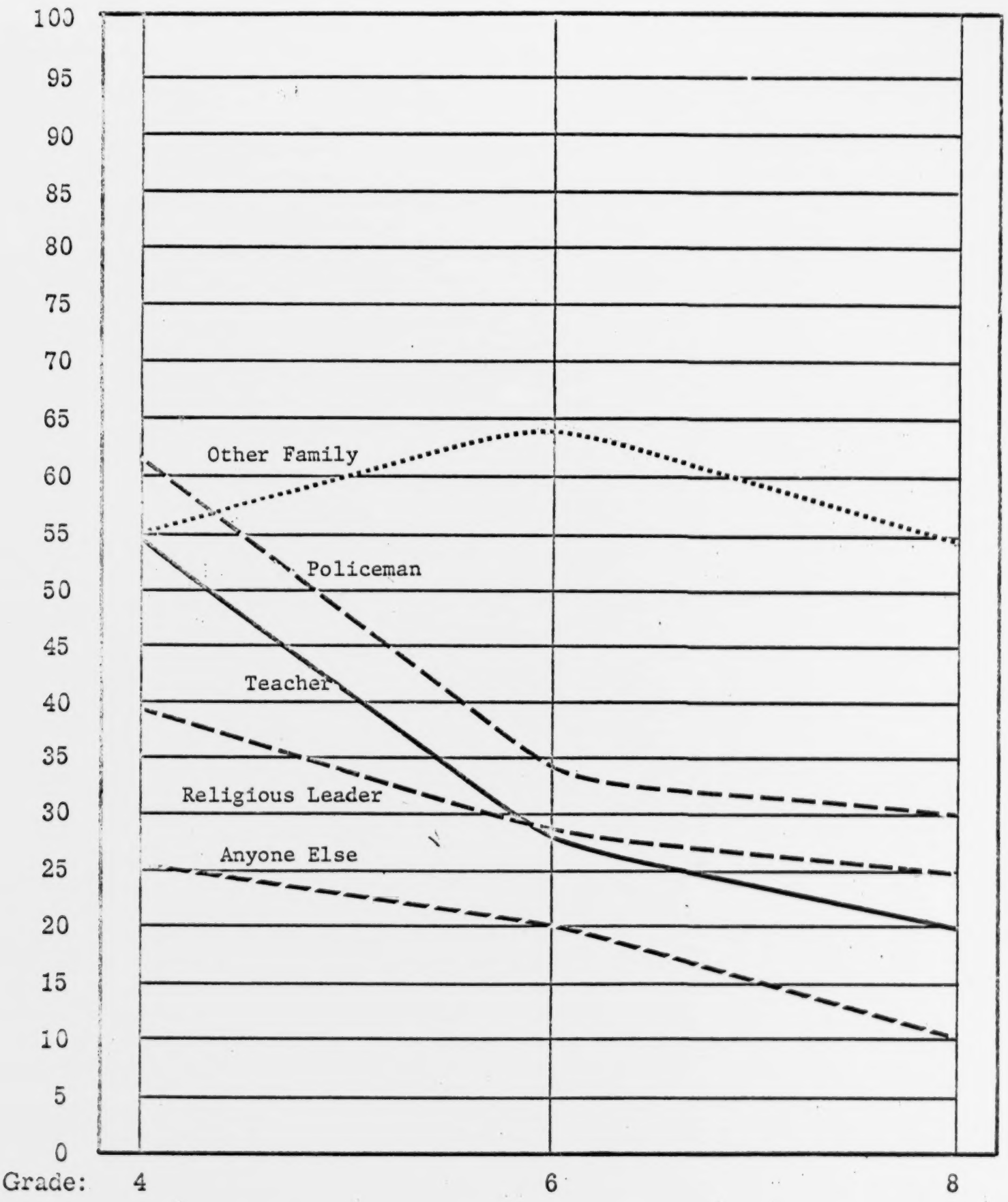
Relationship between beliefs in inter-system support and peer ratings of classroom behavior. These data are shown in Table 7-12. From a look at the patterns of correlations, it would appear that children's beliefs about inter-system support do not significantly relate to classroom behavior. There are some correlations which suggest that children who see non-family authority figures as supporting parents, school, and non-family authorities tend to be seen as noncompliant in the classroom. However, these significant correlations are few and do not allow one to conclude that children's beliefs about authority figures as mutually supportive affect cooperative classroom behavior negatively.

Summary. High percentages of U.S. Negro children expressed the expectation that parents would support non-family authorities in punishing noncompliance; substantially fewer children appeared to believe that non-family authorities would support parents in punishing disobedience of family norms. The teacher was also expected to receive little support from authority figures other than parents.

Belief that parents support the discipline of non-family authorities remained constant with age and showed no significant variations by sex or SES; in contrast, belief that non-family authorities support the discipline of parents decreased with age and across all grades was expressed more often by low status than by high status children. Also, belief in non-family authorities' support of the school's discipline declined with age. Belief in mutual support among non-family authorities decreased with age among low status children but increased somewhat from grade four to eight among the high status children.

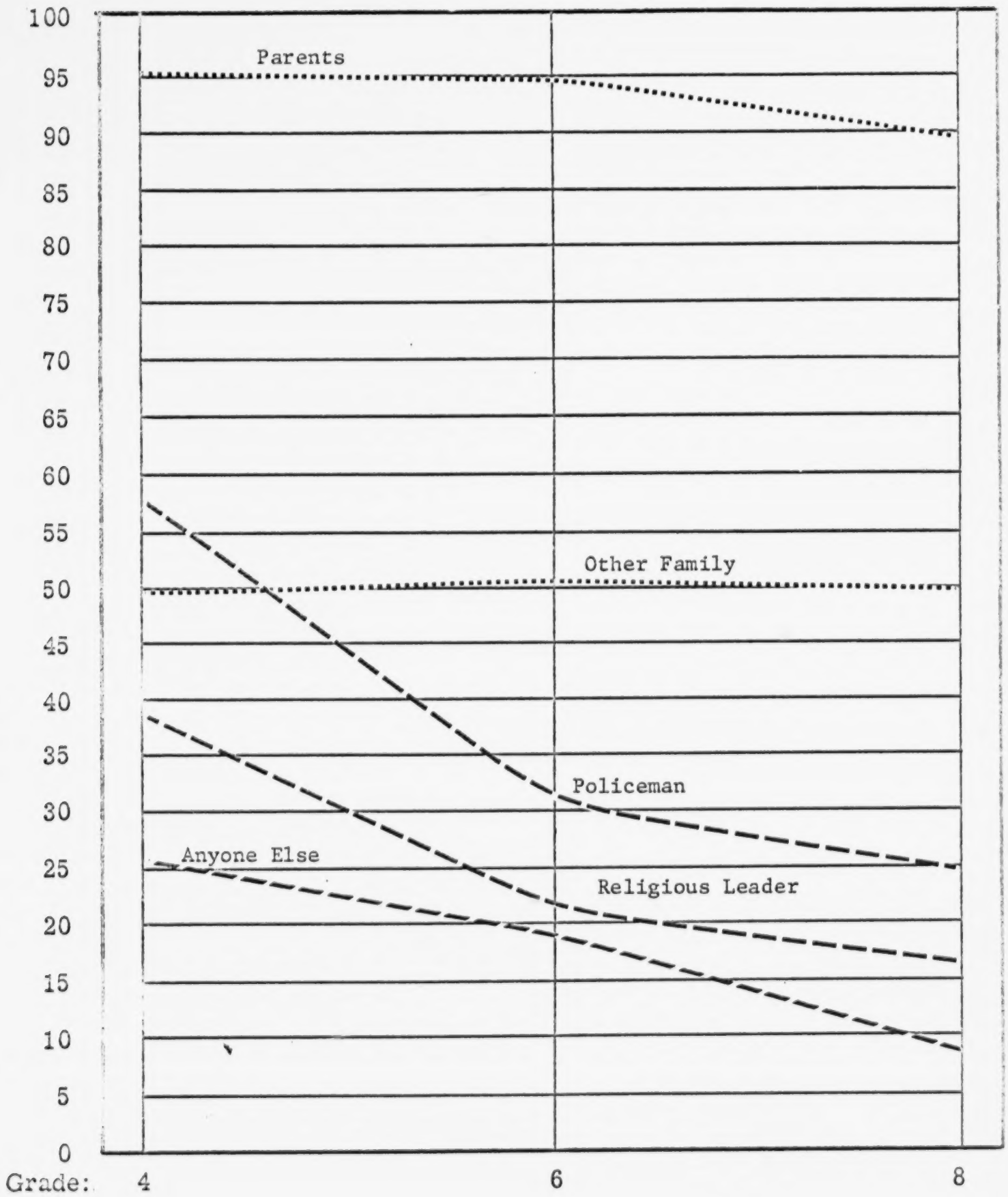
Children's beliefs about inter-system support were not substantially related to peer nomination indices of classroom behavior.

FIGURE 7-5
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF PARENTS, BY GRADE
(U.S. NEGRO)



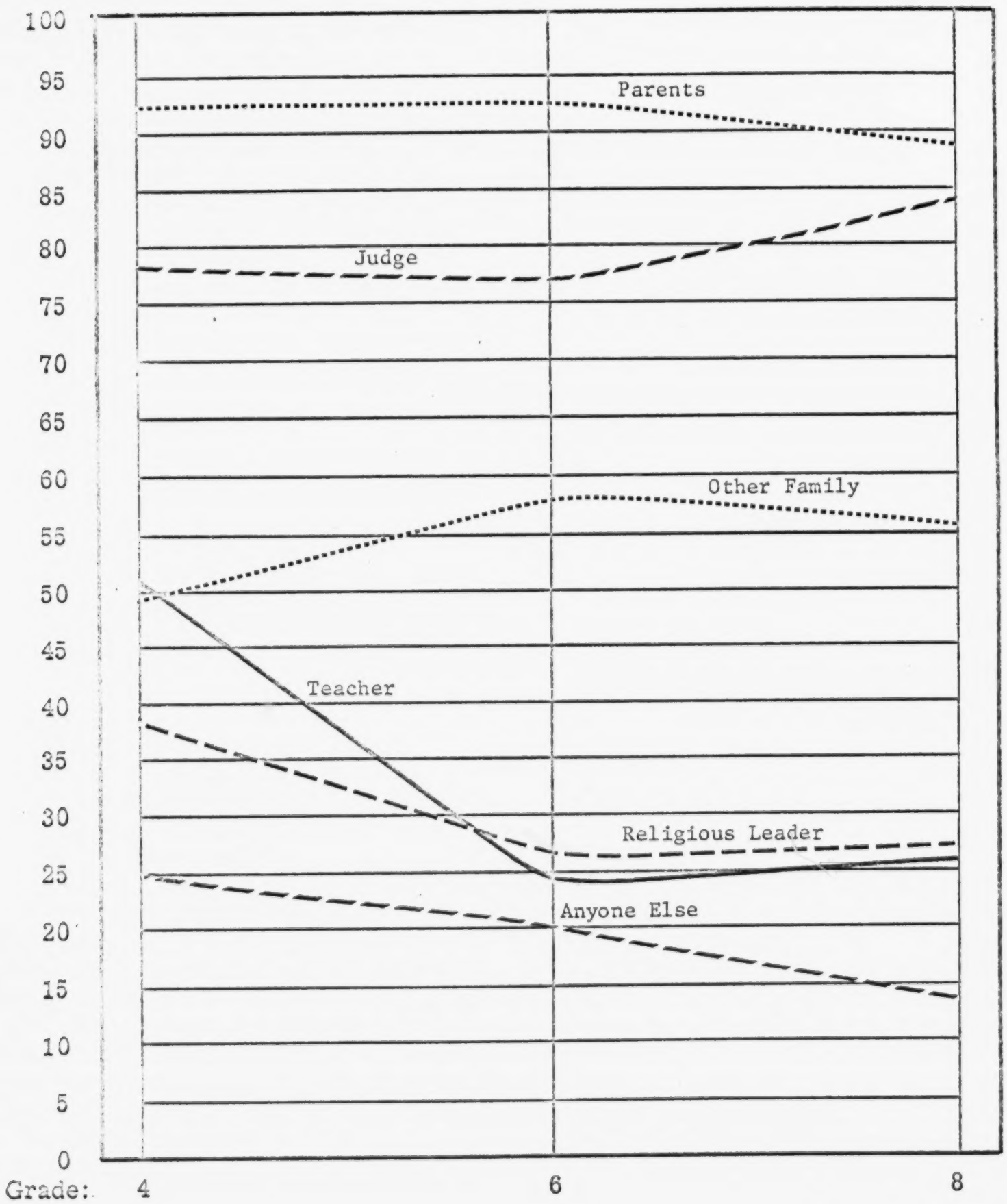
Item: Index based on combination of 2 items: "Besides your father (mother), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your father's (mother's) rules?"

FIGURE 7-6
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE TEACHER, BY GRADE
(U.S. NEGRO)



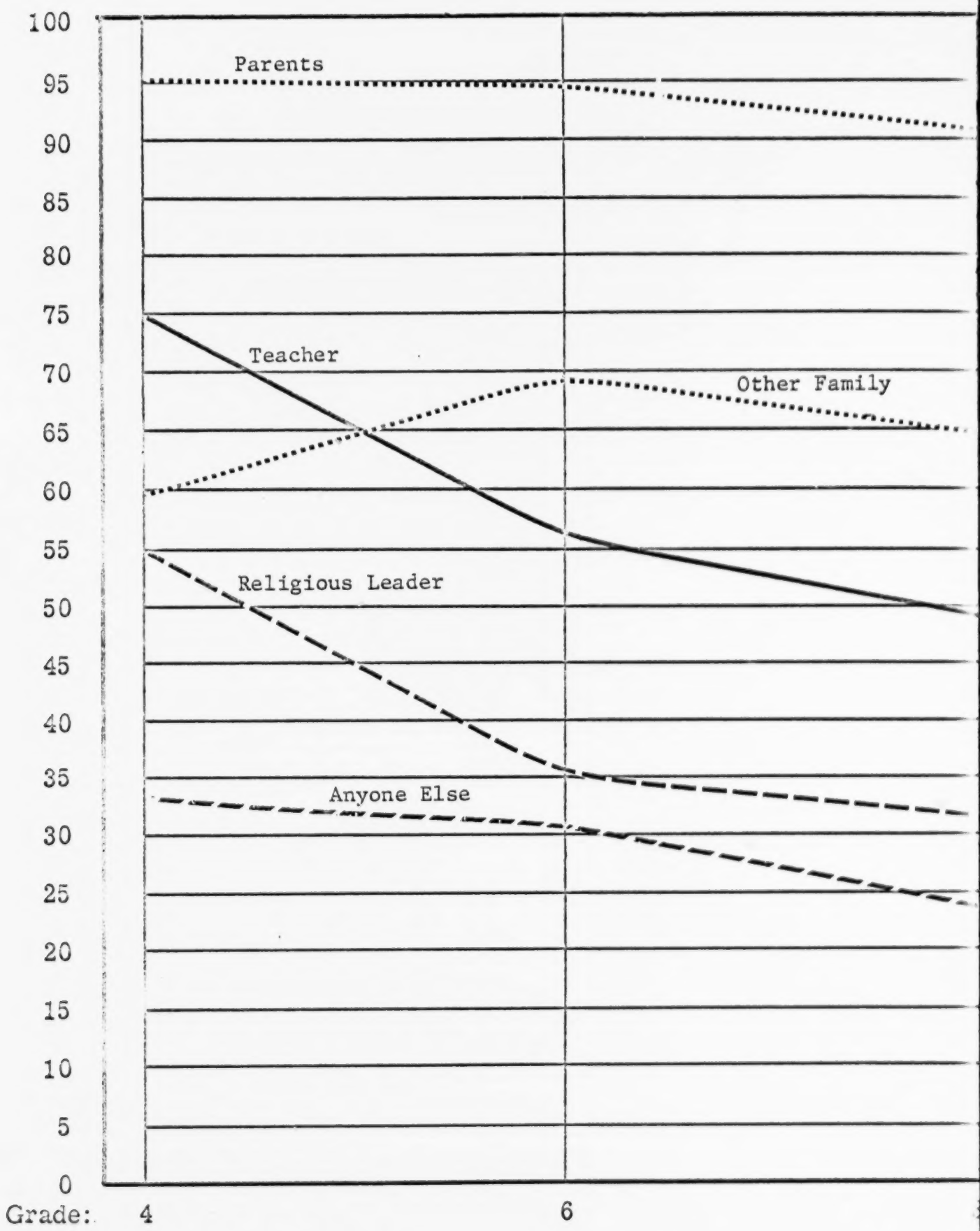
Item: "Besides your teacher, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your teacher's rules?"

FIGURE 7-7
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE POLICEMAN, BY GRADE
(U.S. NEGRO)



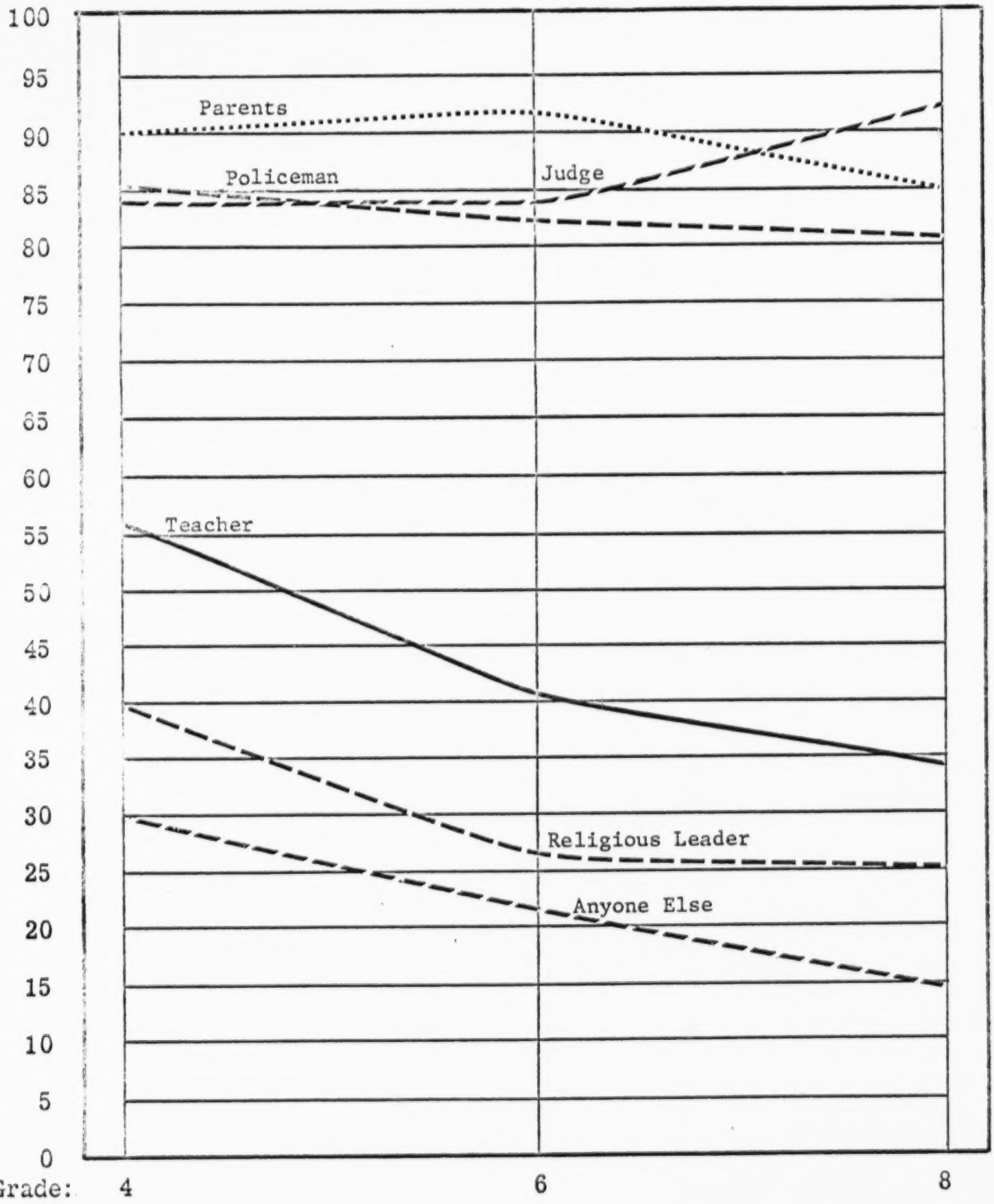
Item: "Besides policemen, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey policemen's orders?"

FIGURE 7-8
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT
OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE
THE DISCIPLINE OF THE CITY, BY GRADE
(U.S. NEGRO)



Item: "Besides city officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the city's laws or rules?"

FIGURE 7-9
PERCENTAGE REPORTING BELIEF THAT OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES WOULD REINFORCE THE DISCIPLINE OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT, BY GRADE
(U.S. NEGRO)



Item: "Besides government officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the laws or rules of the United States?"

TABLE 7-10

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON EXPECTATION THAT PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WILL BE REINFORCED BY OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES
(Percentage of "Yes" Responses)
(U.S. NEGRO)

FIGURE ALSO PUNISHING	SYSTEM OR FIGURE WHO IS DISOBEYED																	
	MOTHER			FATHER			TEACHER			POLICEMAN			CITY			GOVERNMENT		
	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8
Mother				93	94	94	95	97	94	93	96	92	96	95	95	89	93	88
Father	94	96	89				95	92	84	92	90	85	93	92	87	92	92	80
Other family	53	66	56	58	64	52	50	51	50	49	58	56	59	69	65			
Teacher	50	21	16	59	34	24				51	24	26	75	57	48	57	40	34
Principal							81	80	84									
Policeman	52	30	27	71	39	33	58	31	25							85	82	81
Judge										78	77	84				84	84	92
Religious Leader	34	26	23	44	29	26	39	22	17	38	26	27	55	35	32	39	27	25
Friends	07	06	06	05	07	06	09	06	05	09	08	12	10	05	08	09	09	10
Anyone Else	26	19	11	25	22	10	26	18	08	25	20	13	33	31	24	29	22	15

Notes. Item: "Besides (your mother, (father, teacher, policeman, city officials, government officials), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your mother's (teacher's, etc.) rules (laws, orders)?" Alternatives: Mother, Father, Other Adult Relatives, Teacher, Principal, Policeman, Judge, Religious Leader, Friends, Anyone else.

TABLE 7-11

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE, BY TOTAL GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents for Non-Family Authority Figures	4	7.11	7.00	7.23	7.07	7.16	0-8	None
	6	7.07	7.13	7.00	7.02	7.11		
	8	6.68	6.62	6.74	6.64	6.72		
	Total		6.91	6.99	6.91	7.00		
Other Family Members for Parents	4	.90	.78	1.02	.86	.93	0-8	None
	6	1.12	1.08	1.16	1.12	1.12		
	8	1.00	1.07	.93	.96	1.05		
	Total		.98	1.04	.98	1.04		
Other Family Members for Non-Family Authority Figures	4	1.30	1.17	1.43	1.26	1.34	0-8	Grade (Curvelinear)
	6	1.54	1.55	1.53	1.55	1.53		
	8	1.54	1.58	1.51	1.55	1.53		
	Total		1.43	1.49	1.45	1.47		
Total Family for School	4	2.25	2.22	2.28	2.22	2.28	0-8	None
	6	2.27	2.28	2.27	2.24	2.30		
	8	2.17	2.12	2.22	2.16	2.17		
	Total		2.21	2.26	2.21	2.25		
Non-Family Authority Figures for Parents	4	2.58	3.08	2.09	2.41	2.76	0-8	SES
	6	1.50	1.79	1.21	1.56	1.44		Grade
	8	1.33	1.18	1.47	1.26	1.40		
	Total		2.02	1.59	1.74	1.86		

TABLE 7-11

(Continued)

INDEX CONTENT	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Non-Family Authority Figures for School	4	.97	1.19	.74	.91	1.03	0-8	Grade
	6	.58	.58	.58	.59	.57		
	8	.42	.39	.46	.38	.47		
	Total		.72	.59	.63	.69		
Non-Family Authority for Non-Family Authority	4	6.06	6.61	5.51	5.85	6.27	0-8	SES by Grade
	6	4.87	4.94	4.80	4.80	4.94		
	8	5.13	4.54	5.72	5.12	5.14		
	Total		5.36	5.34	5.26	5.45		
Anyone Else for All Authority Figures	4	1.29	1.49	1.08	1.26	1.31	0-8	Grade
	6	1.03	.98	1.07	1.10	.95		
	8	.68	.63	.74	.80	.57		
	Total		1.03	.96	1.05	.94		
Friends for School	4	.08	.06	.10	.10	.06	0-8	None
	6	.06	.04	.08	.07	.06		
	8	.05	.04	.06	.05	.05		
	Total		.04	.08	.07	.05		
Friends for all Authority Figures (Except School)	4	.35	.35	.35	.40	.29	0-8	None
	6	.32	.24	.41	.37	.27		
	8	.38	.32	.44	.38	.37		
	Total		.30	.40	.39	.31		

Note: Item: "Besides ... (your mother, (father, teacher, policeman, city officials, government officials) who else might scold or punish you, when you do not obey (...your mother's (father's, etc.) rules (laws, orders)? Alternatives: mother, father, other adult relatives, principal, policeman, judge, religious leader, friends, anyone else. Index: Number of "Yes" responses for appropriate alternatives of reinforcing figures by number of supported figures or systems, grouped as mentioned in each index label.

TABLE 7-12

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(U.S. NEGRO)

WHO ELSE WOULD PUNISH?		PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
	GRADE	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Parents for Parents									
	4	.03	.10	-.02	.02	.04	-.07	.02	-.07
	6	.06	-.04	.03	-.04	-.03	.17	.03	.16
	8	-.17	.17	.17	.08	-.07	-.13	-.11	-.04
Parents for Non-Family Authority									
	4	-.15	.20*	-.11	.14	.12	-.19*	.13	-.13
	6	.12	-.23*	.10	-.14	-.13	.17	-.09	.18
	8	.08	.00	.07	.07	-.05	-.02	-.08	.01
Other Family for Parents									
	4	.04	.08	.04	-.05	-.20*	.00	-.17	-.03
	6	.13	-.11	.18	-.09	.01	-.02	.01	.01
	8	-.06	-.16	-.10	-.02	.10	.15	.12	.14
Other Family for Non-Family Authority									
	4	.09	.16	.09	.04	-.17	.06	-.15	.02
	6	.10	-.11	.09	-.08	.04	-.06	.07	-.07
	8	-.18	-.10	-.12	.04	.15	.12	.12	.08
Total Family for School									
	4	-.01	.16	-.01	-.02	-.03	.01	-.01	.00
	6	.10	-.04	.06	.01	.01	-.04	.08	-.08
	8	.05	-.05	.03	.08	-.02	.12	-.04	.11
Non-Family Authority for Parents									
	4	-.28*	-.06	-.31*	-.07	-.03	.08	.02	.12
	6	-.08	-.27*	-.05	-.13	-.10	.13	-.12	.15
	8	-.01	-.17	.02	-.03	.01	-.01	-.01	.02

TABLE 7-12 (CONTINUED)

WHO ELSE WOULD PUNISH?	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
	TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
GRADE	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Non-Family Authority for School								
4	-.31*	-.10	-.32*	-.04	-.06	.08	.03	.15
6	-.01	-.06	.04	-.03	-.14	.08	-.08	.08
8	.14	-.24	.06	-.18	-.16	.10	-.14	.17
Non-Family Authority for Non-Family Authority								
4	-.18	-.09	-.19*	-.08	-.17	.08	-.09	.13
6	.11	-.21*	.15	-.09	-.08	.20*	-.09	.14
8	.00	-.01	.08	.02	-.13	-.01	-.12	-.00
Anyone Else for All								
4	-.16	-.08	-.12	-.02	-.10	.02	-.06	.05
6	.04	-.10	.08	-.16	-.04	-.08	-.02	-.04
8	.02	-.14	-.01	-.11	-.00	.14	-.01	.08
Friends for School								
4	-.09	-.14	-.04	-.03	-.02	.16	-.02	.17
6	.02	-.04	-.02	-.10	.14	.11	.12	.18
8	-.00	.06	.01	.02	-.04	-.16	-.04	-.20
Friends for All Except School								
4	-.08	-.17	-.03	-.11	-.04	.22*	-.08	.25*
6	.08	-.06	.05	-.10	.15	.03	.13	.12
8	.05	.04	.02	-.01	-.08	-.05	-.05	-.12

Note. * Indicates significant correlation.

B2. The Child's Conception of Law and Rules

a. The nature of rules and laws

The data in this section come from three major sources: an individually administered, semi-structured interview and two group-administered questionnaires. Only 10 percent of the total sample was given the interview; the entire sample took the YIAPR questionnaire and the Peer Nomination Inventory. In the interview, children were asked to define rules and laws, differentiate between them, and tell what would happen if there were no rules or laws.

Definition of laws and rules. Most definitions given by the U. S. Negro children for both rules and laws were general (e.g., "things that you have to follow"). Laws were generally viewed as more prohibitive than rules and law-breaking more conducive to punishment. With age fewer children emphasized the prohibitive quality of both rules and laws. The notion that laws are more prohibitive than rules was further accentuated by the differential frequency of mentioning negative consequences of noncompliance (i.e., punishment); rarely mentioned in the definitions given for rules, they abounded in the definitions of laws.

The preponderance of children evoking negative consequences, particularly punishment, in their definition of laws has far-reaching implications for social and educational policy. Apparently, laws with their governmental decree and implicit "legal" component are less likely to be broken because of dire consequences, while the less institutionalized and formal rules are obeyed because of greater internalization and less specificity. Such a pattern suggests that law-breaking is seen as more specific and potentially severe than rule-breaking.

The distinctions made between rules and laws by these children seemed to fall along a concrete-abstract continuum. The fourth graders gave predominately concrete responses. With increasing age, children distinguished between rules and laws and the responses reflected the perspective of society in general. For example, one fourth grade boy said, "It's the same as a rule. They're both something you do and if you break them, you have to do something like go to jail." An eighth grade girl responded, "A rule is similar to a law, but a rule is something lower class like they have rules of schools not laws. In our country we have laws instead of rules." An eighth grade girl commented, "One is stronger. Law is stronger than a rule but

the law is usually set up by the government and a rule is set up by organizations." The increasing use of the specificity-generality dimension suggests an expanding ability to view phenomena as having relevance to and validity for spheres outside one's immediate self and environment.

The function of rules. In an effort to determine attitides toward the functions served by the existence of rules, children were asked, "What would happen if there were no rules?" They specified the consequences of absence and in that way indirectly indicated their views on the function of regulations (sanctions) generally in society and specifically at home and in school.

The primary concern of these children was with the violence, crime, chaos, war, and general deterioration that could result from an absence of law. Therefore, it seems that these children have correctly perceived and duly internalized the function and necessity of laws as behavior controls that help regulate interpersonal relations.

Specifically, the majority of U. S. Negro children mentioned an increase in physical violence and crime as the chief consequence of lawlessness. This belief was held more by older children and by girls, but the differences were not statistically significant. A typical eighth grade low status female's response for this category was: "If we had no rules at all, everything would be messed up. Everyone could do like they wanted to." The place of rules was clearly demonstrated in this typical eighth grade upper status boy's response: "Probably be all kinds of different murders and stuff like that -- stealing cars and stuff." A moderate number of children, especially lower status sixth grade girls, suggested there would be an increased frequency of non-criminal injury: "If there weren't traffic laws, people would drive too fast and there would be many people hurt or killed."

Chaos and anarchy in the absence of rules ranked second for the total sample. Younger children, boys, and upper status children responded thus more often than their counterparts. Another popular response was that with no rules individual behavior would be oriented by personal desires rather than general welfare principles. For example, a member of this group contended: "People would become selfish if they didn't have any rules. No one would work." Approximately twice as many eighth as fourth graders and more boys than girls gave this response; there were no social status differences. A few high status children envisioned loss of the ability to maintain public

and private property; a few children, primarily lower status boys, predicted an increase in wars.

In response to the question, "What would happen if there were no rules at home?", the majority of interviewed Ss felt that a state of domestic anarchy would prevail: "Everyone would do what he wanted." There were no age differences; however, boys and upper status children gave this response more frequently. Domestic breakdown was also expressed in a similar trend, indicating that necessary household chores would not get done. The remaining orientations--the possibility of injury (i.e., "Kids would get hurt also if there weren't any rules about playing with matches") and failure of good development (i.e., "Children would not develop into good people" or "We wouldn't learn good manners")--increased slightly with age. Sex and social status differences were not statistically significant.

Children were also asked, "What would happen if there were no rules at school?" Several clear-cut age-related orientations emerged. Almost half of the fourth grade children predicted a breakdown in discipline and order--a response that decreased by eighth grade. More low status children gave this response, but the differences were not statistically significant. Poor school attendance, increased violence, and inferior school maintenance were cited about equally. While no SES differences emerged on the latter two events, some appeared on the former; more high than low status children saw this as an outcome. More boys than girls predicted difficulty in school maintenance; the reverse was true for predictions of violence. Few fourth grade children felt that the absence of rules at school would cause truancy; almost half of the eighth grade sample felt it would--a statistically significant increase. Eighth graders seem to feel that attendance at school is the result of administrative regulations. Such a pattern may mirror children's awareness of high dropout rates at this point in school. The possibility of an increase in physical violence reflected no clear-cut age trends. However, significantly more fourth than eighth graders cited difficulties in maintaining the school. Attitudes about the function of rules for school may have predictive value. Perhaps children's perception of rules as enforcers of order (discipline) or cajolers of attendance is an important indicator of school adjustment.

Summary. This group of urban Negro children saw rules in general as serving the function of enforcing and regulating compliance with and participation in institutional

systems. Clear-cut age trends emerged for predictions of events in the absence of rules generally and in school, but not in the home rules. This may be related to differences in participation in the various systems. Such reasoning is suggested by Kohlberg's (1965) discussions of status differences and the developmental levels of moral judgment. The individual child may view himself as, at best, a peripheral participant in the society and school systems and a more central participant in the family unit.

Hierarchy of rules and laws. Children't ideas about the hierarchy of rules and laws were probed through five questionnaire items. Examples of three types of anti-social behavior--i.e., offenses against persons, property, and the social order--were presented as committed within the systems of family, community, school, friends, and religion. Rather than ranking the three alternatives in terms of relative wrongness, children were instructed to point out the worst alternative within each system.

Negro children chose offenses against property most often as the worst type of offense across the five compliance systems. Offenses against persons or against the social order were less often chosen as the worst; little difference occurred between choices of offenses against persons or the social order as the worst (see Figure 7-10).

The great majority of children in this sample selected as the worst the offense which is most severely sanctioned by U. S. law. Although this trend may be artifactual, the saliency of the choice suggests that these children recognize the relationship of legal sanctions to offense categories. The tendency to nominate a legally more serious offense appears to reflect the impact of socialized and sanctioned behavior.

The choice of property offenses as the worst increased rapidly and significantly between grades four and six, then declined slightly between grades six and eight. The perception of offenses against persons or against the social order of the systems as the most serious decreased appreciably between grades four and six, and showed a slight increase between grades six and eight. The decrease of choices of social order offenses was statistically significant; the decrease of choices of offenses against persons as the worst was not.

Although no statistically significant sex or SES differences emerged on the indices, lower status Negro children chose anti-property acts less often and anti-person

acts more often as the worst than high status children. (Anti-property acts: Total, High SES = 2.74, Low SES = 2.62. Anti-person acts: Total, High SES = 1.08, Low SES = 1.16) These differences, especially for property, became more noticeable as the children from the two status groups matured (High SES: grade 4 = 2.26; grade 6 = 3.09; grade 8 = 3.00. Low SES: grade 4 = 2.32; grade 6 = 2.85; grade 8 = 2.72). The differential status response may indicate the socializing influence of ghetto living and a growing concern in the black populace for economic satisfaction.

Offenses against property were condemned more often when presented as committed in the family and the peer group than when associated with the systems of school, community, and religion (see Table 7-13). By contrast, offenses against persons were condemned most often when presented as committed in the community and least often when associated with the family (see Table 7-14). The patterns of change with age in the frequency of choosing both types of offenses as the worst were curvilinear for all systems except religion (see Tables 7-13 and 7-14).

On choices of offenses against persons as the worst, social status differences varied widely by system as did the patterns with age within each SES group. More low status than high status children chose person offenses within the systems of religion, friends, and community as worst, but the magnitude of SES differences was minimal across the age levels. At grade four, more high status than low status children chose anti-person acts at school as the worst, but this SES difference decreased by the eighth grade. There were no striking status differences for anti-person offenses in the family. Sex differences for this type of offense were few and showed no consistent trends (see Table 7-14).

In the interview, children were asked which of the three offenses against a person was the worst: physical assault (hitting a person), personal theft (stealing something from a person), or maligning (saying bad things about a person). These alternatives represented legally defined offenses, but, unlike the YIAPR questions, the interview dealt with only one object category, i.e., crimes against person.

Maligning was chosen as the worst offense against a person by the majority of children interviewed at all age levels. Viewed as the worst and most important act of harm against a person even at the fourth grade (36%), this offense was chosen by approximately twice as many children at grade eight (75%). This reflects societal and individual

concern for human dignity, sense of being, and respect for others. No appreciable sex differences emerged, but a substantially greater number of high status children saw maligning as worst than did low status children. Approximately 20 percent of the sample at each age level felt that physical violence (assault) was the next worst transgression. The theft option was chosen significantly more often by younger than older children. Girls and lower status children also tended to choose this option more frequently, but the differences were not significant. Whereas personal theft appeared to be a graver offense to younger rather than older children, an opposite and statistically significant trend emerged for maligning. Finally, almost 20 percent of the fourth grade sample answered "I don't know" on which offense was the worst; all sixth and eighth grade children arrived at a decision, a statistically significant difference.

In terms of the thrust of black power and the search for identity, the high priority of the maligning item is noteworthy. Seen as the most serious by this sample of urban Negro children, it was also the transgression with fewer legal sanctions. Sanctions against assault and personal theft are severe, widely recognized, and often surrounded by heated public controversy. However, formal sanctions against slander are less widely familiar and emerge infrequently as the object of widespread debate and concern. Whether these responses reflect a subtle reaction to the greater controversy on black power, the politicizing of the Negro community, or a cultural response to the need to protect human dignity, remains to be seen. What is evident is that Negro children are increasingly sensitive to attacks on their persons. Age seems to bring an intensification of the demand for self-respect.

The frequency of choices of offenses against the social order revealed little differentiation among the systems. Offenses against the religious order were chosen as the worst slightly more often (see Table 7-15). While the choice for community, religion, and friends decreased slightly with age, it increased from grades six to eight for family and school.

For the U. S. Caucasian sample, all compliance systems appeared to decline in importance with age where social order offenses were concerned. For the Negro group, the slight increase in the importance of family and the sharp increase in the importance of school from grades six to eight were noteworthy. This increase in perception of the seriousness of social order offenses against the school system may indicate recognition of the school as part of

the establishment and as a necessary bridge to other social systems. By the eighth grade, school plays an essential role in successful entry into the broader social areas of occupation and community structure. However, this notion was important only for a small part of this sample. Perhaps it was the more socialized segment of the group who expected rewards from the school--not the potential dropouts.

Choices of anti-system offenses as the worst in the community, family, friends, and religion did not differ by SES. Choice of this offense as the worst at school was more frequent among older, high status children. Across all compliance systems, sex differences in choice of the social order alternatives were minimal and generally did not persist with age.

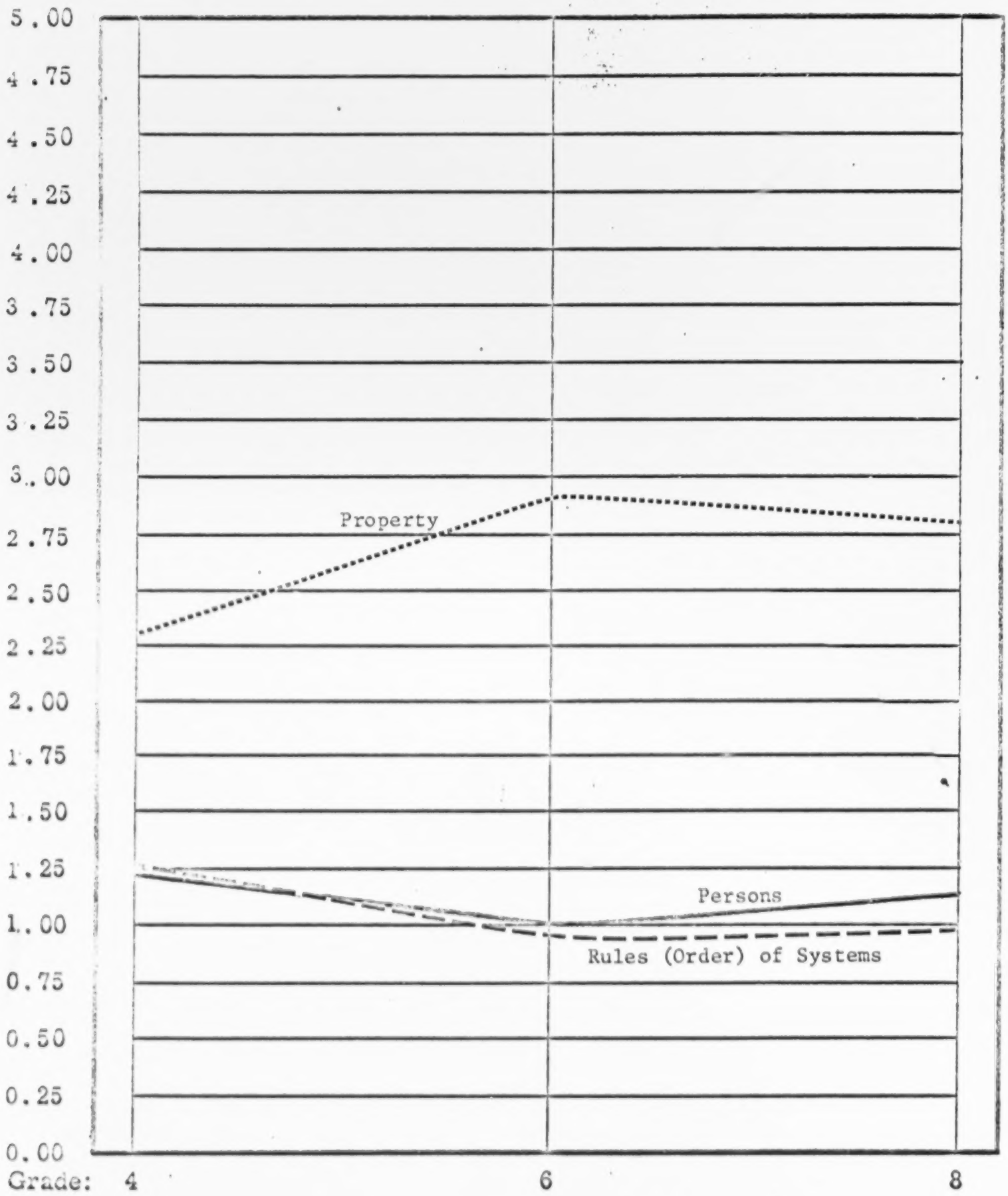
Relationship of choices of offenses against property, persons, and the social order as the worst to classroom behavior. The correlations revealed no basic relationship between choices of offenses against property, person, or the social order as the worst and positive or negative behavior in the classroom as measured by the Peer Nomination Inventory (see Table 7-16). All obtained correlations were extremely low; the frequency of significant correlations was no greater than expected by chance. At these ages, the classroom behavior of the urban Negro children sampled showed no consistent relationship to their opinions about the relative seriousness of offenses.

Summary. Urban Negro children at all grade levels consistently selected offenses against property as more serious than offenses against either persons or the rules of social systems. The saliency of the property option implies a concrete, materialistic view of laws and their functions. These children displayed an amazingly accurate description of the traditional function of law in the U. S., where the adage "possession constitutes 9/10 of the law" prevails and where protection and ownership of property are highly prized and carefully sanctioned. The emphasis on protection of property as a basic function of the law is perceived early and correctly. As cognitive ability accrues, conceptual clarity expands, and cultural indoctrination prevails, the patterns of response appear increasingly consistent with the demands and configurations of socio-legal reality.

The frequency of citing property offenses reached its peak at the sixth grade then declined slightly though significantly. This pattern viewed in juxtaposition to the slight increase in the frequency nomination for person

and an even slighter one for social order offenses may indeed signal the beginnings of developmental changes in conceptualization observed elsewhere. If these trends are indeed developmental ones, one would expect further acceleration and accentuation of these trends with age. Perhaps the recent movement in the black community for economic self-determination is illustrative of such trends.

FIGURE 7-10
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON VIEWS OF WHICH IS WORST:
OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS, AGAINST PROPERTY,
OR AGAINST THE RULES (ORDER) OF SOCIAL SYSTEMS BY GRADE
(U.S. NEGRO)



Item: Which is worst?

TABLE 7-13

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PERSONS OR THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
I. School	4	40	44	35	34	45
	6	61	62	62	60	63
	8	49	55	44	50	49
Total			54	47	48	52
II. Community	4	33	34	32	31	35
	6	52	42	62	44	61
	8	51	44	58	49	53
Total			40	51	41	40
III. Family	4	67	70	64	69	65
	6	80	83	76	85	74
	8	74	76	72	72	75
Total			76	71	75	71
IV. Peers	4	62	61	63	61	63
	6	69	67	70	72	66
	8	67	63	71	64	70
Total			64	68	66	66
V. Religion	4	38	37	38	35	40
	6	43	40	47	37	50
	8	49	41	58	47	52
Total			39	48	40	47

Note. Significant effects: (Property) Grade. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To take or steal something in the school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: Number of choices of offenses against property as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index Scale: 0-5.

TABLE 7-14

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST PERSONS AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PROPERTY AND THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER), ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. NEGRO)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS
I. School	4	30	21	38	30	30
	6	17	18	16	18	16
	8	19	22	16	15	23
Total			20	23	21	23
II. Community	4	35	31	39	33	36
	6	30	37	22	39	20
	8	35	38	32	38	33
Total			35	31	37	30
III. Family	4	17	16	17	15	18
	6	7	4	10	4	10
	8	9	10	8	8	10
Total			10	12	9	13
IV. Peers	4	20	20	20	18	22
	6	20	21	18	17	22
	8	24	28	20	27	20
Total			23	19	21	21
V. Religion	4	29	32	26	33	26
	6	26	29	23	24	28
	8	22	27	18	16	28
Total			29	32	24	27

Note. Significant effects: (Person) None. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To fight with, insult, or say something against a person in the school, community, family, peer group, religious group." Index: Number of choices of offenses against person as the worst of three alternatives across five items. Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 7-15

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON CHOICE OF OFFENSES AGAINST THE SYSTEMS' RULES (ORDER) AS MORE SERIOUS THAN THOSE AGAINST PROPERTY OR PERSONS, ACROSS FIVE SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

SYSTEMS	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS
I. School	4	30	33	27	36	25
	6	21	21	22	22	21
	8	31	23	40	35	28
Total			26	30	31	25
II. Community	4	32	35	30	36	28
	6	18	21	15	17	19
	8	13	17	9	13	14
Total			24	18	22	20
III. Family	4	16	14	19	16	16
	6	13	13	14	11	15
	8	17	14	21	20	15
Total			14	18	16	15
IV. Peers	4	18	19	17	22	15
	6	11	11	11	11	11
	8	9	9	9	8	10
Total			13	12	13	12
V. Religion	4	33	31	35	32	34
	6	30	31	30	29	22
	8	28	32	25	37	20
Total			31	30	33	25

Note. Significant effects: (Social Order) Grade. Item: "Which is worst?" Alternative: "To disturb, break, disobey, refuse to follow, or say something against the rules (order) of school, community, family, peer group, religious group. Index: Number of choices of offenses against the systems' rules (order) as the worst of three alternatives across five items.
Index scale: 0-5.

TABLE 7-16

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN INDICES OF PERCEPTION OF THE RELATIVE SERIOUSNESS OF THREE TYPES OF OFFENSES AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(U.S. NEGRO)

WHICH IS WORST INDICES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Anti-Person Acts	4	-.03	.09	.04	.15	.20	.05	.19	.04
	6	.16	-.16	.15	-.12	.05	-.04	.01	.02
	8	.02	.02	.09	-.05	-.10	.10	-.04	.09
Anti-Property Acts	4	.12	-.03	.07	-.16	-.13	.04	-.14	-.01
	6	.02	.15	.03	.15	-.14	-.02	-.15	-.00
	8	.05	.11	.02	-.04	.04	-.04	.01	-.07
Anti-System Acts	4	-.03	.01	-.05	.05	-.05	-.04	-.04	.01
	6	-.19	.04	-.17	-.04	.10	-.10	.14	-.13
	8	-.14	-.06	-.14	.06	.08	-.03	.06	.04

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

b. Origin of Rules and Laws

Rule-making in the family. On the YIAPR questionnaire, children answered the question, "Who usually makes the rules in your family?" using the options listed in Table 7-17. Between 56 and 44 percent of the sample saw father and mother together as the primary rule-makers in the family unit. Although father and mother together remained the most prominent response at all age levels, its frequency decreased with age. This decrease was accompanied by an increase with age in choice of mother and whole family as rule-making units. These trends suggest two things: an increasingly egalitarian atmosphere in the family unit, and an increasing intellectual and emotional awareness of the mother as the constantly present and more prominent of the two parental figures. The selection of father by 12 percent of the fourth grade sample and only 6 percent of the eighth grade children lends credence to this explanation. These trends for mother and father are not surprising and are in accord with other investigators' findings (Moynihan, 1965; Myrdal, 1944; Davis 1961; Lewis, 1963; Clark, 1967; Frazier, 1939) of greater female than male dominance in most areas of urban Negro family life, especially among the lower socioeconomic groups.

Although these trends for individual parental figures were both salient and interesting, it should be emphasized that the large majority of nominations were given to both parents as a unit. The cultural mode and/or idealized model of equal parental authority followed by democratic familial decision- or rule-making seemed to prevail in this ethnic sample. For Negro children, realistic perception of the power and importance of the mother figure came with age as did the wish for participation of all family members in the rule-making process--which seems in part granted. Despite the ultimate similarity in percentages at the eighth grade, the more interesting and surprising comparative finding was the upward trend and implied participation of Negro youth in democratic family rule-making and the downward one for the Caucasian group.

As can be seen in Table 7-17, few consistent or striking differences by sex or socioeconomic level emerged in describing rule-making in the family. The only consistent difference between high status and low status children across all grades was the greater frequency among lower status children to nominate mother as primary rule-maker. This tendency strongly corresponds to other investigators' reports regarding the division of power in lower status Negro homes.

At the fourth grade level, rule-making by the whole family was nominated more by high status than low status children; this difference disappeared by the eighth grade. The whole family was selected with equal frequency by children from both socioeconomic levels at the upper grade level. At the fourth grade level, parents as rule-makers were nominated more frequently by low status children; at sixth and eighth grade, parents were chosen more frequently by the high status group.

The only consistent sex difference, maintained over all age groups, was the greater frequency of girls' choice of the mother as primary rule-maker. Father was nominated more often by fourth and eighth grade boys but received more nominations from sixth grade girls. These choice patterns for individual parental figures may reflect differential patterns of identification in the home and the effect of sex-linked role expectations. A greater percentage of fourth grade girls than boys selected the father and mother together. By the sixth grade, this reversed and parents were nominated by more boys. The whole family was the rule-making unit for fourth and sixth grade boys and eighth grade girls.

Summary. The responses of U. S. Negro children, as well as those of the U. S. Caucasians, reflected the power of parents as the major source of rules in the family, although the Negro group showed more variability. In the black sample, few children saw rules emanating from the father alone; slightly more saw mother and whole family as the primary rule-makers. The slight increase with age in children's perception of the family as a democratic rule making unit reflects an apparently greater opportunity with age for participation in family decisions. The decrease with age of nominations of father and mother together as primary rule-makers, coupled with the increase with age in choices of the mother and the decline in nominations for the father, suggests the greater power of the mother and a realistic perception of her role in the Negro group, especially in lower status families.

Rule-making in the neighborhood. Children were also asked: "Who makes the laws in the part of the city where you live, like your neighborhood?" Response alternatives to this question are listed in Figure 7-11 and Table 7-18. Four power groupings emerged and remained in the same relative position across grades. Government and civic leaders captured the prime positions and received a majority of nominations. Nominations of parents appear in moderate frequency; nominations for religious leader and teacher are few (see Figure 7-11).

The governor and mayor were nominated with greatest frequency. Nominations for governor declined slightly with age, while those for mayor showed a reverse trend. The saliency of the mayor and governor observed in the U. S. Caucasian sample was repeated in this group. Perhaps both groups' responses reflected their residency in a major American city that is heavily dominated by the mayor figure. Policeman, the local community figure and representative of the city, was nominated with approximately equal frequency by fourth, sixth, and eighth graders. This suggests a constancy of perception about the role of the policeman. Although the primary duties of the policeman lie in the sphere of enforcement rather than legislation, he is viewed as one of the major legislators in the neighborhood. This was not a surprising finding since it has been already shown that neither U. S. Negro nor Caucasian children differentiate between enforcement and legislative processes. The President also received a substantial portion of the votes, although there was a decline across grades: 75 percent at fourth grade, 54 percent at eighth grade. This view of the President as involved in the immediate spheres of neighborhood life, activities, and regulations is held more strongly by younger than by older children and is consistent with other research findings (Hess and Torney, 1967).

The frequency of parental (mother and father) nominations was moderate at the fourth grade and declined sharply with age. Both parents received over 50 percent at the fourth grade level but dropped to the 20 percent range at the eighth grade level. There is clearly little difference between the two parental figures in children's perception of their legislative power in the neighborhood. The similarity in magnitude and range of the mother-father options for both Negro and Caucasian samples and the similarity in decline from fourth to eighth grade would argue for an implicit assignment of equal and exchangeable power for the parents. Few children gave the religious figure and teacher legislative authority in the neighborhood.

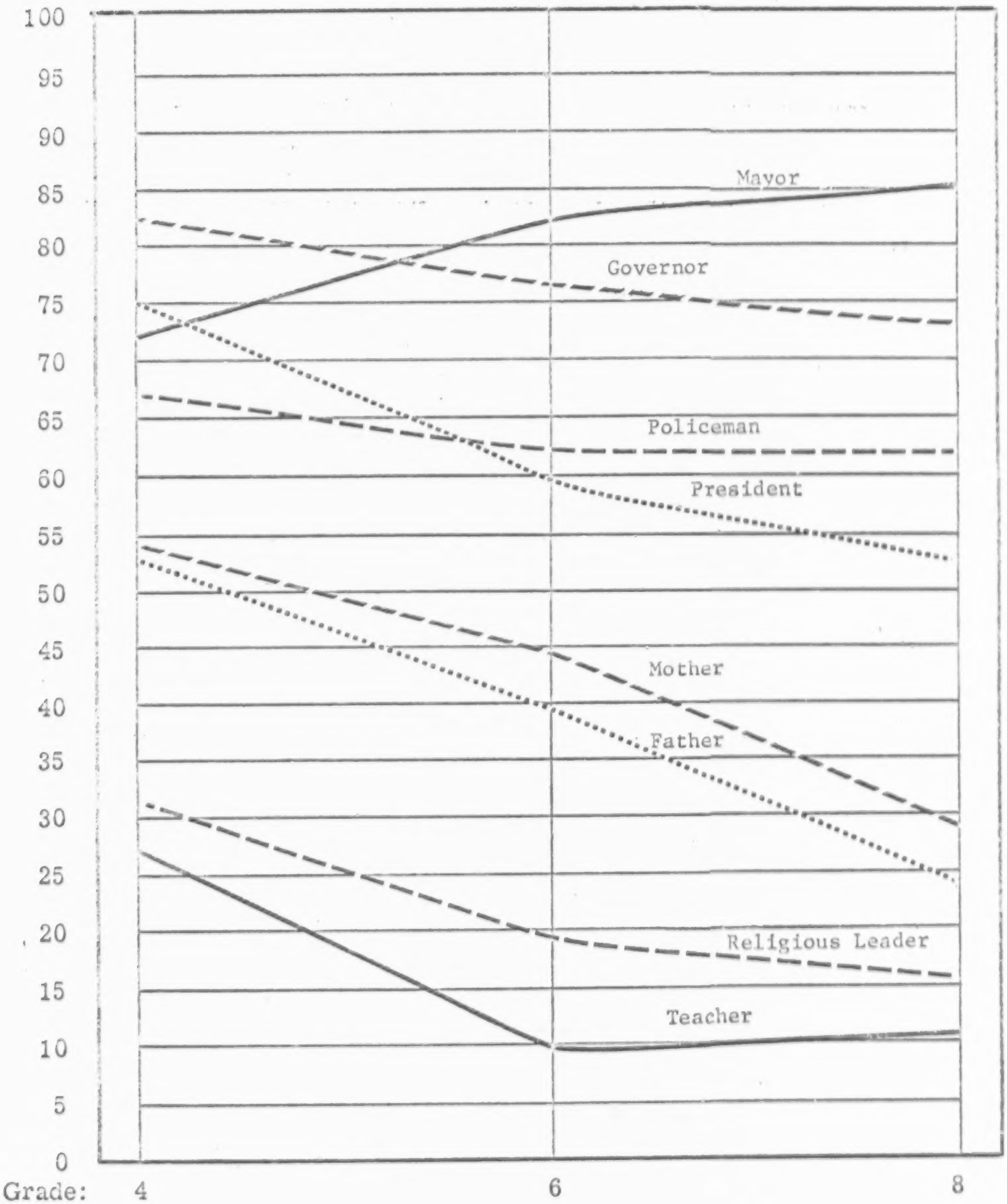
For some figures, differences by sex and by socioeconomic level emerged. The major was nominated by more high status than low status children at grade four but at grade eight the social status differences were insignificant. The governor, on the other hand, was nominated more frequently by low status children, and these differences did not emerge until eighth grade. Across all grades, slightly more low than high status children mentioned the President. Mother was selected with greater frequency by low than high status fourth grade children; the difference decreases with age.

The sex differences that emerged were not frequent. More girls at all ages nominated policeman and President and these sex differences increased with age. No other consistent sex differences appeared.

Summary. As with the U. S. Caucasian sample, four distinct groupings emerged with neighborhood rule-making ability. They maintained the following relatively unchanging power relationship: (1) mayor-governor, with the legislative power attributed to them, especially to the mayor, remaining high across all grade groups; (2) policeman-President, with moderately high power, lessening with the Ss' age, especially for President; (3) parents, with moderate power, declining sharply with the Ss' age; and (4) teacher-religious leader, with low power, decreasing somewhat further with the Ss' age.

The choices of these children, as those of the U. S. Caucasian sample, became increasingly realistic with maturity. All figures except mayor were nominated less frequently by older children, revealing a greater specificity based on knowledge and experience. Younger children thought a greater number of authority figures had legislative power in the neighborhood than did older children. The decline in number of choices with age may reflect growing recognition that certain authority figures hold power in the specific spheres of society where they serve, rather than automatically possessing generalized power merely by virtue of their position as an authority figure. Certainly age is the primary dimension influencing perception of the role of authority in neighborhood legislation. Social status was not as influential in the U. S. Negro sample as it appeared to be in the U. S. Caucasian sample.

FIGURE 7-11
PERCEPTION OF THE ROLE OF AUTHORITY FIGURES
IN RULE AND LAW-MAKING, BY GRADE
(U.S. NEGRO)



Item: "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live--like your neighborhood?"

TABLE 7-17

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN MAKING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. NEGRO)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX LOW	SEX HIGH
I. Father	4	12	8	16	10	15
	6	12	13	11	14	10
	8	6	7	4	4	8
Total			9	10	9	11
II. Mother	4	15	18	12	20	11
	6	19	27	10	24	13
	8	24	27	21	27	20
Total			24	14	24	15
III. Father and Mother Together	4	56	60	52	58	55
	6	51	44	59	47	55
	8	44	40	48	41	48
Total			48	53	49	53
IV. Whole Family	4	16	13	19	13	19
	6	18	17	20	14	23
	8	26	26	26	28	24
Total			19	22	18	22

Note. Item: "Who usually makes the rules in your family?"

Item Scale: Percentage choice of one alternative.

TABLE 7-18

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES IN RULE- AND LAW-MAKING IN THE COMMUNITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. NEGRO)

FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
I. Mother	4	54	57	50	54	54
	6	44	46	42	47	41
	8	29	30	28	26	32
Total			44	40	42	42
II. Father	4	58	54	53	54	53
	6	39	40	40	45	33
	8	23	23	23	17	29
Total			39	39	39	38
III. Teacher	4	28	26	29	27	28
	6	9	12	7	15	4
	8	11	10	12	10	12
Total			16	16	17	14
IV. Policeman	4	68	77	58	69	66
	6	62	55	70	71	53
	8	62	60	65	68	57
Total			64	64	69	59
V. Mayor	4	73	67	79	70	76
	6	82	80	84	78	87
	8	86	84	87	86	85
Total			77	83	78	83
VI. Governor	4	83	83	82	82	84
	6	77	79	74	76	77
	8	73	78	67	78	68
Total			80	74	79	76
VII. President	4	75	78	72	75	74
	6	60	63	56	62	58
	8	54	56	51	62	45
Total			66	60	66	59
VIII. Religious Leader	4	32	35	30	28	37
	6	19	18	19	19	18
	8	16	13	19	16	17
Total			22	23	21	24

Note. Item: "Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live, like your neighborhood?" Alternatives: "Yes", "No", "Don't know". Item Scale: Percentage responding yes to each of figures listed.

c. Justice of Rules and Laws

The entire research sample was asked "How many of (the figure's) rules or laws are fair?" The interviewed Ss (approximately 10 percent of the total research sample) were asked "What is a fair rule?" The interview responses provided data on the children's concepts and definitions of "fair" or "just," the bases for subsequent evaluations about the justice of laws and rules of specific authority figures and systems.

Analysis of the replies to the interview question revealed that the largest percentage of children defined a fair rule as something created with justifiable reason. This view coincides with the social good theory of justice wherein justice is similar to benevolence.

Consensus both as a reason for compliance and as a condition of fairness was the second most frequently given response. Twice as many boys (31% vs. 16% for girls) and significantly more high status than low status children (43% vs. 6%) gave this response, but there was no linear age trend. This consensual definition reflects the positive law theory wherein justice rests on objective agreement and not merely on individuals' subjective feelings.

About 19 percent of the total sample conveyed the view that a fair rule is something which affects everyone equally. Equality, lack of discrimination, and fairness were equivalent concepts. Although no age trends appeared, twice as many girls as boys (26% vs. 12%) and more low status than high status children (21% vs. 17%) assumed that equal treatment was a characteristic of fairness of rules. The effects of female culture (the Negro matriarchy) and the surge in ghetto activity toward demands for equal legal, political, and economic representation may account for these trends. This view of fair rules coalesces with the natural right theory of justice wherein persons have presumptive rights to equality of treatment. It is also consistent with presumed American values of equality and related definitions of justice.

More fourth graders than either older group were unable to respond to this question. Although no striking sex differences on "I don't know" emerged, over twice as many low status as high status children gave this response.

The three directions of the responses might be termed the distributive (affects everyone equally), the conceptual (justifiable reason), and the consensual (followers

agree). Although no significant age trends appeared for this sample, more Negro children preferred the conceptual dimension. However, the U. S. Caucasian sample preferred the distributive definition which showed a substantial increase with age; the conceptual dimension declined in frequency with age. Essentially, both groups reacted similarly on the conceptual and consensual dimensions. Age trends, nonexistent in this Negro group on the distributive definition, emerged somewhat for the Caucasians. Distributive justice did not have for the black group the valence nor attain the prominence apparent in the Caucasian sample. The popularity of the conceptual characterization may be traced to Negro deference--the stability of the distributive characterization to experience and hope.

The differential response of the black and white groups on the assumption of equality as part and parcel of the conception of a fair rule and justice is striking and illustrative. Perhaps the "justice" experienced by American Negro children has and can only result in concepts of fairness that minimize equality and maximize authoritative, "justifiable" conditions.

In the YIAPR questionnaire, children expressed their beliefs about the fairness of various authorities' rules or laws. The rank order of means, from highest to lowest across all grades, was: (1) parents, (2) other authority, (3) teacher, and (4) friends (see Figure 7-12). An identical rank ordering emerged for the U. S. Caucasian sample, though they tended to rate figures more similarly at all ages than did the Negroes. The Negro group initially showed a higher regard for the fairness of rules of all adult authorities than did the Caucasian group. However, a decline of regard for the justice of adult rules was observed for both ethnic groups.

Significant grade effects emerged for both parents, the teacher and other non-family authorities (i.e., policeman, city, government); the direction of the estimate for all figures was the same--downward (i.e., less fair) (see Figure 7-12). No significant differences by social status and sex emerged. These children seemed to be moving toward evaluations based upon experience and observation as well as principles of justice and ethics. With maturity, for the Negro group particularly, the adult world was seen as inadequate (i.e., less fair) in its dispensing of justice. An examination of means by individual figures shows that, although parental rules received the highest ratings, the mother emerged as the figure whose most rules are considered as fair. The

saliency of the mother across the grades indicates her importance in the formation of concepts of justice. Her dominance was observed in both Negro and Caucasian groups, but in the former she retains her primacy as children grow older. The supremacy of the maternal figure in Negro culture is once again verified by these findings. Although the mother's rules, like those of all adults, were portrayed as less fair as Negro children matured, the decline of regard for her rules was not as pronounced as for the Caucasian mother nor was the rating concerning the mother's rules equated with that concerning the father's. The importance of this finding in educating Negro children and affecting community organization as well as modifying concepts of justice is apparent.

When the index for other authority is separated into its component parts, policeman's rules appear substantially less fair than either the city's or the government's. The downward trend with age for the policeman was sharper than for either remaining figure. At the fourth, but especially at the eighth grade, policeman's orders were seen as less fair than teacher's. The ratings for government and city raised the mean score for other authority and masked the children's low estimate of police justice. As a result, the negative image of the policeman was lost and other authority ranked higher than teacher. These children's estimate of police justice took a sharper plunge downward than that of the U. S. Caucasian group.

Relationships between perception of figures' rules as fair and attachment features of authority figures. Correlations shown in Table 7-19 indicate that, with few exceptions, perception of individual figures as helpful and likable was positively and consistently associated with perception of the figures' rules as fair. Of 66 individual figure correlations, 56 were significant.

Relationship between perception of figures' rules as fair and classroom behavior. Correlations between children's opinions about the justice of individual authority figures and positive or negative classroom behavior toward teachers and/or peers are shown in Table 7-20. Of 168 individual figure correlations, 34 were significant. A higher number of significant relationships existed between negative, noncompliant classroom behavior and all figures. The significant correlations were generally more numerous, higher and in the expected directions for the older than for the younger age groups.

Specific focus on the individual figures indicated that, for parental figures, more significant relationships emerged between classroom behavior and perception of father's rules as fair than of mother's. Most of these significant correlations were found in the negative behavior groups. Noncompliant fourth grade girls and eighth grade boys consistently rated father's rules as unfair. The only significant correlations for the positive behavior groups emerged for eighth grade boys. Boys who thought their father's rules were fair behaved well; boys who felt father's rules were unjust acted aggressively in school situations with both classmates and teachers. Older boys exhibited strong relationships between their classroom behavior and their views of the fairness of father's, but not mother's rules. This is particularly interesting in light of the dominance of the Negro mother and the frequent absence of a father and, therefore, male model in the home.

The greatest number and highest magnitude of significant correlations occurred between teacher and the negative behavior group. The assertive, noncompliant fourth grade boys, eighth grade girls, and both sexes in the sixth grade described teacher's rules as unfair. The only significant correlations for the compliant, pro-social positive behavior group involved older girls who proclaimed the fairness of teacher's rules. On father's rules, significant relationships emerged for obstreperous younger girls; compliant boys demonstrated expected estimates of fairness. Apparently, identification with the father figure generalized to classroom behavior in peer-teacher interactions for boys. For the teacher, more significant relationships emerged for the less compliant boys at grades 4 and 6 and girls at grades 6 and 8. Noncompliant, older girls were probably rated realistically since generally the cultural bias favors a positive image of girls' behavior. As boys mature, they are expected to perform as "boys"; therefore, noncompliant ratings of young males are likely to be a more discriminating measure of behavior. Quite predictably there was a greater correspondence between attitudes and described behavior.

Correlations involving city's rules were fewer and smaller than those for either policeman or government. Little relationship existed between evaluations of the justice of city's rules as fair and classroom behavior. Several significant correlations emerged for policeman involving fourth grade compliant girls and eighth grade noncompliant girls. Both groups consistently felt policeman's orders were unfair. Only for policeman were significant negative correlations found for the peer-perceived, well-behaved group. For these young girls, classroom behavior

was inversely related to perception of the justice of police action. Apparently both obedient and disobedient Negro girls reacted negatively to the alleged fairness of police treatment. For government's rules, most of the significant correlations appeared at grade eight. At this grade, the disciplined and socially acceptable boys rated government's rules as fair. Children of both sexes who were seen as noncompliant consistently presented government's rules as unfair. The relationship between deviant classroom behavior and estimates of the justice of government's rules was more pronounced for older Ss and for boys.

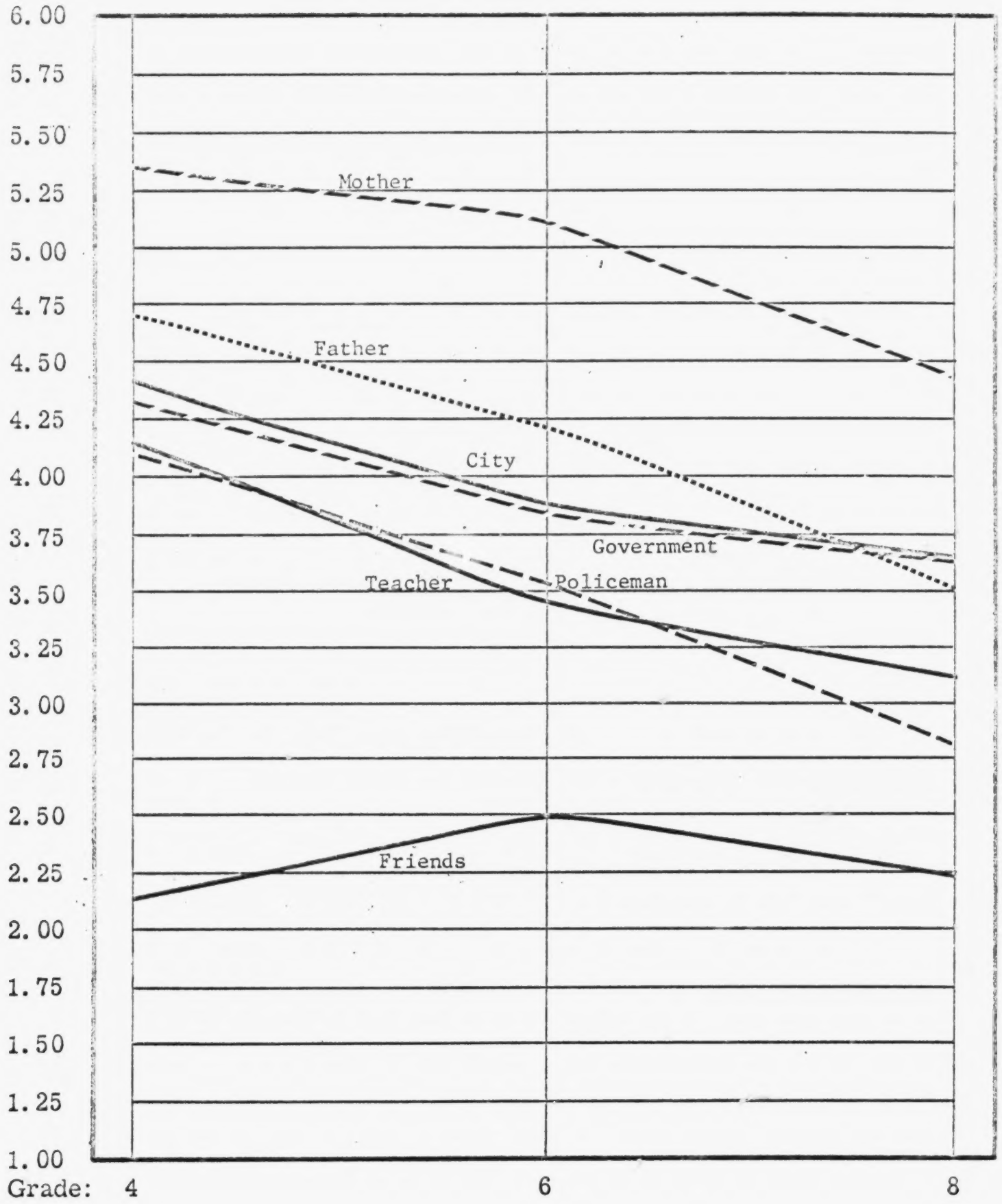
The significant correlations for friends also appeared amid the noncompliant groups, especially at older age levels. The more negatively oriented, noncompliant sixth grade boys and eighth grade girls most consistently maintained friends' rules were unfair. Children who accepted the rules of friends were also more compliant in the classroom.

Summary. For this group of urban Negro children, regardless of age, the mother emerged as the figure whose rules are most fair. The father's prominence declined at grade eight, but children's regard for the justice of his rules remained high, at about the same level as that for civic figures (i.e., city, government). Teacher's and policeman's rules were rated substantially lower and friends' rules were continually seen as least fair. As children grew older the adult world was seen as less just; apparently, the infallibility, equality, and benevolence of adult rules were weighed against values, experiences, and expectations. The supremacy of the matriarchy and the skepticism toward the police were consistent findings. Both these results should be studied further and taken into consideration in future social or educational plans for change in the black community.

Age differences constituted the source of major response variations; sex and social status differences were minimal. Although sex differences were minor they paralleled those found for the U. S. Caucasian sample. The more compliant girls assessed all figures but father more positively than did boys.

Children who saw authority figures as helpful and likable also tended to have a high regard of the fairness of their rules. Correlations between beliefs about the justice of various figures' rules and classroom behavior were in the expected direction except for fourth grade compliant girls. Stronger relationships were observed between noncompliant children's perceptions and behavior.

FIGURE 7-12
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON THE JUSTICE
OF FIGURES' RULES, BY GRADE
(U.S. NEGRO)



Item: "How many of (figure's) rules are fair?"

Scale: 1 - None; 6 - All

TABLE 7-19

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF POSITIVE AND PUNITIVE DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND BELIEF IN THE JUSTICE OF THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. NEGRO)

JUSTICE OF RULES WITH:	AUTHORITY FIGURES	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS GRADE FOUR GIRLS	GRADE FOUR BOYS	GRADE SIX GIRLS	GRADE SIX BOYS	GRADE EIGHT GIRLS	GRADE EIGHT BOYS
Willingness to help	Father	.17	.34*	.43*	.20*	.48*	.30*
	Mother	.27*	.48*	.39*	.09	.39*	.28*
	Teacher	.27*	.34*	.41*	.45*	.29*	.38*
	Policeman	.26*	.35*	.40*	.29*	.33*	.43*
	Government-President	.27*	.31*	.17	.13	.40*	.37*
Affective Attachment (liking)	Father	.46*	.28*	.46*	.49*	.52*	.41*
	Mother	.07	.27*	.40*	.38*	.45*	.40*
	Teacher	.50*	.42*	.71*	.78*	.61*	.50*
	Policeman	.49*	.35*	.61*	.53*	.52*	.46*
	Government-President	.11	.24*	.41*	.18	.19*	.23*
Power to Punish Non-Compliance	Father	-.08	.01	.08	.19*	.17	.22*
	Mother	.02	.20*	-.10	-.02	.33*	-.26*
	Teacher	.03	.02	.41*	.37*	.34*	.23*
	Policeman	.09	.12	.26*	.13	.09	.30*
	Government President	-.06	.23*	.22*	.20*	-.02	.18
Inevitability of Punishment	Father	.08	.28*	-.02	-.12	.19*	.25*
	Mother	.22*	.29*	-.05	.18	.11	.02
	Teacher	.16	.13	.05	.10	-.02	-.03
	Policeman	.16	.17	-.25*	.14	-.04	.06
	Government-President	.03	.10	.05	-.13	.26*	.03

Note. * Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 7-20

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BELIEF IN THE JUSTICE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. NEGRO)

FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	4	.12	.02	.11	.04	-.24*	-.13	-.24*	-.06
	6	-.03	.03	.01	.03	-.06	-.10	-.16	-.12
	8	.09	.28*	.16	.37*	-.12	-.32*	-.17	-.32*
Mother	4	.14	.10	.02	.01	-.02	.02	-.11	.01
	6	-.11	-.05	-.04	-.06	-.07	-.10	-.08	.05
	8	.02	.05	.16	.20*	-.12	-.17	-.19*	-.19
Teacher	4	-.02	.08	.00	.07	-.04	-.27*	-.09	-.29*
	6	.18	.02	.22*	-.01	-.30*	-.23*	-.46*	-.27*
	8	.15	.06	.32*	.14	-.27*	-.15	-.37*	-.19
Policeman	4	-.23*	-.06	-.24*	-.17	.02	-.12	.01	-.07
	6	.00	.10	.02	.07	.02	-.05	-.10	-.15
	8	.05	.09	.02	.06	-.23*	-.10	-.25*	-.18
City	4	-.11	.03	-.21*	-.04	-.08	-.18	-.10	-.14
	6	.00	.16	.02	.15	.01	-.08	-.09	-.17
	8	.12	-.03	.01	.10	-.13	-.06	-.15	-.09
Government	4	.05	.11	.02	-.02	-.12	-.24*	-.15	-.16
	6	.04	.09	.02	.19*	.07	-.06	-.01	-.17
	8	.14	.41*	.18	.33*	-.13	-.29*	-.22*	-.29*
Friends	4	.00	.01	.11	.01	-.05	.00	-.04	.01
	6	.14	.15	.12	.04	.02	-.26*	-.06	-.24*
	8	.17	.06	.16	.10	-.20*	.00	-.22*	-.04

Note. *Indicates significant correlation.

d. The Enforcement of Rules and Laws

Rule enforcement in the family. A comparison of children's responses to the question, "Who sees that the rules of your family are obeyed or enforced?" revealed essentially the same pattern of responses observed in their answers to the question, "Who usually makes the rules in your family?" Again, the greatest number of choices, though at slightly lower magnitudes, were for the parents as a unit (see Table 7-21). There was the same observed increase with maturity in perception of the whole family as an enforcing agency. Again, with greater age, experience, and internalization of familial norms more participation in their enforcement seemed to occur. This finding was consistent with findings for the U. S. Caucasian sample.

The only difference between responses to the two questions was found for the father. U. S. Negro children selected the father only minimally as the prime agent for rule-making and rule-enforcement, and the frequency of this choice decreased with age. There was a social status difference, however; at grade four more high status than low status children nominated the father. This may reflect a greater tendency for the high status father to see that rules are obeyed, thus demonstrating his authority. Or, it may reflect an incipient surge in high status sixth and eighth graders toward strong male leadership, which may also be closely related to the struggle for ego identity manifest in the black power movement.

In the responses to the interview question, "Who can make you follow a rule?" a distinction between familial and non-familial enforcers emerged. Mother and father were selected most frequently (84 and 73 percent, respectively). The magnitude of the choice of mother decreased with age, while the choice of father decreased only slightly. The saliency of mother and father corroborates earlier reported findings on the power of the parents as rule-enforcers.

Teacher and policeman were second-order rule-enforcers in terms of assuring compliance. Teacher was chosen by 54 percent of children at all age levels, and policeman was chosen by 59 percent of the total sample as a designate of enforcement power. For the policeman, the change from 41 percent at grade four to 70 percent at grade eight was striking and suggested increased exposure and/or knowledge regarding the jurisdiction of the policeman--the legitimate authority symbol for the community. The difference between the Negroes' fourth and eighth grade assertions is noteworthy and greater than the Caucasians'. While age trends were evident for policeman, they were not apparent for teacher. Boys and lower status children selected both

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policeman and teacher with greater frequency. For the Negro group, parents were more powerful and authoritative than teacher or policeman, although the latter gained power with age. No other figures were chosen as potent rule-enforcers by more than a few children.

The chief age trends for this sample, like those for the U. S. Caucasian sample, indicated the decreasing power of the parents and the increasing power of the policeman to enforce rules. For younger children, the home was the source of greatest power of rule enforcement and assured compliance. For older children, while the parental figures remained salient and powerful, the law enforcement official was increasingly recognized as capable of influencing action and demanding compliance.

In response to the reverse question, "Who can't make you obey rules?" peers were the major choice. Younger children mentioned them more frequently than did older children (50 percent of the fourth grade nominations and 30 percent of the eighth grade ones); girls did so significantly more than boys (55% and 22%, respectively). Nominations of strangers (approximately 25%) showed no age, sex, or social status differences. Nominations of younger children, chosen by 19 percent of the sample, and siblings, chosen by 14 percent of the sample, showed no significant differences by sampling factors. Finally, those with no authority were cited by only 11 percent of the sample, primarily the boys and high status children.

TABLE 7-21

PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN ENFORCING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. NEGRO)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS
1. Father	4	17	13	21	18	16
	6	14	15	13	13	15
	8	11	9	13	7	14
Total			12	16	13	15
2. Mother	4	15	15	14	16	13
	6	22	28	16	26	17
	8	27	27	26	33	20
Total			23	19	25	17
3. Father and Mother Together	4	50	54	45	48	52
	6	43	35	51	41	46
	8	39	38	41	35	44
Total			42	46	41	47
4. Whole Family	4	19	18	18	18	20
	6	21	22	20	20	22
	8	23	26	21	25	22
Total			22	20	21	21

Item: "Who sees that the rules of your family are obeyed or enforced?"

Item Scale: Percentage choice of one alternative.

B3. The Child's Internalization of Norms

Measures of guilt are often used to assess the degree to which individuals have internalized the norms and standards of society. In this study, two such measures have been used. An additional series of items, designed to explore the degree to which children seek to enforce the rules of authority figures upon disobeying peers and the methods they are likely to use for this purpose, was expected to shed more light on the process of internalization of norms.

a. Subjective Response to Noncompliance

The questionnaire item, "When you break the rules of your (specific authority figure or system) and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?" was used to assess the intensity of discomfort children feel over violation of rules of their father, mother, religion, policeman, city, national government, and friends. The responses were scaled from 1 ("No, not at all") to 6 ("Yes, very, very much"). Figure 7-13 shows the comparison of mean responses by grade across figures and systems for the U.S. Negro sample. These data show that the responses of younger U.S. Negro children were moderately high and quite undifferentiated by figures; with age, differentiation across figures increased and mean responses declined for all figures except for religion and friends. Another important feature of the U.S. Negro data is that, across all grades, violation of mother's rules elicited reports of more intense guilt than violation of father's rules (see Figure 7-13). In this respect, U.S. Negro children differed from U.S. Caucasians. Also, across all grades the breaking of both parents' rules appeared to cause more guilt than the breaking of rules of any other figure or system except religion. The greater potency of religion over all other authority figures and its stability across grades is another point on which U.S. Negro children differed from U.S. Caucasians. Of all the authority figures considered the teacher elicited the least guilt, a finding consistent with responses from the U.S. Caucasian sample. Across all grades, U.S. Negro children also differed from U.S. Caucasians in that the former reported less guilt than the latter over breaking the rules of friends. This finding parallels the fact that U.S. Negro children perceived friends as less helpful, less just, and with less power to punish wrongdoing than did U.S. Caucasians.

Analysis of the relationship of responses to the sampling groups showed no significant variations by sex or social status. Mean responses declined significantly with grade for all authority figures, but not for friends

(see Figure 7-13). The development with grade of mean responses concerning guilt over violation of rules of religion did not follow the general downward trend which was apparent for all other authority figures; for this item, the mean rose by sixth grade and the drop by eighth grade was not substantial (the means at grades 4, 6, and 8 were 4.43, 4.88, and 4.27, respectively). Apart from the differences already noted between U. S. Negro and U. S. Caucasian children, for the former there were no SES or sex variations across figures, while the U. S. Caucasians showed a greater variability of responses by sex and SES, related to specific figures. The reasons for these differences are not immediately apparent.

Relation of guilt to other variables of the study. Inspection of the correlations between U. S. Negro children's reported guilt over rule violations and their perceptions of authority figures revealed a pattern of relationships similar to that found for the U. S. Caucasian sample. As shown in Tables 7-22 and 7-23, guilt is in direct correspondence with children's perceptions of both positive and punitive dimensions of authority figures. However, guilt is in a more consistent positive correspondence with perception of authority figures as likable, helpful and providing fair rules than with regard for their power to punish and belief in the inevitability of their punishing disobedience. In other words, for the U. S. Negro sample, as for the U. S. Caucasians, liking for authority figures and regard for their helpfulness and the fairness of their rules accounted for more than regard for their punitive characteristics for children's feeling guilt about undetected violation of the figures' rules.

Relationship between guilt and classroom behavior. The distribution of significant correlations shown in Table 7-24 indicates that guilt was significantly related to classroom behavior, particularly for older children. The relationship was consistent and in the expected direction for eighth grade boys reporting guilt over violation of rules of the government, city, and policeman, and to a lesser extent for eighth grade boys reporting guilt over violation of parents' and teacher's rules. Also, scores of noncompliant classroom behavior for eighth grade girls (and to a lesser extent for sixth grade girls) correlated negatively with guilt for violation of father's, mother's, teacher's, and city's rules. Guilt as a result of noncompliance with the rules of religion and friends did not correlate significantly with classroom behavior.

Self-punishment for disobedience. One of the alternatives to the items, "Besides...(figure) who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey...(figure's) rules?" was "I (me)." By choosing this response children indicated whether they would supplement authority figures' punishment by punishing or blaming themselves.

Data on this second measure of children's identification with authority figures, as reflected in their tendency to disapprove of themselves for disobedience known to and being punished by several authority figures, are presented in Table 7-25. Self-punishment was reported substantially more often for disobedience of city's and father's rules than any other authority figure's. Responses for these two figures varied curvilinearly with grade. The percentages of Ss reporting that they would punish themselves for disobedience of mother's, teacher's, government's, and policeman's rules did not differ substantially, and the responses for these figures remained constant across grades.

For the U. S. Negro sample, as for the U. S. Caucasians, the main difference between the previously reported measures of guilt and the punish-self measure was that the former followed a declining trend as children grew older, while the latter did not vary with age. The tendency of U. S. Negro children to report that they would punish themselves more often for disobedience of father's than of mother's rules appears to parallel their tendency to report more fear of the father's punishment.

The summary frequency of U. S. Negro children's responses to the punish-self items showed no significant variation by grade, sex, or SES (see Table 7-25). However, some trends are worth reporting. Self-punishment for disobedience of all figures' rules appeared to be more likely for high status eighth graders than for their low status counterparts. A similar pattern was found for girls, compared to boys; in the sixth and eighth grades more girls than boys said that they would punish themselves in response to punishment by all authority figures (see Table 7-25).

The extent to which guilt over undetected rule violation and self-blame in response to punishment by authority figures for disobedience of their rules were associated for the U. S. Negro children is shown in Table 7-26 which summarizes the coorelation coefficients between the two sets of items. Across all figures, guilt over undetected rule violation correlated slightly more consistently with reports of self-punishment than with expectations of

supplementary punishment by authorities supporting the discipline of the disobeyed figure. However, there were many significant positive correlations between guilt over undetected transgressions and beliefs in non-family figures' reinforcing the discipline of other non-family figures, parents, and school. The greatest number of significant positive correlations between guilt over undetected transgressions and belief in inter-system support pertained to the city, father, and religion (with 22, 17 and 17 positive correlations, respectively out of 54 possible for each figure). These findings suggest that, for many U. S. Negro children, guilt for undetected transgressions may be associated with anxiety generated by expectations of possibly delayed external punishment.

Self-punishment and classroom behavior. None of the correlations between self-punishment scores and peer ratings of compliant and noncompliant behavior in the classroom was significant (see Table 7-24). Moreover, the direction of correlations was not always in the expected direction. In this respect, U. S. Negro data were congruent with the U. S. Caucasian data. One may conclude that self-punishment is not as reliable a measure of guilt (and therefore of internalization of norms) as is the measure of discomfort for undetected rule violation. The fact that for the U. S. Negro group the latter measure correlated to a large degree with beliefs in inter-system support for punishment for noncompliance suggests that internalization of norms, as expressed through measures of guilt for rule violation (undetected or already punished), may denote fear of punishment as much as appreciation of the positive dimensions of authority figures, the latter presumably contributing to an independent judgment by the child of his wrongness in disobeying the figure's rules.

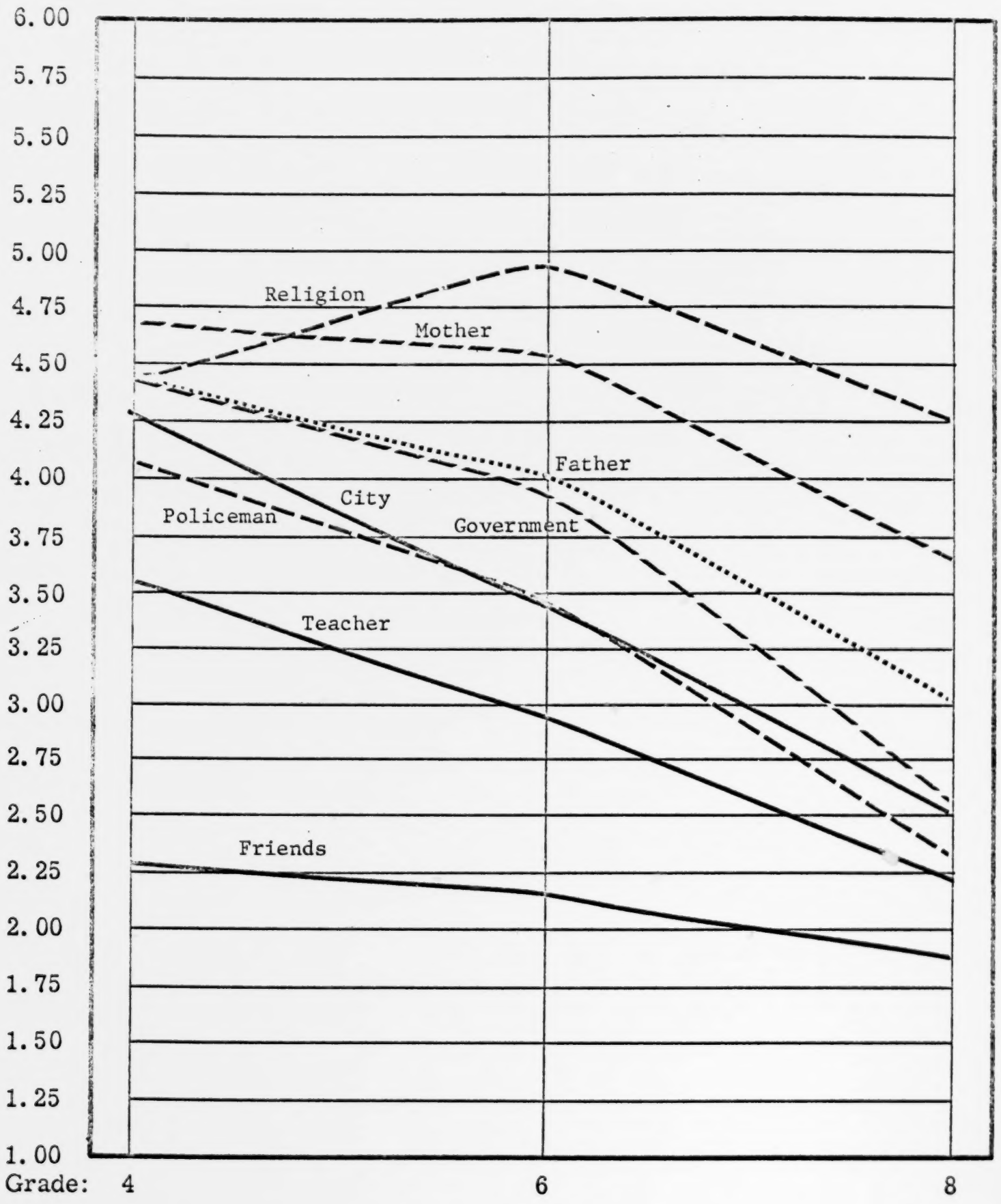
Summary. The younger U. S. Negro children made relatively little discrimination among authority figures in reporting feelings of discomfort over undetected violation of their rules. Of all authority figures considered, religion and the mother ranked highest across all grades, and the teacher ranked lowest. The friends ranked substantially below the teacher, especially at grades four and six.

Discrimination among figures increased with age and the means pertaining to all figures but religion and friends declined significantly from grade four to eight. No significant differences by sex or SES affected any of these ratings.

Although guilt was in direct correspondence with children's regard for both positive and punitive characteristics of authority figures, perception of figures as helpful, likable, and fair was more consistently in significant correspondence with guilt across grade and sex groups than were regard for the figures' power to punish and expectations of actual punishment for noncompliance with their rules. Guilt for undetected rule violations was significantly and in the expected direction associated with peer ratings of classroom behavior, especially for the older children.

The second measure used to assess children's internalization of norms--the measure of self-punishment over detected disobedience of rules of authority figures--showed no significant variations by grade, sex or SES. Reports of guilt for undetected rule transgressions were in positive association with reports of self-blame for detected disobedience of authority figures as well as with beliefs about inter-system support for sanctions against noncompliance. However, no significant relationship was found between peer nomination indices of classroom behavior and children's reports of self-blame for detected rule violations.

FIGURE 7-13
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH FIGURE'S RULES, BY GRADE
(U.S. NEGRO)



Item: When you break (figure's) rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very, very much.

TABLE 7-22

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, LIKEABLE AND JUST, AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(U.S. NEGRO)

	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
FIGURES	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Guilt with: Positive Attachment (liking)						
Father	.23*	.00	.24*	.23*	.42*	.21*
Mother	.26*	.04	.23*	.07	.34*	.26*
Teacher	.54*	.37*	.60*	.66*	.58*	.40*
Policeman	.36*	.44*	.46*	.43*	.51*	.45*
President	.17	.33*	.47*	.28*	.48*	.30*
Guilt with: Positive Attachment (wants to help)						
Father	.17	.05	.23*	.14	.37*	.06
Mother	.09	.05	.38*	.11	.43*	.31*
Teacher	.26*	.15	.51*	.29*	.20*	.17
Policeman	.17	.33*	.27*	.30*	.39*	.31*
Religious Leader	.20*	.28*	.32*	.10	.36*	.17
President	-.03	.05	.29*	.15	.41*	.19*
Friends	.20*	.34*	.30*	.13	.18	.08
Guilt with: Perception of Rules of Authority figures as Fair						
Father	.16	.06	.32*	.34*	.53*	.48*
Mother	.12	.03	.26*	.18	.40*	.44*
Teacher	.43*	.30*	.44*	.56*	.51*	.39*
Policeman	.29*	.28*	.43*	.49*	.24*	.35*
City	.18	.43*	.38*	.31*	.27*	.21*
Government	.20*	.30*	.24*	.16	.39*	.32*
Friends	.38*	.34*	.24*	.31*	.50*	.42*

Note: * Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 7-23

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN PERCEPTION OF PUNITIVE DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THEIR RULES, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(U.S. NEGRO)

	CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS					
	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
FIGURES	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Guilt with: Power of Figure to Punish						
Father	-.03	.15	.14	.17	.20*	.17
Mother	.15	.22*	.10	-.07	.16	.09
Teacher	.08	.00	.28*	.22*	.12	.18
Policeman	.12	.11	.26*	.18	.13	.03
Religious Leader	-.01	.20*	.27*	.22*	.28*	.10
President	-.07	.18	.28*	.25*	.16	.06
Judge	-.05	.30*	.02	.23*	.03	.16
Friends	.04	.13	.20*	.11	.35*	.12
Guilt with: Likelihood that Figure will Punish Disobedience						
Father	-.05	.28*	.12	.06	.22*	.22*
Mother	.10	.11	.25*	.14	.10	.14
Teacher	.12	.03	.09	.01	-.14	.02
Policeman	.19*	.18	.29*	.10	.19*	.06
Government	-.04	.20*	.05	.22*	.35*	.10
City	.30*	.21*	.14	.04	.12	.10

Note: * Indicates significant correlation.

TABLE 7-24

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN GUILT AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR,
BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(U.S. NEGRO)

GUILT TOWARD	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: PEER TO PEER POSITIVE GIRLS	PEER TO PEER POSITIVE BOYS	PEER TO TEACHER POSITIVE GIRLS	PEER TO TEACHER POSITIVE BOYS	PEER TO PEER NEGATIVE GIRLS	PEER TO PEER NEGATIVE BOYS	PEER TO TEACHER NEGATIVE GIRLS	PEER TO TEACHER NEGATIVE BOYS
Father	4	.13	-.02	.15	.06	-.11	.12	-.08	.16
	6	-.10	-.11	.02	.05	-.14	.08	-.24*	.09
	8	.16	.13	.20*	.20*	-.25*	-.26*	-.29*	-.26*
Mother	4	.15	.05	.13	.03	-.16	.11	-.15	.15
	6	.01	.06	.06	.00	-.20*	-.10	-.16	-.08
	8	.14	.12	.13	.16	-.19*	-.22*	-.28*	-.19*
Teacher	4	-.03	-.04	-.00	.02	-.08	-.12	-.07	-.05
	6	.04	-.01	.08	.06	-.20*	-.01	-.23*	-.11
	8	.18	.06	.30*	.09	-.19*	-.20*	-.30*	-.16
Religious Leader	4	.04	.03	.00	.18	-.12	.02	-.09	.10
	6	.09	.09	.09	.10	-.06	-.02	-.11	.02
	8	.09	.12	.16	.20*	-.15	-.17	-.20*	-.15
Government	4	.16	.15	.13	.13	-.11	-.12	-.14	-.09
	6	-.01	-.00	.04	-.04	-.08	-.01	-.09	.01
	8	.16	.26*	.18	.28*	-.17	-.30*	-.27*	-.32*
City	4	.07	.05	.07	.07	-.08	-.08	-.08	-.02
	6	-.00	-.03	.03	-.03	-.25*	.15	-.28*	.13
	8	.20*	.22*	.13	.21*	-.14	-.40*	-.22*	-.33*
Policeman	4	.03	-.02	.00	-.01	-.13	-.00	-.06	.04
	6	-.12	.09	-.06	.11	-.05	-.01	-.03	.00
	8	.18	.26*	.10	.29*	-.15	-.34*	-.20*	-.37*
Friends	4	-.08	-.02	-.03	-.10	-.17	.00	-.08	.12
	6	-.04	-.07	-.06	-.04	.01	-.04	-.06	-.06
	8	.04	.02	.13	.07	-.11	-.03	-.14	-.02
Punish-Self Index(1)	4	.02	-.03	.02	.00	-.05	.06	-.02	.08
	6	.01	-.09	.02	-.02	-.11	.07	-.08	.14
	8	-.02	.04	.03	.03	-.07	-.00	-.11	-.11

Note. * Indicates significant correlation.
(1) For content of Punish-Self Index see Table 7-25 footnote.

TABLE 7-25

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF Ss REPORTING PUNISHMENT OF SELF FOR NONCOMPLIANCE WITH RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. NEGRO)

	GRADE FOUR					GRADE SIX					GRADE EIGHT				
		SOCIAL STATUS		SEX			SOCIAL STATUS		SEX			SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
FIGURES	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Father	38	37	38	35	40	57	52	62	56	58	42	40	44	45	39
Mother	35	35	35	35	35	36	40	32	41	31	35	30	40	40	29
Teacher	34	35	34	33	36	42	40	43	45	38	35	30	41	36	34
Policeman	32	32	33	33	32	35	34	36	38	32	33	25	41	38	28
City	42	40	43	36	48	59	62	56	60	59	48	48	48	50	46
Government	35	32	38	36	34	41	41	40	42	39	36	30	42	41	31

Note. Significant Effects: (Punish-Self Index) None. Item: "Besides ... (figure), who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey (figure's) rules?"
Alternative: "I (me)." Index: Number of "Yes" responses across six figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, city, government). Index Scale: 0-6.

TABLE 7-26

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF INTERNALIZATION OF RULES AND NORMS OF COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS: BELIEF THAT DISCIPLINE BY ONE AUTHORITY FIGURE WILL BE REINFORCED BY OTHERS AND GUILT OVER NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. NEGRO)

INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT MEASURES (ACROSS DIFFERENT FIGURES)	GUILT OVER DISOBEDIENCE OF FIGURES (NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS)								
	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	REL. LDR.	GOV'T.	CITY	POLICE	FRIENDS	TOTAL
Would Punish Self	3	3	2	2	3	3	1	1	18
Parents Reinforce Parents	2	0	0	2	1	1	1	1*	1*/7
Parents Reinforce Non-Family Authority Figures	2	1	1	1	2	3	2	0	12
Other Family Reinforce Parents	1	0	0	2	2	2	0	0	7
Other Family Reinforce Non-Family Authority Figures	2	1	0	2	1	1	1	2	10
Total Family Reinforce School	2	0	0	2	3	1	1	0	9
Non-Family Fig. Reinforce Parents	2	1	3	2	1	3	4	0	16
Non-Family Fig. Reinforce School	2	1	2	2	1	3	2	1	14
Non-Family Figure Reinforce Other Non-Family Figure	1	1	2	2	1	5	3	2	17
TOTALS	17	8	10	17	15	22	15	1*/6	1*/110

Note. Tally includes coefficients of .19 and above. * Indicates significant negative correlation.

b. Identification with the Norms of the System

The question, "When other children break the rules of your...(figure), what do you do?" was used to explore children's concern with and methods of enforcing rules upon their peers. The question was asked for both parents, the teacher, city, and religion. The response alternatives, ranging from inaction to action, are listed in Tables 7-27 and 7-28, which show the pattern of responses given by the U. S. Negro sample.

These data indicate that the two types of direct verbal response to disobeying peers, i.e., the alternatives "I would ask them why" and "I would tell them they are wrong," are the methods U. S. Negro children, across all grades, would most often use to enforce rules of all sources of authority upon their misbehaving peers. A high percentage of the younger children are also inclined to report peers' disobedience to authority figures (their own parents, the offenders' parents, and/or the figure whose rules are broken). The most active alternative, "I would try to punish them," drew even fewer positive responses and "Do nothing" was chosen least often across all grades. These patterns were similar to findings in the U. S. Caucasian sample.

Another salient feature of the U. S. Negro data is that across all grades the alternatives of asking the offenders why, telling them they are wrong, and reporting them to their parents and the figure whose rules were disobeyed were elicited more often in response to disobedience of rules of the Ss' parents and the rules of religion than in response to disobedience of city's and teacher's rules (see Table 7-27). The alternative "I would tell my parents" was cited substantially less often in response to disobedience of teacher's rules than to that of any other authority. Also, attempts to punish the offenders appeared more likely to occur when peers disobey the rules of the Ss' parents than in reaction to disobedience of all other authorities (see Table 7-27).

It may be inferred from these data that U. S. Negro children, like the U. S. Caucasians, feel that enforcement of teacher's rules upon disobeying peers is less imperative than enforcement of rules of all other sources of authority. With respect to this finding it should be recalled that for both U. S. samples and across all grades the teacher ranked lower than any other authority figure on the scale of guilt, drew less positive responses than other figures on the punish-self items, and was nominated by very few children as the figure whose punishment they

feared the most. These findings suggest that the U. S. teacher is less likely than other authority figures to generate identification with the classroom norms which would result in strong guilt feelings over their violation and a compelling inclination to enforce these norms upon disobeying peers through all available means. The reasons for these findings are not immediately apparent.

Response variations by sampling groups were tested for significance only for the indices summarizing the frequency of citing each type of response across all authority figures (see Table 7-28). Data show that the inclination to report disobeying peers to authority figures (the Ss' own parents, the peers' parents, and/or the figure whose rules were broken) declines rapidly with age, probably as a result of the negative attitudes of older children toward tattling. The decline in frequency of these responses was obvious for all sources of authority (see Table 7-27). A similar decline of reports to authority figures was observed in the responses of U. S. Caucasian children.

Attempts to punish the offenders also appeared to decline as children grew older (see Table 7-28). The decline with age of this response alternative was generally less rapid and, in the face of peers' disobeying the rules of the Ss' parents, less marked (see Table 7-27).

The summary frequencies of asking the offenders why and telling them they are wrong did not change significantly with grade (see Table 7-28). However, in the face of peers' disobeying the rules of the teacher and the city, these responses also declined with age (see Table 7-27). By contrast, the summary frequency of doing nothing to oppose peers' disobedience of authority rules increased with age (see Table 7-28).

The variable of sex affected only the summary frequency of trying to punish the offenders, with more boys than girls reporting such attempts across all grades (see Table 7-28).

Social status affected only the summary frequency of reporting disobeying peers to the figure concerned, with more high status than low status children citing this alternative across all grades (see Table 7-28).

Relationships between reactions to peers breaking rules and subjective reports of guilt over rule violation. Table 7-29 summarizes the number of significant correlations between these two measures of internalization of norms. As expected, the alternative of doing nothing to oppose peers' disobedience of authority norms correlated negatively with the Ss' guilt over rule violation. Trying to punish peers breaking the rules of authority figures also correlated negatively with the Ss' reports of guilt. In other words, children who reported that they would face peers' disobedience of authority figures' rules by trying to punish them, and those who reported doing nothing to oppose peers' misconduct, tended to have a low level of guilt over their own violation of rules. The same pattern was true for U. S. Caucasian children.

All other methods of enforcing rules of authority figures upon peers correlated positively with the Ss' reports of guilt. Across all authorities involved, the reactions "I would tell my parents," "I would tell the figure," and "I would tell the offenders they are wrong" were in somewhat more consistent positive relationship with the Ss' reports about their feelings of guilt than the reactions "I would tell the offenders' parents" and "I would ask them why." For the U. S. Caucasian children, the types of reaction to peers' disobedience which were in a more consistent positive correspondence with the measure of guilt were "Ask the offenders why" and "Tell them they are wrong." The reactions "Tell the figure concerned" and, particularly, "Tell the offenders' parents" yielded fewer positive correlations with guilt for the U. S. Caucasians. The negative relationship between "Try to punish the offenders" and reports of personal guilt over one's own transgressions was more consistent for boys than girls; this was true for both U.S. samples. For the U.S. Negro group, ten out of 14 significant negative correlations between "Try to punish" and guilt concerned boys. No sex difference appeared, however, on the relationships between guilt and doing nothing to oppose rule violations by peers. Also, for alternatives positively related to guilt there was practically no sex imbalance in number of significant correlations across authority figures. Of the 110 significant correlations, 55 concerned boys.

Relationship between reactions to peers' disobedience of authority figures and peer ratings of classroom behavior. The correlations shown in Table 7-30 indicate that, for older children, doing nothing to oppose peers' disobedience of norms and trying to punish the offenders correlate positively with noncompliant classroom behavior. This was also

true for U. S. Caucasians. The direction of correlations for the U. S. Negro sample is consistent in both instances for eighth graders, although not all correlation coefficients are significant. The relationship between doing nothing to oppose peers' disobedience and ratings of noncompliant behavior is significant for both sex groups at grade eight. The relationship between "Try to punish the offenders" and noncompliance in the classroom is significant for eighth grade boys but not for girls.

Sixth grade girls enforcing rules upon their peers by telling the figure involved and eighth grade girls questioning disobeying peers about their misbehavior were also likely to be seen by peers as followers of the rules of the classroom. However, the direction of relationships between classroom behavior and telling disobeying peers that they are wrong was not consistent and not always in accordance with expectation; in addition, most correlation coefficients were not significant. In this respect, U. S. Negro data differed from those for U. S. Caucasians.

Summary. The alternatives most often cited by U. S. Negro children across all grades as the methods they would use to handle peers breaking rules of authority figures were "Ask why" and "Tell them they are wrong"; the frequency of these two alternatives did not decline significantly with age and showed no significant variations by sex or SES. Appeals to authority figures (the Ss' own parents, the offenders' parents, and/or the figure concerned) were cited by younger children approximately as often as direct verbal questioning and criticism of the offenders; however, the frequency of appeals to authority figures declined significantly with age and reports to the figure concerned were cited more often by high status than by low status children across all grades. The most active alternative, "Try to punish them," was chosen by fewer children across all grades; its frequency declined with age and across all grades was more often cited by boys than girls. Finally, the alternative "Do nothing" appeared to be a rather rare choice, but its frequency increased with age.

Of all methods of handling peers' disobedience of authority figures "Do nothing" and "Try to punish the offenders" correlated negatively with the Ss' reports of guilt over their own rule transgressions; these reactions were also in positive association with peer nomination indices of noncompliant classroom behavior. All other methods of handling peers' noncompliance with rules of authority figures correlated positively with guilt over one's own rule transgressions. Although the association between the frequencies of citing these alternatives and

peer nomination indices of classroom behavior was not always in the expected direction, "Ask why" and "Tell the figure concerned" tended to correlate positively with scores of compliant behavior and negatively with scores of noncompliant behavior in the school, especially for girls at grades six and eight.

TABLE 7-27

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES ON REACTION FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY TOTAL GRADE (U.S. NEGRO)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVES	FIGURE OR SYSTEM WHOSE RULES ARE DISOBEYED BY PEERS														
	MOTHER			FATHER			TEACHER			RELIGION			CITY		
GRADE:	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8	4	6	8
Ask Them Why	78	82	75	72	80	75	69	68	62	80	81	70	74	65	54
Tell Them They Are Wrong	79	82	77	81	86	80	77	71	62	86	82	76	78	65	62
Tell My Parents	64	50	36	71	59	46	53	40	36	65	61	49	69	57	45
Tell Their Parents	78	63	48	84	65	58	69	43	24	81	62	47	78	54	33
Tell the Figure	76	70	57	78	66	49	73	42	30	70	65	52	66	44	24
Try to Punish Them Myself	29	21	22	28	22	26	22	10	05	19	12	10	20	08	06
Do Nothing	40	40	43	40	36	34	43	49	54	39	44	38	38	49	48

Note. Item: "When other children break (figure's) rules, what do you do?" Percentage of "Yes" responses to each of seven alternatives for five figures (Mother, Father, Teacher, Church, City), by total grade.

TABLE 7-28

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON RESPONSES FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. NEGRO)

RESPONSE ALTERNATIVE	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	SEX GIRLS	SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
I Would Ask Them Why	4	3.60	3.71	3.49	3.92	3.28	0-5 None
	6	3.72	3.67	3.77	3.64	3.80	
	8	3.30	3.22	3.38	3.39	3.21	
	Total		3.53	3.55	3.65	3.43	
Tell Them They Are Wrong	4	3.84	3.91	3.77	3.90	3.78	0-5 None
	6	3.80	3.70	3.89	3.64	3.95	
	8	3.52	3.48	3.55	3.63	3.41	
	Total		3.70	3.74	3.72	3.71	
Tell My Parents	4	3.09	3.15	3.03	3.18	2.99	0-5 Grade
	6	2.63	2.59	2.68	2.53	2.74	
	8	2.08	1.83	2.33	2.10	2.06	
	Total		2.52	2.68	2.60	2.60	
Tell Their Parents	4	3.76	3.93	3.59	3.83	3.69	0-5 Grade
	6	2.83	2.73	2.94	2.78	2.88	
	8	2.06	2.14	1.97	2.16	1.95	
	Total		2.93	2.83	2.92	2.84	
Tell the Figure	4	3.50	3.32	3.67	3.44	3.55	0-5 Grade
	6	2.84	2.68	3.01	2.74	2.95	SES
	8	2.09	1.91	2.27	2.01	2.17	
	Total		2.64	2.98	2.73	2.89	
Try to Punish Them Myself	4	1.12	1.26	.99	.91	1.34	0-5 Grade,
	6	.72	.82	.61	.66	.77	Sex
	8	.65	.48	.82	.37	.93	
	Total		.86	.81	.65	1.02	
Do Nothing	4	.01	0.	.03	0.	.03	0-5 Grade,
	6	.14	.17	.11	.14	.15	
	8	.42	.41	.43	.31	.53	
	Total		.19	.19	.15	.24	

Note. Item: "When other children break (figure's) rules, what do you do?" Index: Number of "Yes responses to each of seven alternatives for five figures (Father, Mother, Teacher, City, Church).

TABLE 7-29

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN TWO MEASURES OF INTERNALIZATION OF RULES AND NORMS OF COMPLIANCE SYSTEMS: RESPONSES IN REACTION PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND GUILT OVER ONE'S OWN NONCOMPLIANCE, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(U.S. NEGRO)

TYPES OF RESPONSE TO NONCOMPLIANCE BY PEERS	NUMBER OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS - GUILT TOWARD							
	FATHER	MOTHER	TEACHER	POLICE-MAN	REL. LDR.	GOV'T	CITY	TOTALS
Tell My Parents	4	2	4	3	3	3	5	24
Tell Their Parents	2	2	3	3	2	2	4	18
Tell Figure	3	3	3	5	3	4	5	26
Ask Them Why	3	3	3	3	1	3	3	19
Tell Them They Are Wrong	4	4	4	2	3	2	4	23
Try to Punish Them	1*	0	2*	3*	2*	3*	3*	14*
Do Nothing	2*	3*	1*	2*	1*	2*	3*	14*
TOTALS	3*/16	3*/14	3*/17	5*/16	3*/12	5*/14	6*/21	28*/110
	19	17	20	21	15	19	27	138

Note. * Indicates negative correlations.

TABLE 7-30

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN TYPES OF RESPONSE TO PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. NEGRO)

TYPES OF RESPONSE TO NONCOMPLIANCE OF PEERS	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: PEER TO PEER POSITIVE GIRLS	PEER TO PEER POSITIVE BOYS	PEER TO TEACHER POSITIVE GIRLS	PEER TO TEACHER POSITIVE BOYS	PEER TO PEER NEGATIVE GIRLS	PEER TO PEER NEGATIVE BOYS	PEER TO TEACHER NEGATIVE GIRLS	PEER TO TEACHER NEGATIVE BOYS
Tell My Parents	4	-.12	-.06	-.05	-.14	.02	.02	.04	.08
	6	.16	-.24*	.13	-.24*	-.16	.08	-.21*	.11
	8	.07	-.09	.03	.02	-.13	-.08	-.15	-.06
Tell Their Parents	4	-.05	.15	.00	.02	.04	-.16	.04	-.14
	6	.04	-.12	.04	-.06	-.09	-.06	-.17	-.09
	8	.05	-.10	.08	.11	-.03	-.06	-.12	-.04
Tell (Figure)	4	.02	-.03	.05	-.14	-.13	.04	-.10	.05
	6	.19*	-.02	.19*	-.02	-.21*	.06	-.28*	.06
	8	-.03	.07	.05	.16	-.10	-.14	-.14	-.15
Ask Why	4	.11	-.09	.14	-.16	-.17	.16	-.17	.14
	6	.04	.04	.08	.10	-.08	-.13	-.07	-.12
	8	.12	.12	.18	.15	-.20*	-.02	-.26*	-.06
Tell Them They Are Wrong	4	.14	-.04	.20*	-.10	-.08	.08	-.07	.09
	6	.00	-.06	.05	-.03	-.14	-.14	-.15	-.07
	8	.02	.04	.09	.07	-.07	-.06	-.15	-.06
Try to Punish Them	4	-.11	-.08	-.09	-.10	.06	.13	.12	.09
	6	-.12	-.18	-.12	-.10	.02	.18	.06	.22*
	8	-.22*	-.10	-.17	-.06	.10	.28*	.17	.25*
Do Nothing	4	.00	-.07	.00	-.02	.00	.03	.00	.06
	6	-.07	.23*	-.09	.14	.08	-.08	.12	-.10
	8	-.09	-.18	-.12	-.22*	.29*	.20*	.30*	.26*

Note. * Indicates significant correlation.

B4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority

a. Reactions to Injustice from Total Authority

Inspection of Figure 7-14 and Table 7-31 reveals that, with one exception, the rank order of actions toward unjust adult authority was stable across the grades. The order of preferred behavior response for these urban Negro children was: (1) "Ask why," (2) "Ask parents to intervene," (3 and 4) "Talk to peers," (3 and 4) "Verbal response," (5) "Get even," and (6) "Do nothing." "Talk to peers" emerged as the one exception. As children matured, peers apparently increased in importance as consultants in dealing with the adult world. This was consistent with cognitive-developmental findings which stress the growing preferences of children for dealings that are more equalitarian and reflective of mutual respect. It was also consistent with findings reported in Section B2c concerning the development with age of children's regard for the justice of rules of authority figures vs. friends.

Few of these children appeared to choose the extreme action alternatives of either passive, compliant acceptance of injustice or aggressive retaliation. Rather, they appeared inclined to approach the problem rationally by questioning the source of the injustice for intention, by discussing the situation with siblings and friends, and to a lesser degree by employing direct verbal reproaches. The alternative of asking for parental support was chosen quite frequently by U. S. Negroes. These children's high regard for the justice of parents' rules, particularly the mother's, and their reliance on the parental benevolence, undoubtedly influenced their resorting to requests for parental intervention when facing injustice from authority figures. With age, increased skepticism about the justice of adult rules, including those of parents, undoubtedly reduced the attraction of such a resource. However, for U. S. Negro children, seeking parental intervention remained an important solution for dealing with unfair impositions. It is also notable that U. S. Negro children chose the "Get even" option more frequently at all ages than did the U. S. Caucasians. This may imply partly the generally more expressive and "aggressive" nature of Negro culture or an increasing desire to get even with authority figures who, particularly in this subculture's perspective, are seen and experienced as consistently unfair in their social sanctioning and interpersonal relations.

Two of the three principal sampling variables, grade and sex but not social class,* were associated with children's choices in several statistically significant ways (see Table 7-32). No significant differences by grade, sex, or social status affected the frequency of children citing the "Do nothing" and "Get even" response alternatives--i.e., the types of response chosen least often at all age levels. Significant grade differences appeared on all other indices except "Verbal responses." An increase with age was particularly marked for the number of children choosing the most popular way of dealing with injustice, i.e., "Ask why." The frequency of "Talk to peers" also showed a significant increase with age, although this increase was not quite as marked as on "Ask why." For both these types of responses to injustice the overall grades frequencies and increments with age were greater for the Caucasian children than for this Negro group, but for both groups these behavior alternatives reflected a significant progression toward mature interpersonal action and increasing expectations of democratic exchanges with peer and adult world.

"Ask parents to intervene" showed a significant decrease with age. Younger children seemed more reluctant to trust their own resources and assert their autonomy, and more likely to rely on parental figures for support, defense, and assistance in times of conflict with authority figures. The reliance on parental assistance was greater at all ages in the U. S. Negro than in the U. S. Caucasian group.

Although no significant social status differences in response preferences emerged for this sample, a significant sex difference affected the frequency with which "Verbal responses" were cited. Significantly more boys than girls selected verbal means as viable alternatives for coping with unfair adult decisions and demands. A significant sex difference in the same direction affected the frequency of citing "Verbal responses" by U. S. Caucasian children as well. This finding contradicts previous research noting feminine predilections for settling disputes by verbal methods.

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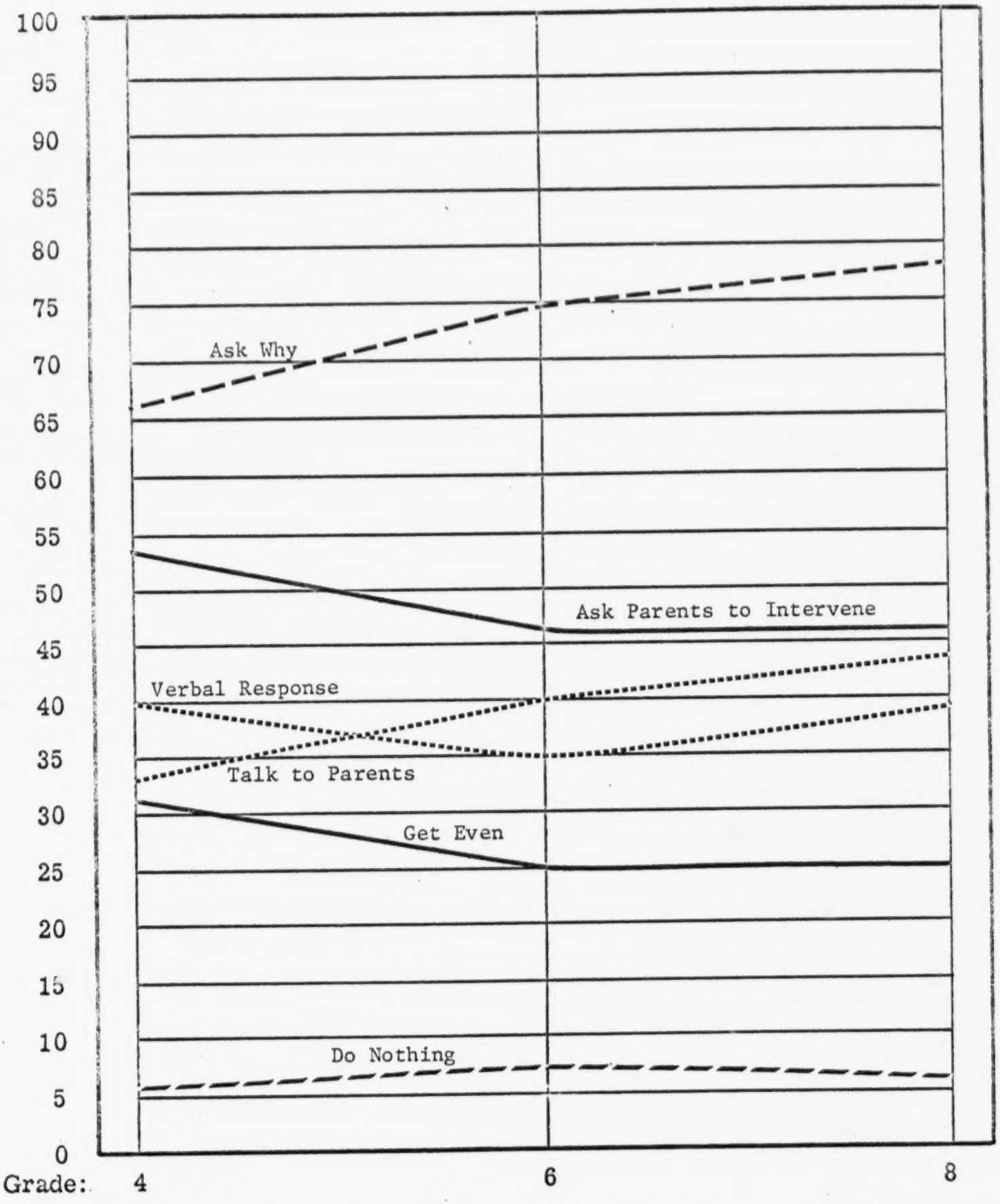
* The absence of SES differences may reflect the predominance of lower status children, as gauged by father's occupation and residency, in the present Negro sample.

FIGURE 7-14
COMPARISON OF ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE
IN RESPONSE TO UNJUST USE OF AUTHORITY, BY GRADE
(U.S. NEGRO)



Item: If (figure) did something to you that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?

TABLE 7-31

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY FOR FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES), BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (PERCENTAGE OF "YES" RESPONSES)
(U.S. NEGRO)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
	4	6	8	4		6		8				4		6		8			
				L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
Do nothing (Resp. Alt. 1)	6	7	6	7	6	5	9	5	7	6	7	5	8	7	7	5	7	6	7
Ask why (Resp. Alt. 2)	66	75	78	66	66	73	77	77	80	72	74	65	66	74	76	78	79	72	74
Verbal Responses (Resp. Alt. 3-6)	40	35	39	42	38	36	33	39	40	39	37	38	42	31	38	37	42	35	41
Talk to peers (Resp. Alt. 7-8)	33	40	43	32	35	38	42	38	47	36	42	35	32	40	39	44	41	40	37
Ask parents to intervene (Resp. Alt. 9-10)	55	46	46	54	55	47	44	44	47	48	49	54	54	45	46	47	45	49	48
Get even (Resp. Alt. 11)	31	25	25	32	31	26	25	22	28	27	28	30	32	25	26	23	27	26	28

Note. Item: "If your father (mother, teacher, a policeman, the U.S. Government) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?" Response Alternatives: (1) "I would do nothing and tell no one (I'd keep it to myself)." (2) "I would ask him (her, them) why." (3) "I would tell him (her, them) he was unfair." (4) "I would tell him (her, them) not to do it again." (5) "I would show him (her, them) my anger." (6) "I would tell other teachers (policeman) that this teacher (policeman) was unfair." (7) "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it." (8) "I would talk to my friends about it." (9) "I would ask my mother (father) or other adult relatives to stop him (her, them) from doing it again." (10) "I would ask my parents or other adult relatives to talk to him (her, them)." (11) "I would get even with or get back at him (her, them)."

TABLE 7-32

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY FOR FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES) BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. NEGRO)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES (Index Labels)	GRADE	SOCIAL STATUS TOTAL	LOW	HIGH	SEX GIRLS	BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Do Nothing	4	.32	.33	.30	.23	.40	0-5	None
	6	.35	.25	.44	.35	.34		
	8	.31	.27	.36	.26	.37		
	Total		.28	.37	.28	.37		
Ask Why	4	2.63	2.63	2.63	2.61	2.64	0-4	Grade
	6	2.99	2.92	3.07	2.96	3.03		
	8	3.14	3.07	3.22	3.14	3.15		
	Total		2.87	2.97	2.90	2.94		
Verbal Responses	4	6.80	7.20	6.40	6.49	7.11	0-17	Sex
	6	5.88	6.09	5.67	5.22	6.54		
	8	6.68	6.64	6.72	6.22	7.14		
	Total		6.64	6.26	5.98	6.93		
Talk to Peers	4	3.34	3.15	3.52	3.50	3.17	0-10	Grade
	6	3.98	3.76	4.20	4.05	3.91		
	8	4.27	3.82	4.73	4.42	4.12		
	Total		3.58	4.15	3.99	3.74		
Ask Parents to Intervene	4	2.71	2.68	2.74	2.71	2.71	0-5	Grade
	6	2.28	2.36	2.21	2.25	2.32		
	8	2.30	2.22	2.37	2.36	2.23		
	Total		2.42	2.44	2.44	2.42		
Get Even	4	1.57	1.59	1.55	1.52	1.62	0-5	None
	6	1.27	1.31	1.23	1.24	1.30		
	8	1.24	1.11	1.38	1.15	1.33		
	Total		1.34	1.39	1.31	1.42		

Note. Item: "If your (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?"
Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives comprising each response category across five figures (father, mother, teacher, policeman, government)

b. Variations in Reactions to Injustice as a Function of the Identity of Authority Figures.

The analysis of children's responses to injustice by total adult authority masked differential responses to specific authority systems. The analysis of action alternatives by parent, school, and non-family, non-school authority groupings (i.e., government and policeman) is presented in this section. Data concerning individual figures or behaviors in an index that exhibited trends divergent from the other component parts will also be reported. As noted earlier (in Part A), tests of significance were performed only on indices.

The percentages of children choosing each of the six behavior alternatives in response to the three authority groupings (parents, teacher, and other authority) are presented in Table 7-33. These percentages represent conversions of the means shown in Tables 7-34 through 7-39. Conversion of means into percentages facilitated comparisons across the behavior-action indices for the figure indices.

There were very small differences across grades in the frequency with which children cited the alternative "Ask why" in the face of injustice from parents, the teacher, or policeman. The alternatives "Verbal response," "Talk to peers," "Get even," and especially "Ask parents to intervene" were chosen more often in response to injustice from the teacher and other non-family authorities than in the face of parents' injustices. The chief finding which the analysis of the total authority index masked was that children tended more often to "Ask parents to intervene" when non-family socializing agents acted unjustly than they did when one of the parents acted in this way. Instead, in response to parental injustice, by grades 6 and 8 children opted for "Talking to peers" as the second alternative to "Ask why." This is another instance of children's shifting orientation to peers and of the increasing importance of the peer group as a salient socializing agent. Particularly when confronted with parental injustice, children--not being able to turn to the family, a primary group--may have sought friend and sibling interactions.

For the "Do nothing" and "Ask why" behavior indices, the same effects that had appeared on the total authority index also appeared across the three indices for authority figure groupings. For "Do nothing," no significant effects emerged for any authority index; for "Ask why," grade increases were significant for all three authority figure groupings (see Tables 7-34 and 7-35).

For "Talk to peers," grade had a significant effect in the total authority analysis; however, grade increases were significant only for other authority and not for parents or teacher (see Table 7-37). A similar difference, though with different figures, was noted for the "Ask parents to intervene" index (see Table 7-38); in the total authority analysis, grade had a significant effect; however, a grade decrease was significant only for parents. Quite predictably, as children grew older they would be less likely to ask for familial intervention to face injustice from one of the parents. Not only may they have a wish to assert their autonomy from their parents, but children also seemed to view their parents as a decision-making unit and asking for help of one in dealing with the injustice of the other would not appear to be a useful action. The role of other adult relatives is less clear; the role of parents is supported by other findings in this study.

For "Verbal response," sex differences were significant on total authority. For the more specific authority groupings the sex effect--with boys giving this response significantly more often than did girls--held only in reaction to injustice from teacher and other non-family authorities (see Table 7-36). Although boys were more prone to exert their independence and autonomy and girls were more conforming even in the face of injustice, children still behaved as "good" sons and daughters within the family group without exhibiting the differential sex-linked styles which were developing. Also, the frequency of citing "Verbal responses" in reaction to injustice from parents changed curvilinearly with age; this option was chosen most often by fourth and eighth graders.

No significant differences by any sampling factors affected the frequency of Ss citing the alternative "Get even" for total authority. However, on the more refined analysis, a significant decrease with age in the use of this response appeared for other authority (i.e., policeman and government) (see Table 7-39). This finding may reflect older children's realization that such a response to powerful authorities would be completely ineffective, if not impossible. The overall grades higher frequency of citing the "Do nothing" alternative in response to injustice from other authority further supports this interpretation.

The finding that U. S. Negro children gave the greatest number of action responses when confronted with teacher injustice also emerged for the U. S. Caucasians. The teacher was the one figure against whom children at all ages were least likely to "Do nothing." This figure was

the one whose injustice would most often elicit discussions with peers, verbal reproaches, requests for parental and familial intervention, and wishes to seek revenge. For children, the teacher may represent an authority figure for whom they experience great ambivalence. Generally, teachers are the first authority figure children encounter outside the home. Within the school context children may be able to react negatively and hostilely more easily. Moreover, the teacher may be the first authority figure children feel they can fight. They may perceive that the belief that "It's O.K. to get even with the teacher" receives peer as well as societal support. In the ghetto domiciles of these children such feelings may be even stronger, especially if teachers are seen as part of the establishment.

Despite these differences, there was only a small to moderate spread in the magnitude of scores among the figure indices on many of the action indices. Discussed below are the divergent trends which appear between component parts of some indices.

On "Ask parents to intervene," where a significant grade decrease was noted for parents, the separation of the authority groupings was noticeable (see Table 7-40). Children were least willing to seek intervention in the face of parental injustice and most willing in response to injustice by teacher. The individual figures which comprised other authority, i.e., policeman and government, were seen quite differently. Policeman ranked highest, even slightly above teacher as the figure whose unjust demands would be dealt with by request for parental intervention. This action was selected by 73 percent of the fourth graders and by 77 percent of the eighth graders. Government, the other figure in the other authority index, received only 55 percent of the fourth grade and an even lower percentage (32%), of the eighth grade selections. Not only was there a striking difference in the frequency with which parental intervention was sought against policeman's as opposed to government's injustice, but a divergence in grade trends was apparent as well. Intervention was sought against the policeman more frequently by older children, while interventions against injustice by government declined with age. Perhaps older children thought that in confronting the policeman's injustice, parents could provide some support in exchanges on a local, one-to-one level while their power could not extend to the larger, more impersonal government authority. Perhaps this decline also corresponds to real experiences of urban Negro adolescents whose encounters with police may require parental involvement.

Also, though father and mother emerged as the two figures against whom least intervention was sought, intervention by the mother was consistently sought to face the father's injustices. This preference for maternal support against paternal injustice was displayed by approximately 10 percent more of the sample at each age level. Again, children may be expressing maternal dependence and the hope that the mother will continue to function in a supportive, protective role. They may also be describing the efficacy and power of the mother in the U. S. Negro family structure.

On the "Talk to peers" alternative, a significant grade increase was noted for other authority. Also, children appeared to talk to peers more often when facing a teacher's injustice, while parental injustice was least frequently discussed with peers. A difference of approximately 10 percent between teacher and parents, the highest and lowest figures, was observed at each age level. However, there were some notable divergent tendencies on "Talk to siblings" and "Talk to friends," the components of the "Talk to peers" index (see Table 7-41). As might be expected, younger children reported that they talk to siblings more than friends about all adult injustices. By grade eight, trends suggested that children seek friends more frequently than siblings, especially in response to injustice by non-family figures. This shift may reflect a socialization pattern of extending significant, personal relationships to non-familial peer groups. It may also reflect a reluctance to discuss family matters outside the family. In adolescence, friends typically begin assuming a position of emotional centrality resulting in the emergence of bull-sessions, gossip hours, and mutual self-scrutiny with friends. For example, although the "Talk to peers" index analyses suggested that as children mature they increasingly talk to peers, actually talking to friends about teachers was most responsible for the general rise. School, teachers, and coping with academic and vocational matters seem to become major topics of mutual concern. With age, talking to friends about teacher's injustice increased from 39 percent to 62 percent; talking to brothers and sisters suffered a slight decrease from 43 percent to 39 percent. In contrast, although the increased "Talk to peers" was not significant for parental injustice, the more refined analysis of friends and siblings showed that talking to siblings about both mother's and father's injustice increased slightly. More importantly, at all age levels it seemed more common for children to talk to siblings than to friends about parents' injustices. Usually, siblings would be considered allies and kindred spirits, even if they were not directly affected by the injustice. Lastly, this analysis further clarified the other authority index.

When breaking the index into its component parts (i.e., policeman and government and talk to friends and siblings) policeman and government on "Talk to siblings" diverged in exactly the same manner as on most other action indices; "Talk to siblings" decreased with age for government injustice and increased for policeman. At the fourth grade level, 35 percent of the sample felt they would talk to brothers and sisters about policeman and 42 percent about government. At grade eight, 47 percent chose that response for policeman, while only 30 percent chose it as response to injustice from government.

On "Verbal responses" a curvilinear grade effect was noted for parents, with more of the fourth and eighth graders choosing such behaviors. Significant sex effects were also noted for teacher and other authority. Boys chose this category of responses more frequently than girls, but there was no sex difference in the frequency of responding verbally to parental injustice. There was an increasing separation with age between the authority figures on the "Verbal responses" index (see Table 7-42). Injustices by mother, father, and government were least likely to receive this type of reproach; those by teacher and policeman the most likely. Again, dissimilarities in trends were apparent for policeman and government, the two figures on the other authority index. On three of the four individual items comprising the "Verbal responses" index (i.e., "Show anger," "Tell the authority not to do it again," and "Tell authority figures when they are unjust or unfair"), children chose these types of verbal protest substantially more often in reaction to a policeman's than to the government's injustices.

Not only were there large differences in the frequency with which children would tell policeman and government they were unjust, but age trends differed also. The frequency of this action against police injustices increased with age; for government, it decreased. Similarly, younger children chose to "Tell the authority not to do it again," with approximately equal frequency for policeman and government. With age, this type of response was cited more often against an unjust policeman and less often against injustice from the government. The frequency of citing the alternative "Show anger" in response to policeman's and government's injustices followed analogous divergent trends with increasing age.

These differential response patterns for policeman and government on items included in the "Verbal responses" index demonstrated the variations in children's perceptions and responses to these two authority figures. "Verbal

response" was seen as a more viable reaction to injustices of the police than to injustices of the government. Some of this difference may stem from the apparent availability of the symbol of local authority and the willingness to voice objections.

Relationships between antecedent perceptions and responses to injustice. It is reasonable to expect that children's views of authority would color their coping behavior. In Table 7-43 the relationship between children's responses to injustice and their perception of authority figures as likable, helpful, just, as well as punitive, powerful, and guilt-provoking are presented. Overall, there was no strong relationship between responses to injustice and regard for authority figures' punitive powers. There were approximately twice as many significant correlations on likable, helpful, just, and guilt for noncompliance as on punitive power and inevitability of punishment. Children's ratings of the punitive power of parents, teacher, and other authority correlated significantly with the six injustice action indices in only 37 out of a total of 324 correlations. Only 31 out of a possible 324 significant correlations emerged between children's ratings of their belief in the inevitability of punishment by authority figures and behavioral responses to injustice. Children's evaluations of their guilt feelings over rule-breaking correlated with their responses to injustice in 79 out of a possible 324 pairs. Here, the high-guilt children tended neither to make "Verbal responses" nor "Get even." They elected, instead, to "Do nothing" or "Ask why," though fewer significant relationships emerged.

Decidedly stronger relationships emerged when children's reactions to injustice were correlated with their perception of the justice of authorities' rules and the degree to which they saw authority figures as likable and helpful. There were 63 significant correlations for helpfulness, 67 significant correlations for affective attachment, and 95 significant correlations between perception of the figures' rules as fair and frequency of the various types of responses to injustice. With few exceptions, children who liked authority figures, thought they are helpful, and/or saw their rules as just were not inclined to actively oppose their injustices (i.e., they would not give a verbal reproach, talk to peers, ask parents to intervene, or get even). Rather, they tended to adopt more submissive patterns like do nothing, if they felt authorities were helpful or just, and more affiliative, interpersonal ones like asking why, if they saw them as helpful.

Most of the correlations between all methods of facing injustice from adult authority and children's views on both positive and punitive characteristics of authority figures were negative. In other words, both expectations of punishment and regard for the authority figures' positive characteristics seemed to relate to the child's tendency to avoid active (aggressive) methods of coping with authorities' injustices. However, avoidance of verbal reproaches, discussions with peers, requests for parental aid, and wishes for revenge were in more systematic correspondence with measures of children's perception of authority figures as helpful, likable and just, and with children's tendency to experience guilt over rule-breaking than with regard for the figures' punitive characteristics.

Relationship between reactions to injustice by authority and classroom behavior. Product-moment correlations between aggressive or compliant behavior in the classroom and reactions to injustice by parents, teacher, and other authority were statistically significant with a frequency greater than chance expectation for only three of the six action indices--"Verbal responses," "Ask parents to intervene," and "Get even." On a total of 92 significant correlations between all types of responses to injustice and peer ratings of classroom behavior, 74 fell within these response categories (see Table 7-44). Children rated as cooperative and compliant with peers and adults tended not to react to adult injustice by electing these response choices (negative correlations), while children rated as aggressive opted for these responses (positive correlations). Moreover, there were more significant correlations for negative than for positive behavior. There were about an equal number of significant correlations for boys and girls.

The trend of these correlations indicated that for "Verbal responses" there was substantial agreement between ratings of classroom behavior by peers and children's preferred responses to unjust authority, especially at the eighth grade level. Although this was true more often for peer-to-peer than for peer-to-teacher compliant children, generally, children who were rated as compliant in the classroom situation rejected verbal reproach as a means of opposing injustice by parents, teacher, or other authority. With age, noncompliant children used verbal protests with increasing frequency toward all authority sources making unjust demands.

On "Ask parents to intervene" significant correlations emerged primarily for compliant children. Sixth and eighth grade boys who exhibited compliant peer-to-peer behavior tended not to ask for parental intervention in response to

injustice. For the group of noncompliant children significant relationships between attitudes and behavior emerged only for the parents index, not for teacher or other authority; sixth grade noncompliant boys and eighth grade noncompliant girls chose to ask for parental intervention when confronted with parents' injustices. Compliant children may not seek intervention because they view parents as a single unit and, perhaps, cannot conceive of them operating differentially. Noncompliant children may be more inclined to ask one parent to intervene against the other.

On "Get even," the pattern of significant correlations was similar to that for "Verbal responses;" correlations were significant primarily for the sixth and eighth grade children. Compliant, well-behaved children responded negatively to the "Get even" response option, and aggressive children responded positively. Somewhat stronger relationships emerged for the aggressive than for the compliant children. About 50 percent of the former correlations attained at least .3, while about 30 percent of the latter reached this level of significance.

The general finding that the relationship between attitudes toward injustice and classroom behavior is greater for older children than for younger suggests that older children have more internally consistent and better-defined attitudinal systems. Moreover, their attitudes may be of higher salience due to reinforcing experiences and, therefore, more likely to be reflected in their overt behavior than was true for younger children.

Summary. With few exceptions, the general trends for total authority also appeared for the figure groupings of parents, teacher, and other authority. The differences among these figure groupings on some action indices indicated that children discriminated between authority figures generally. A further description of this discriminating ability and relevant differences was uncovered in the individual item and figure analyses.

Despite the variations appearing between children's responses to individual authority figures and figure-groupings, the trends of greatest importance for U. S. Negro children involved age differences. As these children matured, they increasingly questioned adult authority, adopted autonomous, increasingly rational action, and discussed problems with agemates. They ceased to view adult authority as overpowering and omnipotent, increasingly sought equilibrium interaction, and moved toward shifting the basis of interpersonal relationships to reciprocity, mutuality, rational discourse, and cooperation.

Children who saw adult authorities' rules as fair liked them and experienced intense guilt over noncompliance with their rules and expectations tended to reject verbal protests, parental intervention, and revenge as viable or desirable means of coping with adult injustice. In general, acceptance of adults' rules as just tended to restrict active or aggressive reactions to authority injustice.

Compliant children preferred to use other than verbal reproach, parental intervention, or revenge as means of resisting injustice. The less-compliant children preferred more active and aggressive methods for dealing with "misbehaving" adults. In the classroom situation, the more cooperative children were reluctant to utilize coping strategies that consisted of active challenge in the face of injustice. Undoubtedly this stance was related to their views on the basic fairness of the authority figures. The converse was true generally for the more assertive, negatively oriented children.

TABLE 7-33

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ACTIONS CHILDREN WOULD TAKE IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE FROM FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, GROUPED AS PARENTS, TEACHER AND OTHER AUTHORITY BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES - U.S. NEGRO)

	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
				4		6		8				4		6		8			
	4	6	8	L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
Do Nothing																			
Parents	6	6	5	6	5	6	8	4	6	6	6	4	8	5	7	4	6	4	7
Teacher	5	2	1	4	7	1	4	1	3	2	5	3	7	3	2	2	1	3	4
Other Authority	6	8	9	8	4	6	13	9	10	8	9	6	7	10	8	9	10	8	8
Ask Why																			
Parents	68	76	77	66	70	76	76	75	82	72	76	66	70	76	76	79	75	74	74
Teacher	63	72	77	66	58	68	78	78	77	71	70	64	63	70	73	76	79	70	71
Other Authority	66	74	80	64	67	72	76	80	80	72	74	63	69	72	75	80	81	71	75
Verbal Response																			
Parents	36	27	31	38	32	26	28	31	30	32	30	34	38	25	29	32	30	30	32
Teacher	43	43	51	44	40	43	42	52	50	46	44	41	45	40	46	46	58	42	49
Other Authority	43	37	39	45	40	40	31	38	41	41	38	41	46	31	43	35	44	36	45
Talk to Peers																			
Parents	31	34	38	29	34	32	36	36	44	32	38	32	31	36	32	42	34	36	32
Teacher	39	46	48	36	44	44	50	44	56	42	49	40	38	48	44	48	48	45	43
Other Authority	32	41	44	32	34	40	44	39	46	36	40	34	30	41	42	44	38	40	36

TABLE 7-33 (CONTINUED)

	TOTAL GRADE			SES BY GRADE						TOTAL SES		SEX BY GRADE						TOTAL SEX	
				4		6		8				4		6		8			
	4	6	8	L	H	L	H	L	H	LOW	HIGH	G	B	G	B	G	B	GIRLS	BOYS
Ask Parents to Intervene																			
Parents	40	26	25	40	40	26	26	24	26	30	32	40	39	25	28	26	26	31	31
Teacher	68	69	70	68	67	70	69	69	71	69	69	68	68	69	70	71	68	69	68
Other Authority	61	54	54	60	64	57	50	52	57	56	57	60	62	54	55	55	52	53	53
Get Even																			
Parents	26	20	18	26	27	19	22	16	22	21	24	26	28	22	18	20	17	22	21
Teacher	37	36	40	38	35	36	36	38	45	37	38	37	37	35	37	33	49	35	40
Other Authority	33	26	20	34	32	29	22	19	24	28	26	32	34	23	30	18	24	24	30

Note. Item: "If ... (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?"
Response alternatives: See list in Table 4-36, footnote.

TABLE 7-34

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "DO NOTHING" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. NEGRO)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTAL BY SEX TOTAL	TOTAL BY SEX GIRLS	TOTAL BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.13	.14	.13	.13	.04	.21	.12	.09	.17	0-2	None
	6	.13	.06	.15	.11	.16	.13	.15	.11	.14		
	8	.10	.06	.13	.10	.08	.13	.11	.07	.13		
	Total				.11			.13	.09	.15		
Teacher	4	.06	.03	.05	.04	.04	.12	.08	.03	.09	0-1	None
	6	.03	.02	.01	.01	.05	.03	.04	.03	.02		
	8	.02	.01	.00	.01	.03	.03	.03	.02	.02		
	Total				.02			.05	.03	.04		
Other Authority	4	.13	.19	.12	.15	.04	.18	.11	.11	.15	0-2	None
	6	.19	.16	.11	.13	.26	.26	.26	.21	.18		
	8	.19	.19	.13	.16	.14	.30	.22	.17	.22		
	Total				.15			.19	.16	.18		

Note. Item: If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do? Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative "I would do nothing and tell no one (I'd keep it to myself)" for Parents (Father, Mother), Teacher, Other Authority (Policeman, Government).

TABLE 7-35

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "ASK WHY" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX (U.S. NEGRO)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTAL BY SEX TOTAL	TOTAL BY SEX GIRLS	TOTAL BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	1.35	1.22	1.43	1.32	1.47	1.29	1.38	1.34	1.36	0-2	Grade (lin.)
	6	1.52	1.52	1.51	1.51	1.51	1.55	1.53	1.51	1.53		
	8	1.56	1.55	1.43	1.49	1.64	1.63	1.64	1.60	1.53		
	Total				1.44			1.52	1.48	1.47		
Teacher	4	.62	.66	.67	.66	.60	.56	.58	.63	.61	0-1	Grade (lin.)
	6	.73	.63	.73	.68	.81	.74	.78	.72	.74		
	8	.78	.77	.78	.78	.75	.80	.77	.76	.79		
	Total				.71			.71	.70	.71		
Other Authority	4	.65	.57	.72	.64	.71	.62	.66	.64	.67	0-1	Grade (lin.)
	6	.74	.70	.74	.72	.74	.77	.76	.72	.76		
	8	.81	.82	.78	.80	.75	.87	.81	.79	.82		
	Total				.72			.74	.72	.75		

Note. Item: "If (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative "I would ask why," for Parents (Father, Mother), Teacher, Other Authority (Policeman).

TABLE 7-36
COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "VERBAL RESPONSES" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	2.10	2.15	2.39	2.27	1.87	2.00	1.94	2.01	2.19	0-6	Grade(curv)
	6	1.63	1.42	1.74	1.58	1.63	1.71	1.67	1.52	1.73		
	8	1.84	1.88	1.83	1.86	2.00	1.63	1.82	1.94	1.73		
	Total				1.90			1.81	1.83	1.88		
Teacher	4	1.68	1.62	1.89	1.76	1.65	1.56	1.61	1.64	1.73	0-4	Sex
	6	1.72	1.59	1.84	1.72	1.56	1.90	1.73	1.58	1.89		
	8	2.05	1.90	2.28	2.09	1.64	2.40	2.02	1.77	2.34		
	Total				1.85			1.79	1.66	1.98		
Other Authority	4	3.02	2.99	3.36	3.17	2.69	3.03	2.86	2.84	3.19	0-7	Sex
	6	2.53	2.45	3.14	2.79	1.79	2.74	2.27	2.12	2.94		
	8	2.79	2.35	3.03	2.69	2.67	3.10	2.88	2.51	3.07		
	Total				2.89			2.67	2.49	3.07		

Note. Item: "If your . . . (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives: 1. "I would tell . . . (figure) he (she, they) was (were) unfair," for Parents (Father, Mother), Teacher, Other Authority (Policeman, Government). 2. "I would tell . . . (figure) not to do it again," for Parents (Father, Mother), Teacher, Other Authority (Policeman, Government). 3. "I would show . . . (figure) my anger," for Parents (Father, Mother), Teacher, Other Authority (Policeman, Government). 4. "I would tell other teachers or the Principal (or other Policeman) that this teacher (or this Policeman) was unfair," for Teacher and Other Authority (Policeman).

TABLE 7-37

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "TALK TO PEERS" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. NEGRO)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	1.26	1.09	1.24	1.17	1.49	1.21	1.35	1.29	1.22	0-4	None
	6	1.37	1.38	1.23	1.30	1.51	1.35	1.43	1.44	1.29		
	8	1.59	1.64	1.17	1.40	1.75	1.80	1.77	1.70	1.48		
	Total				1.29			1.52	1.48	1.33		
Teacher	4	.80	.73	.72	.72	.91	.82	.87	.82	.77	0-2	None
	6	.93	.95	.80	.88	.95	1.03	.99	.95	.91		
	8	1.00	.94	.83	.88	1.00	1.23	1.12	.97	1.03		
	Total				.83			.99	.91	.91		
Other Authority	4	1.28	1.31	1.20	1.26	1.47	1.15	1.31	1.39	1.17	0-4	Grade(lin)
	6	1.68	1.56	1.61	1.59	1.74	1.81	1.78	1.65	1.71		
	8	1.68	1.74	1.32	1.53	1.78	1.90	1.84	1.76	1.61		
	Total				1.46			1.64	1.60	1.50		

Note. Item: "If your . . (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternatives "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it," and "I would talk to my friends about it," for Parents (Mother, Father), Teacher, and Other Authority (Policeman, Government).

TABLE 7-38

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. NEGRO)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIPLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.80	.84	.76	.80	.78	.82	.80	.81	.79	0-2	Grade (lin.)
	6	.53	.52	.54	.53	.49	.58	.53	.50	.56		
	8	.51	.47	.52	.50	.58	.47	.52	.53	.49		
	Total				.61			.62	.61	.61		
Teacher	4	.68	.68	.69	.68	.69	.65	.67	.68	.67	0-1	None
	6	.69	.70	.69	.70	.67	.71	.69	.69	.70		
	8	.70	.72	.65	.68	.69	.73	.71	.71	.69		
	Total				.69			.69	.69	.69		
Other Authority	4	1.23	1.16	1.23	1.19	1.27	1.26	1.27	1.22	1.25	0-2	None
	6	1.06	1.09	1.18	1.13	1.02	.94	.98	1.06	1.06		
	8	1.09	1.05	1.03	1.04	1.19	1.07	1.13	1.12	1.05		
	Total				1.12			1.13	1.13	1.12		

Note. Item: "If your... (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative: "I would ask my mother (father) or other adult relatives to stop him (her) from doing it again," for Parents (Father, Mother), and "I would ask my parents or other adult relatives to talk to . . . (figure), " for Teacher and Other Authority (Policeman, Government).

TABLE 7-39

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON CATEGORY "GET EVEN" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHERS, AND OTHER AUTHORITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. NEGRO)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	INDEX SCALE	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Parents	4	.54	.53	.53	.53	.51	.59	.55	.52	.56	0-2	None
	6	.41	.42	.35	.39	.47	.39	.43	.44	.37		
	8	.39	.32	.35	.34	.56	.33	.44	.44	.34		
	Total				.42			.47	.47	.42		
Teacher	4	.36	.35	.41	.38	.40	.26	.33	.38	.34	0-1	None
	6	.36	.33	.38	.35	.37	.35	.36	.35	.37		
	8	.42	.32	.45	.39	.36	.57	.46	.34	.51		
	Total				.37			.39	.36	.40		
Other Authority	4	.67	.72	.64	.68	.55	.79	.67	.63	.72	0-2	Grade(lin.)
	6	.51	.50	.65	.57	.40	.48	.44	.45	.57		
	8	.43	.31	.47	.39	.44	.50	.47	.38	.48		
	Total				.55			.53	.48	.59		

Note. Item: "If your . . . (figure) did something you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?" Index: Number of "Yes" responses to alternative, "I would get even with or get back at ...(figure)," for Parents (Father, Mother), Teacher, Other Authority (Policeman, Government).

TABLE 7-40

PERCENTAGE REPORTING THEY WOULD "ASK A PARENT OR FAMILY MEMBER TO INTERVENE" IN RESPONSE TO INJUSTICE BY MOTHER, FATHER, TEACHER, POLICEMAN AND THE GOVERNMENT, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

FIGURES	GRADE	TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
I Mother	4	34	33	36	34	35
	6	23	22	23	23	23
	8	20	19	21	18	22
	TOTAL		25	27	25	27
II Father	4	48	49	47	50	46
	6	31	32	31	28	34
	8	32	32	31	35	28
	TOTAL		38	36	38	36
III Teacher	4	70	71	70	71	70
	6	70	70	70	70	70
	8	72	71	73	72	72
	TOTAL		71	71	71	71
IV Policeman	4	73	72	74	71	74
	6	71	72	70	71	70
	8	77	78	76	77	77
	TOTAL		74	73	73	74
V Government	4	55	51	59	53	57
	6	35	42	28	35	35
	8	32	27	38	36	28
	TOTAL		40	42	41	40

Note. Significant effects: (Parents) Grade; (Teacher) None; (Other authority figures) None.
Item: Number of "Yes" responses for 5 items: "If (figure) did something to you that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Alternative: "Ask parents or adult family member to stop (to talk)."

TABLE 7-41

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON ALTERNATIVES "TALK TO BROTHERS AND SISTERS" AND "TALK TO FRIENDS" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM MOTHER, FATHER, TEACHER, POLICEMAN AND GOVERNMENT, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX (U.S. NEGRO)

FIGURES	GRADE	TALK TO BROTHERS & SISTERS					TALK TO FRIENDS				
		TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX		TOTAL	SOCIAL STATUS		SEX	
			LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS		LOW	HIGH	GIRLS	BOYS
Mother	4	41	37	46	41	41	25	23	28	28	23
	6	45	47	43	48	42	26	22	30	28	24
	8	49	44	53	53	44	34	29	39	40	28
	Total		43	47	47	42		25	32	32	25
Father	4	39	39	40	39	40	24	21	26	26	21
	6	40	40	40	42	39	27	22	31	27	26
	8	49	42	55	48	50	30	28	31	32	27
	Total		40	45	43	43	27	24	29	28	25
Teacher	4	43	40	46	43	44	39	34	44	42	36
	6	42	43	42	41	43	52	46	58	54	49
	8	39	34	44	38	40	62	57	67	60	64
	Total		39	44	41	42		46	56	52	50
Policeman	4	35	37	33	39	31	26	22	31	29	24
	6	43	42	43	40	45	46	38	53	45	46
	8	47	42	51	44	49	49	48	51	47	52
	Total		40	42	41	42		36	45	40	41
Government	4	42	40	43	42	41	30	30	31	34	26
	6	37	38	36	37	37	43	41	45	43	43
	8	30	27	33	36	24	44	39	49	52	36
	Total		35	37	38	34		37	42	43	35

Note. Item: "If your. . . (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" Response Alternatives: "I would talk to my brothers and sisters about it" and "I would talk to my friends about it."

TABLE 7-42

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF "YES" RESPONSES TO VARIOUS TYPES OF VEPBAL REACTIONS TO INJUSTICE FROM FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES (MOTHER, FATHER, TEACHER, POLICEMAN, AND GOVERNMENT)
(U.S. NEGRO)

AUTHORITY FIGURES		TELL FIGURE HE WAS UNFAIR					TELL FIGURE NOT TO DO IT AGAIN					SHOW THE FIGURE MY ANGER					TELL OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES				
	GRADE	TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX	
			L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B
Mother	4	53	53	54	50	56	29	31	27	30	28	29	25	32	26	31					
	6	49	46	51	49	48	11	15	6	9	13	29	23	35	30	28					
	8	49	51	47	51	46	10	12	9	11	10	26	26	27	31	22					
	Total		50	51	50	50		19	14	17	17		25	31	29	27					
Father	4	46	49	43	44	48	29	39	19	26	32	30	35	26	31	30					
	6	42	40	44	40	43	14	16	12	6	22	20	21	20	20	21					
	8	54	53	55	60	48	16	17	16	13	20	30	32	29	31	30					
	Total		47	47	48	46		24	16	15	25		29	25	27	27					
Teacher	4	57	57	57	57	57	32	34	30	30	34	38	39	36	37	38	48	50	46	47	48
	6	62	63	61	59	65	29	31	26	21	36	41	39	42	39	42	41	39	44	39	44
	8	23	75	71	66	81	32	33	31	23	42	48	47	48	44	51	55	56	53	47	63
	Total		65	63	61	68		33	29	25	37		42	42	40	44		48	48	44	52

TABLE 7-42 (CONTINUED)

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	TELL FIGURE HE WAS UNFAIR					TELL FIGURE NOT TO DO IT AGAIN					SHOW THE FIGURE MY ANGER					TELL OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES				
		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX		TOTAL	SES		SEX	
			L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B		L	H	G	B
Policeman	4	56	59	52	50	62	31	37	26	26	36	36	35	36	38	33	63	67	60	59	68
	6	63	66	60	55	71	28	29	28	19	38	32	33	31	26	38	54	56	52	50	58
	8	78	76	79	74	82	29	29	30	18	40	38	38	36	32	42	58	54	62	54	62
	Total		67	64	60	72		32	28	21	38		35	34	32	38		59	58	54	69
Government	4	53	54	52	48	58	37	39	35	34	41	34	31	37	37	31					
	6	41	50	32	36	46	18	24	13	14	22	18	23	13	15	22					
	8	46	44	47	43	48	13	11	15	11	15	20	21	19	23	17					
	Total		49	44	42	51		25	21	20	26		25	23	25	23					

Note. Item: "If your . . . (figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust what would you do?"

TABLE 7-43

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN CHILDREN'S PERCEPTION OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY FIGURES AND THEIR CHOICES OF METHODS OF FACING AUTHORITY FIGURES' INJUSTICES, ACROSS GRADE AND SEX GROUPS
(U.S. NEGRO)

FEATURES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE						TOTAL NUMBER OF CORREL.	
	DO NOTHING	ASK WHY	VERBAL RESPONSES	TALK TO PEEPS	ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE	GET EVEN	SIGNIF.	POSSIBLE
Willing to Help	2*	3*	21	9	5	23	5*/58	324
Likable		1*/1	26	5	1*/4	29	2*/65	324
Rules Fair	6*		33	13	10	33	6*/89	324
Guilt	3*	4*	34	2	2*/3	31	9*/70	324
Power to Punish	1	5*	1*/13	3*/1	4	9	9*/28	324
Inevit. of Punishment	1*/4	1*/2	3*/3	2*/4	2*/2	3*/4	12*/19	324
Total Signif. Correl.	12*/5	14*/3	4*/130	5*/34	5*/28	3*/129		
Total Possible Correl.	324	324	324	324	324	324		

Note. Number of possible correlations for each cell comprises 54 coefficients computed for three groupings of authority figures (parents, teacher, other authority) across six sampling divisions (two sex groups by three grade levels) (3X3X6).
*Indicates positive relationship.

TABLE 7-44

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN CATEGORIES OF RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES AND CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. NEGRO)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	BOYS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	BOYS
Do Nothing:									
Parents	4	.06	-.03	.05	-.00	.04	-.02	.07	.04
	6	.06	.06	.03	.07	.03	-.10	-.05	-.18
	8	.05	-.09	.07	-.16	-.16	.10	-.12	.18
Teacher	4	.02	.20*	.04	.28*	-.08	-.20*	-.08	-.24*
	6	.13	.09	.12	.10	.04	-.01	-.06	-.07
	8	.10	.06	.09	-.13	-.06	-.01	-.07	.04
Other Authority	4	-.04	.20*	.04	.17	.05	-.11	.03	-.14
	6	.06	.05	.06	.01	.06	.06	.01	-.00
	8	-.08	-.00	-.22*	-.05	.13	.19	.11	.21*
Ask Why:									
Parents	4	.05	.12	.16	.02	-.05	.10	-.10	.02
	6	.06	-.04	.16	-.07	-.20*	.03	-.21*	.08
	8	.08	-.00	.09	.11	.03	.07	.01	-.03
Teacher	4	.05	-.03	.11	-.08	-.13	.12	-.19*	.10
	6	-.05	-.19*	-.04	-.15	-.01	.16	.02	.27*
	8	.14	.06	.14	.02	-.16	.11	-.16	.06
Other Authority	4	.08	-.01	.14	-.11	.03	.02	-.04	.03
	6	-.03	-.08	-.03	-.04	-.17	.07	-.11	.16
	8	-.01	-.04	.13	.04	-.16	.14	-.14	.07

TABLE 7-44 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS
Verbal Responses:									
Parents	4	-.07	-.03	-.04	-.09	-.01	.20*	-.02	.09
	6	-.08	-.24*	-.07	-.19*	-.00	.14	.04	.24*
	8	-.22*	-.41*	-.27*	-.24*	.28*	.35*	.33*	.27*
Teacher	4	-.04	-.11	-.01	-.08	.14	.13	.15	.10
	6	-.12	-.14	-.15	-.19*	.10	.24*	.23*	.39*
	8	-.30*	-.28*	.31*	-.17	.30*	.26*	.39*	.25*
Other Authority	4	.04	.03	.02	-.01	.10	.06	.11	-.02
	6	-.06	-.21*	-.14	-.14	.16	.14	.21*	.25*
	8	-.18	-.34*	-.02	-.17	.14	.31*	.15	.23
Talk to Peers:									
Parents	4	-.05	-.12	-.03	-.19*	.05	.02	.06	.05
	6	-.01	-.03	.00	.09	.06	.12	.08	.18
	8	.21*	-.06	.21*	-.16	-.14	.22*	-.12	.24*
Teacher	4	.04	-.11	.08	-.16	.03	.09	-.05	.10
	6	.07	.06	.06	.09	.02	.05	.10	.18
	8	.05	.03	.06	-.17	-.11	-.04	-.05	-.00
Other Authority	4	.11	-.13	.15	-.19*	.01	.05	-.02	.12
	6	.08	.09	.05	.10	.06	-.06	.12	.05
	8	.13	-.01	.08	.02	-.12	-.01	-.11	-.02

TABLE 7-44 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES: POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS	NEGATIAVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS GIRLS	NEGATIAVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS BOYS	NEGATIAVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER GIRLS	NEGATIAVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER BOYS
Ask Parents to Talk or Stop:									
Parents	4	-.13	-.03	-.10	-.09	.09	.09	.12	.07
	6	.09	-.26*	.11	-.18	-.06	.20*	-.06	.26*
	8	-.12	-.32*	-.07	-.15	.21*	.18	.19*	.18
Teacher	4	-.13	-.03	-.10	-.09	.00	.09	.12	.07
	6	.10	.05	.08	.01	-.09	.09	-.08	.15
	8	.19*	-.25*	.13	-.04	-.12	.13	-.16	.19
Other Authority	4	.10	-.14	.03	-.06	-.00	.09	-.03	.02
	6	-.01	-.20*	-.00	-.04	.00	.14	-.02	.16
	8	.02	-.16	.24*	.00	-.02	-.01	-.10	-.02
Get Even:									
Parents	4	.02	.04	-.03	.00	.06	.16	.06	.05
	6	-.12	-.21*	-.18	-.14	.13	.18	.19*	.27*
	8	-.24*	-.25*	-.32*	-.25*	.40*	.27*	.47*	.21*
Teacher	4	.04	-.08	.02	-.10	.13	.25*	.15	.18
	6	-.26*	-.12	-.30*	-.18	.34*	.22*	.38*	.29*
	8	-.29*	-.35*	-.25*	-.33*	.36*	.35*	.43*	.35*
Other Authority	4	.03	-.13	.03	-.07	.07	.19*	.07	.17
	6	-.13	-.17	-.18	-.13	.20*	.32*	.23*	.34*
	8	-.20*	-.25*	-.16	-.20	.28*	.20	.32*	.16

Note. * Indicates significant correlation

B5. Participation in Authority Systems

An integral part of the socialization process is encouraging the child to become interested and actively participate in the decision-making processes of the society. In this section, the results of questions designed to assess children's perception of themselves as active members of the political system, family, and school and the extent of their actual involvement in these systems' functioning will be discussed.

a. Participation in the Political System

Although participation in the political life of the country does not in childhood take the forms typical of adult citizens, there is evidence that elementary school children relate to the political structure. Through direct and indirect contact with political activities, such as seeing the President on television, and modelling by authority figures, particularly parents, children become interested in the political life of the country and gain an idea of how effective they can be in influencing governmental decision-making processes. Certain items on the questionnaire were designed to assess the development of children's political interest and their feelings about the efficacy citizens (such as their parents) may have with respect to political authority.

Political interest. U. S. Negro children's responses to the question on political interest are presented in Table 7-45. The level of means falls in the category "much." Responses did not vary significantly by grade, sex, or social status. However, across all status and grade groups, except low status fourth graders, girls reported more interest in political affairs than did boys. Also, political interest rose with age for high status boys but declined for their low status counterparts. It is apparent from these data that U. S. Negro children differed from U. S. Caucasians in their reports of political interest. Perhaps this is related to differences in the SES composition of the two samples.

Political efficacy. Two questions were asked to determine children's sense of their parents' efficacy in political affairs. One asked how much influence the child's family could have on what happens in the country and how it is run; the other asked whether, in the child's view, the people who run the country were interested in his family's opinions. Responses to these questions, ranging from 1 ("No, not at all") to 6("Yes, very very

much") were combined into one index. Data concerning the U. S. Negro children's sense of their families' political efficacy are shown in Table 7-45. The level of means is in the category of "Yes, a little."

These data also showed no significant variations by grade, sex, or SES. The decline with age observed in low status boys' political interest was paralleled by an analogous decline with age in their sense of family political efficacy. Perhaps as the low status boys grow older they see their family as less effective in influencing the government and thus lose interest in political issues. Sense of family's political efficacy remains stable with age for high status boys. It is also evident from the data that high status children have somewhat higher feelings of political efficacy than do low status children.

Political activity. A political activity score was computed by combining the frequency of "Yes" responses to four questions about children's participation in activities such as reading and talking about politics and the people who run the government, wearing campaign buttons, marching in parades, etc. (see Table 7-47). Across all grades there were no significant differences in the level of activity by grade, social status, or sex. There was an increase in the frequency of political activity across grades, but it was not statistically significant. Within the group of low status children there is a sex difference; across all grades, boys report more political activity than do girls. This finding is also evident when the total scores for girls and boys are compared. Table 7-48 shows that this sex difference was true for reading newspapers and participating in political campaigns but not for talking with parents.

Intercorrelations among the three aspects of political involvement are presented in Table 7-50. These correlations are not consistent across grade-sex groups. Political activity and political interest correlated significantly (and positively) only for fourth and eighth grade girls. Correlations between political efficacy and political activity were significant only for fourth grade boys, while political efficacy and political interest correlated significantly only for eighth grade girls. When the total sample is considered, it appears that the U. S. Negro children's involvement in political activities is not determined by their belief in their families' ability to affect the political system, but rather by their political interest, which was found to be closely related to children's high regard for positive dimensions of authority figures. Indeed, data presented in Table 7-49 indicate

that, of the three measures of political socialization, political interest correlates most consistently with positive as well as punitive dimensions of children's images of authority figures. Perception of authority figures as likable and their rules as fair was in a more consistent, positive correspondence with children's political interest than was regard for the figures' helpfulness, power to punish, and punitive behavior. The same was true for children's sense of their families' political efficacy. Guilt over violation of the figures' rules corresponded even more closely with children's interest in political affairs, their sense of family's political efficacy, and their involvement in political activities. For the U. S. Negro sample, only perception of the punitive dimensions of authority figures yielded negative correlations with measures of political interest, efficacy, and activity. This finding is in contrast with findings in other national groups in the total study (e.g., Greece), where political activity correlated negatively with positive as well as punitive dimensions of authority figures.

For the U. S. Negro sample, the positive correspondence between measures of children's political involvement and their evaluations of positive dimensions of authority figures was more consistent for girls than for boys, particularly in sixth and eighth grades. Eighth grade girls had the most systematic series of significant positive correlations across all dimensions of authority figures with all three measures of political socialization.

Political socialization and classroom behavior. Of the three measures of political socialization, political interest was found to be most closely related to classroom behavior. This was true for girls, particularly at the eighth grade, but there were no significant correlations for boys. Thus, it would appear that girls, especially the older ones, who show an interest in political issues are likely to be children who follow the rules and norms of the classroom. The other measures of political participation, i.e., children's sense of their families' political efficacy and children's political activity, were not significantly related to peer ratings of compliant and noncompliant classroom behavior (see Table 7-51).

Summary. The responses of U. S. Negro children to the three measures of political socialization indicate that their political interest is quite strong, their sense of political efficacy of their families rather low, and their involvement in political activities quite frequent. None of the three measures showed significant differences by grade, sex, or SES.

The distribution of significant correlations among the three measures by grade and sex groups was uneven. In general these correlations suggest that, for U. S. Negro children, involvement in political activities is not determined by their feelings regarding the political efficacy of their families but by their political interest. Political interest, and to a lesser extent, political efficacy and activity were directly and significantly associated with these children's perception of authority figures as likable and providing fair rules and with their tendency to experience guilt over noncompliance with the rules and expectations of authority figures. The association of the three measures of political socialization with regard for the figures' helpfulness, power to punish, and actual punitive behavior was less often significant.

Of the three measures of political socialization, only political interest showed significant relationships with peer nomination indices of classroom behavior. The association indicated that eighth grade girls with a strong political interest were likely to display cooperative behavior in the classroom; no significant correlations were found for boys, however.

TABLE 7 - 45

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON POLITICAL INTEREST, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	4.44	4.12	4.65	4.39	4.13	4.20	4.54	4.3[illegible]	4.54
SIX	4.63	5.00	4.41	4.71	4.03	4.29	4.49	4.[illegible]	4.[illegible]
EIGHT	4.46	4.49	4.33	4.42	4.50	4.47	4.53	4.[illegible]	4.[illegible]
TOTALS				4.50			4.52	4.[illegible]	4.43

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: NONE. ITEM: "HOW MUCH ARE YOU INTERESTED IN READING OR TALKING ABOUT OUR COUNTRY AND THE PEOPLE AND RUN IT? FOR EXAMPLE, HOW MUCH DO YOU CARE ABOUT WHAT THEY DO AND [illegible] OUR COUNTRY IS RUN?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NOT AT ALL; 6 - VERY, VERY MUCH

TABLE 7 - 46

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON FEELINGS OF POLITICAL EFFICACY,
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX	
		GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
FOUR	2.75	2.59	2.86	2.73	2.69	2.94	2.78	2.63	2.88
SIX	2.74	2.65	2.69	2.67	2.92	2.77	2.86	2.76	2.72
EIGHT	2.51	2.27	2.57	2.40	2.64	2.87	2.74	2.39	2.67
TOTALS				2.60			2.79	2.59	2.76

NOTE.-SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS: NONE. INDEX BASED ON COMBINATION OF 2 ITEMS: "COULD YOUR FAMILY HAVE ANY PART IN WHAT HAPPENS IN OUR COUNTRY AND HOW IT IS RUN?" AND "DO THE PEOPLE WHO RUN OUR COUNTRY CARE WHAT YOUR FAMILY THINKS?" ITEM SCALE: 1 - NO, NOT AT ALL; 6 - YES, VERY, VERY MUCH

TABLE 7-47

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON POLITICAL ACTIVITY,
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTALS BY SEX TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS
Four	3.03	2.81	3.05	2.93	3.09	3.15	3.12	2.95	3.10
Six	3.04	3.05	3.36	3.21	2.88	2.87	2.88	2.97	3.12
Eight	3.29	3.13	3.32	3.22	3.42	3.30	3.36	3.27	3.31
Totals				3.12			3.12	3.06	3.18

Note. Significant Effects: None. Index: No. of "Yes" responses for 4 items: "I have read, talked, worn a button, done other things". Index Scale: 0-1.

TABLE 7-48

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES CITING VARIOUS TYPES OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

TYPES OF POLITICAL ACTIVITY	GRADE	TOTALS	SOCIAL STATUS LOW	SOCIAL STATUS HIGH	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS
Read Newspaper	4	66	66	65	60	71
	6	77	79	75	74	80
	8	79	76	81	80	78
	Totals		72	74	71	79
Talk with Parents	4	58	50	66	59	57
	6	62	65	58	67	56
	8	62	62	62	63	61
	Totals		59	62	63	58
Political Activity	4	47	42	51	48	45
	6	45	52	38	40	50
	8	61	61	61	59	62
	Totals		52	50	49	52
Advanced Pol. Activity	4	34	35	33	28	40
	6	22	25	20	16	29
	8	27	23	32	25	29
	Totals		28	24	23	33

TABLE 7-49

DISTRIBUTION OF SIGNIFICANT COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN THREE MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND CHILDREN'S PERCEPTIONS OF VARIOUS DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES BY SEX ACROSS ALL GRADES
(U.S. NEGRO)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION: POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Wants to Help									
Father				1	1			1	1
Mother	2		2	1	1		1		1
Teacher	2	1	3	1	1		1		1
President	1	1	2						
Policeman							1	1	2
Relig. Leader		1	1						
Total Signif. Correl.	5	3	8	0	3	3	3	2	5
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36
Likable									
Father	2	1	3	1		1	2		2
Mother	1		1				2		2
Teacher	1	2	3	1		1			
Policeman	2	2	4	2	2	4			
President	3	2	5	1		1			
Total Signif. Correl.	9	7	16	5	2	7	4	0	4
Total Possible Correl.	15	15	30	15	15	30	15	15	30

TABLE 7-49 (CONTINUED)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Rules Fair									
Father	2		2	1		1	1		1
Mother	1		1				1		1
Teacher	2	1	3	1		1			
Government	1	1	2		1	1			
Policeman	1	1	2	1		1			
City	3	1	4						
Total Signif. Correl.	10	4	14	3	1	4	2	0	2
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36
Guilt									
Father	2	1	3	1		1			
Mother	3	1	4	1		1	2		2
Teacher	3	3	6	2	2	4	1	1	2
Religion	3	3	6	1		1	1		1
Government	3	2	5	1		1	1		1
City	3	3	6	1	1	2			
Policeman	3	3	3	1	1	2			
Total Signif. Correl.	20	16	33	8	4	12	5	1	6
Total Possible Correl.	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42

TABLE 7-49 (CONTINUED)

DIMENSIONS OF AUTHORITY FIGURES	MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION								
	POLITICAL INTEREST			POLITICAL EFFICACY			POLITICAL ACTIVITY		
	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL
Power to Punish									
Father				1*		1*			
Mother				1	1	2			
Teacher	1	1	2						
Policeman				1		1			
President		2	2						
Judge							1*/1	1*/1	
Relig. Leader	1		1	1		1			
Total Signif. Correl.	0*/2	0*/3	0*/5	1*/3	0*/1	1*/4	0*/0*	1*/1	1*/1
Total Possible Correl.	21	21	42	21	21	42	21	21	42
Inevitability of Punishment									
Father	1*/1	1	1*/2	1		1			
Mother		1	1				1		1
Teacher	1		1				1	1	2
City	1		1						
Government	1	1	2		1	1	1		1
Policeman		1	1				1		1
Total Signif. Correl.	1*/4	4/0	1*/8	0*/1	0*/1	0*/2	0*/4	0*/1	0*/5
Total Possible Correl.	18	18	36	18	18	36	18	18	36

Note. * Indicates negative relationship

TABLE 7-50

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG THREE MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. NEGRO)

MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION	GRADE FOUR GIRLS	GRADE FOUR BOYS	GRADE SIX GIRLS	GRADE SIX BOYS	GRADE EIGHT GIRLS	GRADE EIGHT BOYS
			Political Activity			
Political Interest	.21*	.04	.16	.14	.30*	.11
Political Efficacy	-.01	.33*	.14	.10	.16	.08
			Political Efficacy			
Political Interest	.06	.11	.05	.15	.29*	.14

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

TABLE 7-51

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY SEX AND GRADE GROUPS (U.S. NEGRO)

MEASURES OF SOCIALIZATION	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR				NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR			
		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER		TO PEERS		TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
Political Efficacy	4	-.13	-.05	-.04	-.05	.09	.04	.12	.10
	6	.07	-.08	.10	-.08	.00	.12	.06	.14
	8	.08	.15	.12	.16	-.10	-.12	-.16	-.16
Political Interest	4	.04	.00	.03	-.07	-.19*	-.15	-.16*	-.11
	6	.11	.14	.18	.08	-.23*	-.08	-.32*	-.06
	8	.23*	.04	.20*	.18	.17	-.16	-.23*	-.17
Political Activity	4	.09	-.08	.11	-.05	-.16	.18	-.22*	.17
	6	.02	-.09	.10	-.12	-.15	.07	-.05	.10
	8	-.07	.13	.01	.20*	.04	-.01	.06	-.06

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

b. Participation in Family and Classroom Decision-making

If actual participation in decision-making processes within one system of society helps build up an individual's social competence and his sense of effectiveness in making decisions affecting himself and the system's functioning, the child's views about involvement in the political system and his actual political activity should be related to his sense of participation in decision-making processes in the family and the classroom. To assess children's feelings about their participation in family and classroom decision-making processes, two questions of parallel format were asked: "How often do you help make decisions in your family (or classroom)?" Responses ranged from 1 ("Never") to 6 ("Always"). Tables 7-52 and 7-53 present the U.S. Negro data on these questions.

U. S. Negro children (as the U. S. Caucasians) feel they participate somewhat more often in making decisions in the family than in the classroom group. For both items the means were in the scale level of "sometimes." The means for both items remained stable with age, a finding which was also true for U. S. Caucasians. For U. S. Negro children (unlike the U. S. Caucasians whose means on both items varied by SES, with high status children feeling more efficacious in both situations than their low status counterparts), there were no significant social status or sex differences in the level of responses to either question. However, across all grades, low status girls appeared to feel more efficacious within the family than did boys. Sex differences within the high status group followed a different pattern with grade; boys of fourth and sixth grade had slightly higher means than girls, while at eighth grade the relationship was reversed, girls having a substantially higher mean than boys (see Table 7-52).

With respect to participation in classroom decision-making processes, some sex and SES differences are also worth noting. In fourth and eighth grades, girls of both social status groups had substantially higher means than boys, the relationship being reversed in sixth grade. Similarly, high status fourth and eighth graders had substantially higher means than their low status agemates, while by sixth grade the relationship was reversed (see Table 7-53). Perhaps the reversal in direction of SES differences in sixth grade is due to chance; it may also follow from sampling inadequacies at this particular grade level. If this inconsistency of SES variations by grade is actually due to sampling inadequacies, perhaps

the SES differences found in fourth and eighth grade should be taken into consideration, since their direction is congruent with data concerning the U. S. Caucasian sample.

Relationship between sense of participation in decision-making at home and school and political interest, efficacy, and activity. As shown in Table 7-54, children's sense of personal efficacy in decision-making within the family correlates positively with their sense of personal efficacy in classroom decision-making processes. Correlations were significant for girls at all grade levels and for sixth grade boys. Children's sense of personal efficacy in the family also correlated positively with their sense of family's political efficacy. However, the correlations were significant across all grades only for boys. The relationships between children's sense of personal efficacy within the family and their political interest and activity were less consistent. The total pattern of correlations between U. S. Negro children's sense of personal efficacy in the family and their responses to the three measures of political socialization was congruent with the corresponding findings for the U. S. Caucasian sample.

U. S. Negro children's sense of personal efficacy in classroom decision-making processes was in significant direct correspondence with the measures of political participation only at eighth grade (see Table 7-54). A sense of personal efficacy in the classroom was in significant positive correspondence with a sense of the family's political efficacy and with involvement in political activities for both boys and girls at the eighth grade. The correlation between children's sense of personal efficacy in the classroom and their political interest was significant only for girls at the eighth grade.

Relationships between sense of personal efficacy in family and classroom decision-making processes and peer ratings of classroom behavior. There was little correspondence between these two sets of variables (see Table 7-55). Sense of participation in classroom decision-making appeared to be somewhat more consistently related to peer ratings of classroom behavior, with the relationship being in the expected direction. The existing significant correlations suggest that children who feel more efficacious in the classroom tend to be rated by their peers as followers of the classroom standards and norms. However, there were very few significant correlations to allow any generalizations from these data.

Summary. U. S. Negro children reported somewhat more frequent participation in making decisions in their families than in their classroom groups. This sense of personal efficacy in both social settings showed no significant variations by grade sex or SES. Responses to the two items were positively and significantly associated for girls at all grade levels and for sixth grade boys.

Children's sense of personal efficacy in the family and the classroom correlated positively with the three measures of political socialization; however, the number of significant correlations varied depending on the item pairs and the sampling subgroups.

Correlations between the two measures of personal participation in family and classroom decision-making processes on the one hand and peer nomination indices of classroom behavior on the other were rarely significant and formed no patterns that would allow any conclusions about the nature of the relationship.

TABLE 7-52

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING IN THE FAMILY, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX		
GRADE	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	3.51	3.88	3.29	3.58	3.28	3.50	3.44	3.63	3.40
Six	3.22	3.45	3.06	3.25	3.16	3.23	3.19	3.30	3.14
Eight	3.32	3.30	3.25	3.28	3.58	3.13	3.36	3.44	3.19
Totals				3.37			3.33	3.46	3.24

Note. Significant effects: None. Item: "How often do you help make the decisions in your family?" Item scale: 1-Never; 6-Always.

TABLE 7-53

COMPARISON OF MEANS ON PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING IN THE CLASSROOM, BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

	LOW STATUS			HIGH STATUS			TOTALS BY SEX		
GRADE	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS	TOTAL	GIRLS	BOYS
Four	3.04	3.25	2.61	2.92	3.47	2.79	3.23	3.35	2.67
Six	2.93	2.89	3.18	3.04	2.77	2.63	2.71	2.84	3.02
Eight	2.94	2.92	2.55	2.76	3.39	3.20	3.30	3.07	2.77
Totals				2.91			3.08	3.10	2.82

Note. Significant Effects: None. Item: "How often do you help make the decisions in your classroom?" Item Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

TABLE 7-54

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG VARIOUS MEASURES OF INVOLVEMENT IN AUTHORITY SYSTEMS, BY GRADE AND SEX GROUPS (U.S. NEGRO)

MEASURES OF PARTICIPATION IN AUTHORITY SYSTEMS	GRADE FOUR		GRADE SIX		GRADE EIGHT	
	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
	Family Decision-Making					
Classroom Decision Making	.23*	.16	.19*	.27*	.22*	.16
Political Efficacy	.02	.27*	.15	.22*	.12	.20*
Political Interest	.09	-.04	.17	.24*	.21*	.09
Political Activity	.17	.04	-.07	.02	.26*	.11
	Classroom Decision-Making					
Political Efficacy	.14	.12	.08	.15	.27*	.39*
Political Interest	.06	-.05	.04	-.06	.22*	.14
Political Activity	.08	.01	.01	-.01	.27*	.22*

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

TABLE 7-55

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN SENSE OF PARTICIPATION IN FAMILY AND CLASSROOM DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES AND PEER RATINGS OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR, BY SEX AND GRADE GROUPS (U.S. NEGRO)

SENSE OF PERSONAL PARTICIPATION IN DECISION MAKING	GRADE	PEER NOMINATION INDICES							
		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS		POSITIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER		NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO PEERS		NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR TO TEACHER	
		GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS	GIRLS	BOYS
In the Family	4	-.15	.00	-.14	.03	.01	.00	.08	.02
	6	-.08	.07	-.10	.15	.11	-.06	.06	-.19*
	8	.05	-.13	.01	-.02	.03	-.02	.03	-.02
In the Classroom	4	-.01	.15	.10	.24*	.12	-.10	.17	.11
	6	.23*	-.02	.22*	.02	-.13	.03	-.09	.00
	8	.04	.18	.10	.07	-.02	-.11	-.10	-.13

Note. *Indicates significant correlation

C. Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom

This section summarizes data obtained through a sociometric technique, the Peer Nomination Inventory (PNI), adapted to yield scores for compliant and noncompliant behavior toward classroom peers and the teacher. A description of the PNI items and the procedures used to collect, process, and analyze the data may be found in Part A of this report. Peer ratings of classroom behavior were used to assess the extent to which variations by sampling divisions in children's reported images of and attitudes toward authority figures and peers (as measured by the YIAPR questionnaire) are associated with variations in their overt compliant and noncompliant behavior within a central authority system, the classroom.

C1. Compliance and Noncompliance in the Classroom

Over all sampling divisions the amounts of compliant and noncompliant behavior displayed by U. S. Negro children in their classrooms (as these amounts are indicated by their total positive and total negative PNI scores) were approximately equal. However, these children's compliant behavior appeared to be more frequently directed toward peers than toward the teacher; this difference increased with increase in age (see Table 7-56). In contrast, a small difference at grade four in amount of noncompliant behavior directed toward peers vs. toward the teacher (with the former exceeding the latter), disappeared as children grew older (see Table 7-57).

The principal independent variables of the study--grade, sex, and SES-- affected PNI scores for U. S. Negro children in several ways. The total score for compliant behavior increased linearly with grade. However, this increase of compliant behavior with age was almost entirely accounted for by the peer-to-peer set score; no significant changes with age were apparent in the set scores for peer-to-teacher compliant behavior (see Table 7-56).

Sex and SES affected all three scores for compliant behavior, with girls outnumbering boys, and high status children outnumbering those of low status in nominations for compliant behavior in total and toward peers and the teacher (see Table 7-56).

Scores for noncompliant behavior showed less marked differences by grade. No grade effects were significant for the two set scores (peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher), while the total score for noncompliant behavior changed curvilinearly with age, decreasing from grade four to six and increasing again at grade eight (see Table 7-57). Also, while no significant SES differences affected any of the three negative PNI scores, the sex of children was a significant differentiating factor for the total and the set scores, and the direction of the sex differences was congruent with that observed on the three positive PNI scores. That is, boys consistently and significantly outnumbered girls in number of nominations received for their noncompliant behavior as a total and toward peers and the teacher (see Table 7-57). Therefore, the sex differences on all six PNI scores indicate that the orientation toward compliance with both peers and the teacher is more pronounced among girls than among boys, while the orientation toward noncompliance is more pronounced among boys than among girls.

When the PNI scores of U. S. Negro children are compared to those of U. S. Caucasians several interesting features emerge. First, for U. S. Caucasian children, compliant behavior was on the average more frequent than noncompliant behavior; for U. S. Negro children, no substantial differences were observed between total PNI scores for compliant and noncompliant behavior. On the other hand, for both research groups, peer-to-peer positive scores were higher than peer-to-teacher positive scores. A significant increase with age for only the peer-to-peer positive scores for U. S. Negroes accounted for an increase with age in the magnitude of difference between peer-to-peer and peer-to-teacher positive scores; although peer-to-peer positive scores increased also for U. S. Caucasians between grades four and eight (after a slight decrease at grade six), the increase was not significant.

Significant sex differences on all six PNI scores were observed for both U. S. research groups. That is, both U. S. Caucasian and U. S. Negro boys consistently and significantly outnumbered girls in number of nominations received for noncompliant behavior toward both peers and teachers, and more girls than boys were nominated for compliant behavior toward both. The finding confirms the assertion of previous independent research that in U. S. society compliance is encouraged and becomes a characteristic of girls' behavior, while aggressive behavior is more pronounced among boys (Kagan, 1964).

With respect to SES differences, the two U. S. research groups differed somewhat. For U. S. Negroes social status significantly differentiated the amount of compliant behavior displayed in the classroom (with high status children receiving more nominations for compliance with both peers and the teacher), but had no significant effects on scores for noncompliant behavior; for U. S. Caucasians, SES did not significantly affect scores for compliant behavior; it did, however, significantly differentiate scores for noncompliant behavior, with low status children receiving more nominations than their high status counterparts for noncompliance with both peers and teacher. The reasons for this difference are not immediately apparent. However, SES trends for the two research groups were congruent; low status position was associated with a higher frequency of noncompliance among U. S. Caucasian children and with a less-pronounced incidence of compliance among U. S. Negro children. For both research groups sex differences were much more pronounced than SES differences.

Relationships between PNI set scores. As could be expected, the relationship among PNI positive scores as well as among PNI negative scores was positive and highly significant for all divisions of the sample (see Tables 7-58 and 7-59). Also, correlations between positive and negative scores were negative and, although not as high as the correlations within the categories of positive and negative ratings, all significant (see Table 7-60). These data suggest that for U. S. Negroes, as for U. S. Caucasians, the behavioral descriptions included in the PNI instrument to measure the amount of incidence of compliance and noncompliance within the classroom setting were reliably contrasted in children's behavior and/or the raters' judgments about their peers.

TABLE 7-56

COMPARISON OF GRADES, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX ON SCORES FOR COMPLIANT BEHAVIOR
(U.S. NEGRO)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	LOW STATUS TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	TOTALS BY SEX TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Total	4	28.49	29.88	23.03	26.45	36.05	25.00	30.53	32.97	24.01	Sex, SES
	6	30.29	31.81	25.58	28.70	37.98	25.77	31.88	34.89	25.68	Grade
	8	33.18	36.94	26.95	31.94	38.83	30.00	34.42	37.88	28.47	
	Total				29.03			32.27	35.25	26.06	
Peer-to-Peer	4	29.05	31.66	23.11	27.38	37.07	24.35	30.71	34.37	23.73	Sex, SES
	6	33.13	34.27	28.45	31.36	39.47	30.35	34.91	36.87	29.40	Grade
	8	37.10	39.74	30.75	35.25	41.36	36.53	38.95	40.55	33.64	
	Total				31.33			34.86	37.26	28.92	
Peer-to-Teacher	4	27.68	27.99	23.00	25.49	35.04	25.50	30.27	31.51	24.25	Sex, SES
	6	27.34	29.33	22.57	25.95	36.30	21.16	28.73	32.82	21.86	
	8	29.35	34.24	23.17	26.71	36.42	23.57	29.99	35.33	23.37	
	Total				26.72			29.66	33.22	23.16	

TABLE 7-57

COMPARISON OF GRADES, SOCIAL STATUS AND SEX ON SCORES FOR NONCOMPLIANT BEHAVIOR
(U.S. NEGRO)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	TOTAL	LOW STATUS GIRLS	LOW STATUS BOYS	LOW STATUS TOTAL	HIGH STATUS GIRLS	HIGH STATUS BOYS	HIGH STATUS TOTAL	TOTALS BY SEX GIRLS	TOTALS BY SEX BOYS	SIGNIF. EFFECTS
Total	4	33.82	26.95	41.80	34.37	25.18	41.35	33.27	26.06	41.58	Sex, Grade
	6	28.33	25.22	32.50	28.86	22.42	33.19	27.81	23.82	32.85	(Curve)
	8	31.40	24.68	35.93	30.31	26.42	38.57	32.49	25.55	37.25	
	Total				31.18			31.19	25.14	37.22	
Peer-to-Peer	4	35.99	29.36	44.04	36.70	27.04	43.53	35.28	28.20	43.78	Sex
	6	29.10	27.20	32.51	29.86	24.84	31.84	28.34	26.02	32.18	
	8	30.70	26.46	33.82	30.14	27.50	35.03	31.27	26.98	34.42	
	Total				32.23			31.63	27.07	36.80	
Peer-to-Teacher	4	31.69	24.66	39.65	32.16	23.31	39.12	31.21	23.99	39.39	Sex
	6	27.59	23.25	32.53	27.89	19.98	34.61	27.29	21.61	33.57	
	8	32.04	22.82	20.30	30.37	25.28	42.13	33.71	24.05	40.02	
	Total				30.14			30.74	23.22	37.66	

TABLE 7-58

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMONG RATINGS OF POSITIVE BEHAVIOR,
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

PNI SCORES / SEX / SES	GRADE	TOTAL POSITIVE GIRLS LOW	TOTAL POSITIVE GIRLS HIGH	TOTAL POSITIVE BOYS LOW	TOTAL POSITIVE BOYS HIGH	PEER-TO-PEER POSITIVE GIRLS LOW	PEER-TO-PEER POSITIVE GIRLS HIGH	PEER-TO-PEER POSITIVE BOYS LOW	PEER-TO-PEER POSITIVE BOYS HIGH
Peer-to-Peer Positive	4	.96	.96	.96	.94	.85	.85	.80	.74
	6	.97	.98	.95	.93	.89	.93	.81	.72
	8	.95	.88	.93	.93	.81	.52	.73	.68
Peer-to-Teacher Positive	4	.96	.96	.94	.93				
	6	.97	.98	.95	.92				
	8	.95	.87	.93	.91				

TABLE 7-59

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS AMONG RATINGS OF NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR,
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

PNI SCORES / SEX / SES	GRADE	TOTAL POSITIVE GIRLS LOW	TOTAL POSITIVE GIRLS HIGH	TOTAL POSITIVE BOYS LOW	TOTAL POSITIVE BOYS HIGH	PEER-TO-PEER POSITIVE GIRLS LOW	PEER-TO-PEER POSITIVE GIRLS HIGH	PEER-TO-PEER POSITIVE BOYS LOW	PEER-TO-PEER POSITIVE BOYS HIGH
Peer-to-Peer Positive	4	.97	.95	.97	.96	.91	.84	.91	.87
	6	.96	.93	.96	.95	.89	.81	.89	.86
	8	.96	.98	.97	.95	.87	.93	.92	.88
Peer-to-Teacher Positive	4	.98	.97	.98	.97				
	6	.98	.97	.98	.98				
	8	.98	.98	.99	.98				

TABLE 7-60

CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS BETWEEN RATINGS OF POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE BEHAVIOR
BY GRADE, SOCIAL STATUS, AND SEX
(U.S. NEGRO)

PNI SCORES	GRADE	PEER-TO-PEER NEGATIVE				PEER-TO-TEACHER NEGATIVE				TOTAL NEGATIVE			
SEX:		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS		GIRLS		BOYS	
SES:		LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH	LOW	HIGH
Peer-to-Peer Positive	4	-.31	-.43	-.53	-.57	-.45	-.62	-.62	-.72	-.40	-.56	-.59	-.67
	6	-.42	-.57	-.54	-.55	-.48	-.64	-.61	-.54	-.47	-.64	-.60	-.56
	8	-.65	-.63	-.65	-.65	-.75	-.65	-.75	-.64	-.73	-.65	-.72	-.66
Peer-to-Teacher Positive	4	-.16	-.41	-.40	-.41	-.37	-.59	-.50	-.59	-.28	-.53	-.47	-.52
	6	-.41	-.59	-.38	-.49	-.56	-.64	-.54	-.64	-.51	-.65	-.49	-.60
	8	-.58	-.55	-.61	-.61	-.74	-.68	-.67	-.80	-.70	-.63	-.66	-.75
Total Positive	4	-.25	-.44	-.49	-.53	-.43	-.63	-.60	-.70	-.36	-.56	-.56	-.64
	6	-.43	-.59	-.49	-.56	-.54	-.65	-.60	-.63	-.51	-.66	-.57	-.62
	8	-.65	-.67	-.68	-.68	-.78	-.76	-.77	-.78	-.75	-.73	-.75	-.77

C2. Summary of Relationships Between Questionnaire Variables and Peer Ratings of Compliant and Noncompliant Classroom Behavior

For U. S. Negro children (as for U. S. Caucasians) the association between PNI scores denoting the quality of their classroom conduct and the various sets of questionnaire items denoting their images of and attitudes toward authority figures varied depending on both the questionnaire items considered and divisions of the sample. For none of the sets of questionnaire variables was the association with peer ratings of classroom behavior significant across all grade and sex groups or for all figures considered.

For the U. S. Negro group viewed as a total, perception of authority figures as willing to help and providing fair rules, affective attachment to authority figures, and guilt over undetected violation of their rules were substantially more often in significant (positive) association with peer nomination scores of compliant behavior at school (and/or in negative association with scores of noncompliant behavior) than was regard for the figures' punitive characteristics. That is, children pointed out by their classmates for their compliance with the standards of the classroom tended to be those who perceived authority figures as likable, willing to help, and providing fair rules and those who reported relatively intense feelings of guilt over undetected violation of rules of authority figures. In contrast, regard for the power of authority figures to punish noncompliance, expectations of punishment as an inevitable consequence of disobedience of the figures' rules, and beliefs that authority figures will reinforce the disciplinary acts of one another yielded very few significant correlations with peer nomination indices of compliant and noncompliant conduct in the school. Similar patterns of association were found for the U. S. Caucasian research group.

For U. S. Negroes, as for U. S. Caucasians, internalization of societal norms, as measured by children's reports of guilt over their own transgressions and their wish to enforce these norms upon peers through socially acceptable methods, was more often in significant positive association with perception of authority figures as likable, helpful, and providing fair rules than with awareness of (or regard for) the figures' power to punish and beliefs regarding their punitive behavior.

The tendency for children who reported that they would "Do nothing" in the face of peers' disobedience of rules and those who responded that they would "Try to punish the offenders" to be pointed out by their classmates for noncompliance with the school's standards was significant for U. S. Negroes as it was for U. S. Caucasians.

However, while U. S. Caucasians pointed out by their classmates as complying with classroom standards appeared inclined to face misbehaving peers by "Telling them they are wrong," for the U. S. Negro group compliance with classroom standards was more often associated with the tendency to enforce rules upon peers by "Telling the figure concerned" and "Asking the offenders why."

U. S. Negro children's choices of methods of facing unjust actions or pronouncements of authority figures were also meaningfully associated with both their images of authority figures and peer nomination scores denoting the quality of their classroom conduct. Overall, there was little association between choices of responses to injustice and regard for the power to punish and punitive behavior of authority figures. In contrast, perception of authority figures as likable, willing to help, and providing fair rules, and reports of high guilt over violating these rules yielded substantially more significant correlations across grade and sex groups with children's choices of methods of handling injustice from authority figures. In general, U. S. Negro children who liked authority figures thought they are helpful, and/or perceived their rules as fair appeared to be inclined to avoid to face injustice on their part with "Verbal reproaches," "Talk to peers," "Requests for parental intervention," and "Get even" practices. These children appeared inclined to adopt rather submissive responses ("Do nothing") if they thought authorities were helpful and fair, or challenging but not defiant behavior ("Ask why") if they saw authority figures as helpful. Children who tended to feel guilty over their own rule violations appeared also inclined to avoid verbal protests and revengeful reactions and likely to "Do nothing" or "Ask why."

Of the six categories of responses to injustice from authority figures the ones most often associated significantly with peer nomination scores of compliant and noncompliant behavior in the classroom were "Verbal responses" and "Get even." In general, children who were nominated as compliant in the classroom situation appeared inclined to reject verbal reproaches and revengeful practices as appropriate methods of opposing injustice by authority

figures. In contrast, children pointed out by their classmates as noncompliant with the standards of the classroom were those who responded that they would face authority figures who make unjust demands with verbal protests and retaliatory reactions. The finding that the relationship between attitudes toward injustice and school conduct was greater for older children than for younger ones may be an indication that, due to reinforcing experiences, the attitude systems of older children are more consistent internally and, therefore, more likely to be reflected in their overt behavior than are the attitudes of younger children. Similar patterns of associations were found for U. S. Caucasians as well.

For U. S. Negro children, political interest and, to a lesser extent, sense of political efficacy of their families and personal involvement in political activities were directly and significantly associated with these children's perception of authority figures as likable and providing fair rules and with their tendency to experience guilt over violation of rules of authority figures. The association of the three measures of political socialization with regard for the figures' helpfulness, power to punish, and actual punitive behavior was less often significant.

Of the three measures of political socialization only political interest showed significant relationships with peer ratings of classroom behavior, with the eighth grade girls reporting high political interest being those who tended to be seen by their classmates as followers of the standards of the classroom. However, for eighth grade boys the association was nonsignificant.

Finally, for U. S. Negro children, sense of personal efficacy in decision-making processes within the family and the classroom was rarely in significant association with peer nomination scores of compliant and noncompliant behavior in the classroom. In this respect, data for U. S. Negroes differed from those for U. S. Caucasians for whom compliance with the classroom standards appeared to be positively related to a sense of personal effectiveness in decision-making activities within the classroom setting.

D. Summary and Conclusions

Several of the patterns that appear from an inspection of the specific findings of the U. S. Caucasian and U. S. Negro research groups are congruent with other findings on children's attitudes toward authority figures in this country.

Attitudes toward authority figures. In line with most of the research in this country on attitudes toward authority, the younger children in this group hold positive images of all the authority figures included in the research design. This is true of both Caucasian and Negro children and may be a developmental phenomenon. As the children grow older these attitudes become less positive and more differentiated with respect to the regard accorded one authority figure as compared with another. The children express attitudes which might be taken to indicate attachment toward authority figures, including the President and the policeman; the finding suggests that early attachment to the systems of which he is a part is a normal feature of the young child's development.

Children in both groups maintain a highly positive regard for or attachment to their parents, possibly because of the intensity of affective ties with them and the influence of taboos in the country against negative statements about parents. Their attitudes toward other figures drop off fairly sharply across the grade range covered by this study. Children in the Negro group are particularly marked in their change in attitude toward the policeman and to some extent toward the teacher and the President. This decline in the image of the policeman tends to be sharper for lower class boys than for other groups; attitudes toward the policeman held by lower class Negro boys at grade eight are quite negative.

There is a clear distinction between family and non-family figures in the item dealing with personal liking. This is less true for children from working-class families than for those from middle-class backgrounds. Congruent with other research, girls tend to show more positive attitudes than do boys, although this does not apply to the teacher.

Although attitudes of liking and trust toward figures vary from one authority source to another those toward the punitive power of figures show little differentiation and little change across the grades. Again there is a differentiation between parents and other figures, the parents

being seen as having more punitive power. There is some decline in attribution of punitive power to the policeman and the President. This change may come from greater understanding of the role of the policeman to enforce laws rather than to punish and of the executive rather than punitive power of the President.

Children in the U. S. Caucasian research group see the teacher as having more power to punish noncompliance than do the children in the Negro group. Their perceptions of other authority figures are roughly similar in terms of their power to punish.

In their orientation toward authority figures both Caucasian and Negro children of these research samples indicated high positive regard and a sense of affiliation or attachment to the figures, in the early grade levels. The differentiation and decline in these feelings that took place followed both racial and social class lines. Their views of the punitive power of authority figures are not greatly dissimilar, suggesting that in their initial orientation toward authority figures there is little differentiation between white and Negro children and between middle and lower social class levels.

Orientation toward authority systems and norms. With respect to their view of the operation of authority systems children at all grade levels expected punishment to follow disobedience. This expectation declined somewhat across the age-grade range in relation to all figures except government and policeman, reflecting, possibly, their greater experience with family and school figures. There is little variation by social status and sex except for some tendency for children from lower socioeconomic backgrounds to hold a stronger belief that disobedience of the laws and rules of the city and government will result in punishment.

Children in both Negro and Caucasian research groups see parents as reinforcing the discipline and the norms of other authority figures, although they do not see other figures and institutions as supporting the norms of the family. The teacher also is seen as receiving little reinforcement from authority figures other than parents. The patterns of inter-system support are not reciprocal; authority figures are seen as supporting systems which are more powerful than the reinforcing figures; that is, family reinforces the school, the school supports the norms of the city and of the nation, etc., with little sense of reciprocal reinforcement. This tendency to see systems as supporting one another is more evident in children from working-class families than it is in children from

middle-class backgrounds. The concentric nature of the inter-system support may reflect the greater responsibility of family and school to induct the child into compliance with all institutions of the society. Ultimately, the family is responsible.

For the most part children tend to see laws and rules as needed to preserve order, to maintain the social system, and to prohibit antisocial behavior. Rules and laws are seen as quite similar, except that laws are even more likely to be regarded as prohibitive, more important, and more comprehensive. Many children recognize that laws come from some governmental source.

Children of all grades tend to see father and mother together as the primary source of rule-making in the family with few variations by grade, status, and sex in this perception of the family's rule making operation. Only about a fourth of the group see the entire family as the source of rules. This is much more likely to appear in middle-class than in lower-class families.

Children tend to see the rules of the neighborhood as being formulated by the governor or mayor and by the President, indicating a sense of participation by the President in affairs of the local community. This may be an extension of a feeling that the President cares about all aspects of the local community for which he is responsible.

Young children are more likely than older children to think that the rules of adults are just. There is a downward trend across the three grade levels which applies to the rules of all systems except the government. Parents are seen as more fair than other authority figures until the eighth grade when the rules of the government are seen as equally just. Perhaps the stability of government in this country and the welfare orientation it presents are related to this view. At all grade levels the teacher's rules are seen as least fair in comparison with other figures.

Children in both the Caucasian and Negro research groups who see authority figures as helpful and likable are also inclined to see their rules as fair. This connection suggests a cluster of attitudes toward the authority figures which are based on positive feelings rather than fear of punishment.

Both Negro and white children feel that they should participate in imposing the rules of authority figures upon their peers who may disobey them. However, they see this as less important in the case of the classroom and of teachers' rules than for enforcement of rules of other authority figures. This may be related to the fact that the teacher ranks lower than other authority figures on measures of internalization of norms. The teacher in the United States apparently is less likely than other figures to generate identification of classroom norms and to enlist the participation of the children in her class to enforce her norms upon each other.

Both Caucasian and Negro children in the sample show a good deal of interest in political events. It tends not to vary significantly by grade, sex, or social status. In the Negro research group, however, girls show more political interest than boys, an exception to more general findings in studies of political socialization in this country.

Reports of a sense of efficacy of children in both Negro and Caucasian samples show little significant variation by grade, sex, or social class. This is also true of their reports of political activities. Both white and Negro children feel that they participate somewhat more often in making decisions for the family than in a classroom and there is some tendency for those who feel effective at home to also feel effective in classroom situations.

Attitudes toward the compliance system and classroom behavior. A number of relationships emerge between the attitudes and orientation the children hold toward authority figures and toward the rules of the systems in which they are members and the tendency of their peers in the classroom to see them as compliant or noncompliant to the norms of the group and of the school. These relationships are not uniform across different dimensions of attitudes, however; the pattern that emerges is of considerable interest with respect to theories of internalization of norms of the system and its effects upon actual behavior.

Perhaps the most significant pattern to appear in these data is that classroom behavior is more closely related to the children's view of authority figures as fair, as likable and helpful, than to their view of authority figures as punitive, powerful, and likely to punish noncompliance. There is some difference between Negro and Caucasian groups on this regard. The power of parents to punish as seen by Negro children is related to ratings of classroom behavior, whereas there is very little evidence of such a relationship

among the Caucasian students. The finding of association between feelings of attachment to authority figures and compliant behavior is probably also related to the apparent linkage between feelings of guilt and other signs of internalization of norms of the system and positive attitudes toward authority figures and toward rules.

Although there does seem to be a connection between perception of authority figures as helpful and fair and the development of a sense of political efficacy, there are no relationships between the measures of political interest, political efficacy, and activity and the children's behavior in the classroom as rated by peers. There is some evidence, however, that for Negro children political interest is related to classroom behavior, particularly for girls, with pupils who feel or express highest interest being those who are most cooperative with the teacher.

For both groups, the child's belief in the extent to which the systems of the society support one another seems to have little correlation with the peer ratings of their behavior in the classroom. This seems also to support the notion that it is not the punitive elements of the systems as seen by children but the positive ones that are likely to produce cooperative behavior. There is also little or no relationship between the perception of the inevitability of punishment and children's classroom behavior at a point which is part of a general cluster mentioned above.

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PART C

CROSS NATIONAL COMPARISONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Dr. Maria Tenezakis took primary responsibility for preparing this part of the report. Working with her were Mrs. Judith Evans, Mrs. Dorothy Hurley, Mrs. Lyn Sharpe, and Mr. Ian Smith.

The initial draft was revised and completed by Dr. Robert D. Hess.

1. CROSS NATIONAL COMPARISONS

A. Introduction

This part of the report deals with comparisons of the data gathered from the seven national research groups. To examine similarities and differences among children of the seven samples on each substantive area of inquiry the data are compared following the outline used in the national chapters. The significance of data from each country may thus be heightened by their similarity or contrast with other countries.

Cross-country comparisons are based on within-country comparisons of means and/or frequencies of responses pertaining to each substantive area of inquiry. That is, data on any single authority figure are compared in terms of ratings relative to other figures (rank order) rather than in terms of absolute levels of responses (means).

To illustrate the salience of individual authority figures on each of the various dimensions of authority assessed through ordinal questionnaire items the data are presented in the following ways:

1. For each item relevant to a certain dimension of authority (e.g., affiliation, nurturance, power to punish, inevitability of punishment following noncompliance, justice of rules, and guilt following undetected rule violation), the means for each authority figure were averaged across all grades within each national sample and the relative positions of the figures on that scale were then compared across nations. Such comparisons are shown in Figures 1, 5, 9, 13, 18 and 22.

2. For each item relevant to a dimension of authority, the means pertaining to the various figures were rank-ordered within each grade level and the patterns of relative positions of the figures by grade were compared across nations. Such comparisons are shown in Figures 2 through 4, 6 through 8, etc.

3. Variations by age, sex, and SES in the ratings of the various figures on each scale relevant to a dimension of authority were summarized across nations. This allowed clarification as to whether a sex difference found for example in Italy on children's affiliation to parents also occurs in other countries and is in the same direction.

For data collected through nominal items, which offered several response alternatives grouped into variably scaled indices, comparability among indices both within each country and across countries was obtained by converting means into percentages; that is, the means for each index were divided by the number of figures and/or actions accounted for by that index. Such comparisons are presented in Figures 17, 26, and 27.

B. The Child's Conception of the Compliance System

1. Images of Authority Figures

a. Affective Attachment

Liking for authority figures by nation. Figure 1 shows the average (over all grades) positions of the various authority figures on the scale of liking, by nation. Several national similarities and differences are illustrated by this graph. (1) Parents rank highest in all countries; they are clearly differentiated from all other figures in all countries except India. The average ratings of father and mother do not differ significantly in any country, but the mother's rank position is consistently above that of the father. (2) The teacher is second in the children's expressions of affection, ranking clearly below the parents and above the two other non-family authority figures, in Greece, Italy, Japan, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample; he ranks clearly below parents, but is not differentiated from the policeman in Denmark; U. S. Negroes rated the teacher below both parents and the President; in India, no clear differentiation exists between parents, the teacher, and the Prime Minister. (3) The President (or Prime Minister) is rated clearly below all other figures in Denmark, Greece, and Japan; U. S. Negro children rate him clearly higher than the teacher and the policeman; U. S. Caucasian children do not clearly discriminate among the three non-family authority figures in terms of their popularity, but rate them considerably below parents. (4) The policeman is not popular; in India, Italy, and in the U. S. Negro sample he ranks clearly below all other figures.

Figures 2 through 4 show the rank order position of the five authority figures within each grade level on the scale of liking. Inspection of these three graphs shows that the degree to which children discriminate among the various figures as recipients of their affiliative responses varies by grade and by nation. For some countries

the discrimination among figures is already clear at grade four, whereas in others it increases as the children grow older. For Greek, U. S. Negro, and U. S. Caucasian children the range of means pertaining to the various figures is relatively narrow at grade four, but widens substantially across the grades. In Denmark, Italy, and Japan the range of means is fairly wide across all grades. In India the range of means remains narrow across all grades.

Relative position of figures on the liking scale by grade by nation (see Figures 2, 3, and 4).

Parents. In all countries except India, the parents rank first and second across all grade levels on the measure of liking. The differences between the mean scores for father and mother are small for all country-grade groups; the parents' ranking above all the other figures seems to be reliable across all grades in all countries but India.

Teacher. The relative position of the teacher on the liking scale is fairly consistent across all grade and country groups. In general, he occupies the third or fourth rank.

Other authority figures. In most country-grade groups, the policeman and the President (or Prime Minister) rank fourth or fifth. The policeman is never ranked higher than third. The President (or Prime Minister) is often rated somewhat higher than the policeman, especially in India. U. S. Negro children across all grades and fourth grade U. S. Caucasians rank the President third among the five figures compared. For Italian, Japanese, and U. S. Negro children the relative rankings of figures showed no changes across the grades.

Sampling variations. In all countries, except India, affective attachment to all authority figures considered declined significantly with grade. In India, affective attachment to all authority figures increased with grade.

SES did not significantly affect the children's affiliative responses to parents in any country. Degree of affiliation to the teacher varied by SES in Greece, Japan, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample. The policeman's and President's (or Prime Minister's) popularity varied with SES in the Danish, Greek, and U. S. Caucasian samples. In all instances where SES differences were noted low status children gave more favorable responses to these non-family authority figures than did high status children.

Differences between boys and girls were not consistent across countries and figures. When sex differences appeared the trend was for girls to show more liking for the figures than do boys.

Perception of authority figures as helpful by nation. A comparison of Figures 1 and 5 indicates that in all countries there is substantially less discrimination among figures in terms of their perceived willingness to help than in terms of their popularity among children. This suggests that "helpfulness" is a role quality of authority to a greater extent than is "likability." The means indicating the perceived helpfulness of the various figures were more scattered on the scale for Denmark and Greece than for the other countries (see Figure 5). The following national similarities and differences are apparent in Figure 5: (1) Parents rank highest in all countries. There is very little or no differentiation between the parents' "helpfulness" scores on the one side and on the other the scores of the religious leader (in Italy and in the two U. S. samples), the teacher (in Greece), and the policeman (in Denmark and Japan). (2) The teacher ranks moderately below parents in all countries except Greece (where he is rated on a par with parents), Italy, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample (where he is rated significantly below parents and the religious leader and slightly below the policeman). (3) The policeman ranks clearly below parents in India, Italy, and in the U. S. Negro sample. In Denmark, Japan, Greece, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample his rank position does not differ greatly from that of parents. (4) The President (or Prime Minister) is rated relatively low in most countries. His rating is lower than that of all authority figures and friends in Denmark, Greece, and Japan. The two U. S. samples rated the President below all other authority figures but substantially higher than friends. In India, the Prime Minister ranks slightly higher than the policeman and friends and substantially higher than the religious leader. (5) The religious leader ranks among the most helpful figures in Italy, Japan, and in the U. S. samples. He occupies an intermediate position in Denmark and Greece and the lowest rank position in India. (6) Friends rank last only in the two U. S. samples. In all other countries their rank position on the scale of "wants to help" was higher than that of the figure ranking last (Prime Minister or religious leader).

Differentiation among figures increases substantially across the grades for Greek, Italian and, to a lesser extent, for Japanese children. For the two U. S. samples, differentiation among figures in terms of their perceived willingness to help decreases somewhat as children grow older (see Figures 6 through 8).

Relative position of figures on the "Want to help" scale, by grade, by nation.

Parents. Across all grades and all countries, mother and father rank among the first four figures. In general, the difference in mean scores for the two figures is not significant.

Teacher. Across all grade and country groups the teacher's rank positions range from second to sixth. The teacher's helpfulness is ranked highest in Greece (especially at grades four and six), and lowest in Japan (across all grades).

Policeman. There are substantial differences between the countries in children's perception of the policeman as helpful. His rank position ranges from first to sixth among the seven figures. He is perceived as the most helpful figure in Japan (ranking first across all grades) and Denmark (ranking first in grades four and six, and third at the eighth grade). However, children in India do not share this perception and rank the policeman relatively low among the seven figures considered.

President (Prime Minister). Children's estimates of the helpfulness of the President (or Prime Minister) differ substantially by country. Across all grades, Indian children rank the Prime Minister among the most helpful figures, whereas Danish and Japanese children see him as the least helpful among the seven figures considered. He is also ranked relatively low in Greece and Italy.

Religious leader. Children's perception of the religious leader's helpfulness varies across countries as much as their perception of the President's (or Prime Minister's) helpfulness. Across all grade-country groups his rank position ranges from first to seventh.

Friends. In all countries and across all grades the friends' helpfulness is rated relatively low. Friends were ranked lowest by U. S. Negroes and highest by the Japanese children.

Sampling variations. Changes with age in children's perception of authority figures as helpful were more consistent across countries and uniform in direction for non-family authorities than for parents. In all countries but Denmark, perception of the policeman, religious leader, and President (or Prime Minister) as helpful declined with grade. Greek children's confidence

in the helpfulness of the policeman and the Prime Minister declined significantly with age whereas their confidence in the helpfulness of the religious leader rose with age. In India, Japan, and in the U. S. Negro group no significant changes with grade affected the children's confidence in their teachers' helpfulness. In Denmark and Italy, regard for the teacher's helpfulness declined with age while for the Greek and U. S. Caucasian sample such a decline with grade was apparent only for the high status children.

Regard for the parents' willingness to help decreased with age only for the U. S. Negro children; it changed curvilinearly with age for the Danish and U. S. Caucasian children, and increased across the grades only among the Greek children.

Confidence in the helpfulness of friends increased with grade only among the U. S. Caucasian children.

SES differences were apparent in the ratings of both parents' and non-family authority figures' helpfulness. In Denmark, Italy, and Japan parents as well as non-family authority figures (but not the teacher) were regarded as more helpful by high status than by low status children. Among the U. S. Caucasian children, however, there was no SES difference with respect to the parents' helpfulness, and confidence in the helpfulness of the policeman, President, and religious leader was higher among the low status than the high status children. In addition, regard for the teacher's helpfulness declined with age among the high status children in the U. S. Caucasian and the Greek sample.

The variable of sex did not affect the children's regard for the helpfulness of their parents and teachers. Ratings of the helpfulness of other non-family authority figures were affected by sex in all countries but Greece and the U. S. Negro sample. In all instances, girls showed more trust in these figures' helpfulness than did boys. Friends were rated as more helpful by girls than by boys in Italy, Japan, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample.

b. Perception of the Power of Authority Figures to Punish Noncompliance

In all countries children make a clear differentiation among figures in terms of their perceived power to punish noncompliance (see Figure 9). The largest range of average (over all grades) scores for the various figures is found

in Denmark and in the two U. S. samples; the narrowest range is found in India. The average (over all grades) scores shown in Figure 9 indicate that the various authority figures are rated at quite different scale levels in each country: (1) Parents and the judge occupy the highest rank positions in all countries. The ratings of these three figures, grouped quite closely together, are differentiated from those of the figure ranking next in all countries but Denmark, Greece, and India. (2) The teacher occupies the third rank position and is clearly differentiated from parents and the judge in Italy, Japan, and in the two U. S. samples. In Denmark, Greece, and India the teacher's punitive power is not clearly different from that of parents and the judge. (3) The policeman ranks fourth, and his rating is differentiated from that of the teacher in Italy and Japan. In Denmark, Greece, and India his rating is not differentiated from those of the parents, judge, and teacher. U. S. Caucasians rate the policeman on a par with the teacher and clearly below parents and the judge, while U. S. Negroes rate him higher than the teacher but significantly lower than parents and the judge. (4) The President (or Prime Minister) ranks sixth and is usually differentiated from the figure ranking above him (i.e., the policeman).

The religious leader ranks seventh, lower than the President (or Prime Minister) and higher than friends, in all countries except Japan where the three figures are rated on a par.

Relative position of figures on the "Power to punish" scale, by grade, by nation (see Figures 10 through 12).

Parents. Across all grades and countries, the father ranks from first to third place and the mother from first to fifth place. In five of the seven national groups (the exceptions are Greece and India), parents and the judge are ranked across all grades as the three figures who have the most power to punish.

Teacher. Across grades and nations, the rank position of the teacher varies from first to sixth place. Generally, however, the teacher ranks between fourth and sixth among the eight figures. Exceptions to this are found in Greece and India where the teacher is rated across all grades as one of the most powerful figures.

Judge. In all countries except India the judge ranks among the first three figures across all grades, and his relative position does not differ substantially from that of the parents. Mean scores of the judge's

punitive power remain constant across the three grades in all countries.

Policeman. The ranking of the policeman ranges from fourth to sixth position, with no significant difference across grade and country groups in his relative position.

President (or Prime Minister). Across all grade and country groups his ranking ranges from fourth to eighth position. In general, he ranks sixth among the eight figures; this is consistent across all grades in Denmark, Greece, and India.

Religious Leader. Across all grade and country groups the religious leader ranks consistently seventh among the eight figures compared.

Sampling variations. Changes with age in children's regard for the figures' power to punish were quite inconsistent across countries in terms of both the figures affected and the direction of age trends by figure. The parents' means declined significantly with grade only in Denmark; they rose with grade in India and Italy. Ratings of the teacher's punitive power decreased with age in Denmark, Japan, and in the U. S. Negro sample, but rose in India. Ratings of the punitive power of all other non-family authority figures (except the judge's) declined significantly with grade in Denmark, Greece, and in the two U. S. samples.

SES differences in children's perception of the figures' power to punish occurred more often for non-family and non-school authority figures than for parents and the teacher. However, the direction of SES differences was not consistent across countries. Ratings of parents' punitive power differed by SES only in Japan, with high status children perceiving them as more powerful than did low status children. The ratings of non-family authority figures, except the teacher, differed by SES in Italy, Greece, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample, with low status children in the latter two samples vesting these figures with more punitive power than did high status children. In Italy the SES difference was in the opposite direction.

Sex differences occurred more often for non-family and non-school authority figures than for parents and the teacher. When sex differences occurred for the same group of figures, their direction was not consistent across countries. In Italy boys vested parents with more power to punich than did girls. Ratings of non-family

figures differed by sex in Denmark, India, and in the U.S. Negro group. In Denmark and India girls perceived these figures as more powerful than did boys; in the U. S. Negro group boys vested these figures with more punitive power than did girls.

c. Children's View of the Consequences of Non-Compliance--Inevitability of Punishment

The only countries in which the children's expectations of punishment for noncompliance differ in some apparent degree depending on individual figures are Denmark and Japan. In Greece, India, and Italy children make very little discrimination among figures in their expectations of punishment for disobedience of their rules. The two U. S. samples are intermediate in this respect (see Figure 13). Differentiation among figures increases somewhat with age in Greece and India but decreases with age in Japan, Denmark, and in the two U. S. samples. In Italy, the range of means changes curvilinearly with age, increasing from grade 4 to 6 and decreasing again slightly by grade 8 (see Figures 14 through 16). Because of the small differences between the means pertaining to the various figures, considerations about their average (over all grades) rank positions on the scale, or about their rank positions by grade by nation seem to be superfluous.

Sampling variations. Changes with age in children's expectations of punishment for disobedience of rules of authority figures were significant only for parents and the teacher; in all instances the trend indicated a decline of expectations of punishment as children grew older. The parents' ratings decreased with age in Denmark, Greece, Japan, and in the two U. S. samples. The teacher's ratings declined only in Denmark.

SES affected more often expectations of punishment for disobedience of parents' and other non-family authorities' rules than the teacher's. However, the trend was not consistent across countries or authority sources. Expectations of punishment from parents were higher among low status than among high status children in Greece (across all grades) and in the U. S. Caucasian sample (only among fourth and sixth graders); for eighth grade U. S. Caucasians and for Japenese children across all grades the SES trend was in the opposite direction. High status children in Japan, but low status children in the U. S. Caucasian sample, expressed across all grades higher

expectations of punishment from non-family and non-school authorities than did their SES counterparts. The teacher's rating varied by SES only in Denmark, with low status children, compared to their high status counterparts across all grades, holding higher expectations of punishment for disobedience of their teacher's rules.

Sex differences affected ratings of all three sources of authority. Although they were not consistently significant across countries and figures, the trend consistently indicated that boys expect punishment for disobedience more often than do girls.

d. Inter-System Support for Sanctions Against Noncompliance

To obtain comparability among the variably scaled indices of children's beliefs about inter-system support for sanctions against noncompliance the means by grade pertaining to each index were converted into percentages. Figure 17 shows the average (across all grades) percentage scores pertaining to each index of inter-system support by nation. This graph illustrates several similarities and differences among the seven national research groups in terms of the relative salience of the various indices.

Belief that parents will support the discipline of non-family authorities is the most prominent across all countries, and belief in the total family's support of the discipline of the school is also evident. The differences between the summary percentages of Ss believing in these two types of inter-system support are large enough in all countries to indicate that their relative positioning is reliable (see Figure 17).

The summary percentage scores pertaining to beliefs in non-family authority figures' support of each other, other family members' support of parents, and other family members' support of non-family authorities rank next for all countries (see Figure 17). The summary percentage scores indicating the frequency of Ss holding beliefs in all other types of inter-system support (i.e., "Anyone Else for All Authority Figures," "Non-family Authority Figures for Parents," "Non-family Authority Figures for School," "Friends for School," and "Friends for All Authority Figures (except School)") were least salient across all countries.

Apart from the ranking, the frequencies of Ss indicating belief in each type of inter-system support varied by country (see Figure 17). More specifically, belief in parents' support of the discipline of non-family authorities was substantially less frequent in Japan and Denmark than in all other countries. Belief in total family's support of the discipline of school was less frequent in Denmark, Japan, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample than in Greece, India, Italy, and in the U. S. Negro sample.

The percentage of children believing that non-family authority figures support each other's disciplinary acts was higher in Greece, India, Italy, and in both U. S. samples than in Denmark and Japan. Belief in non-family authorities' support of the discipline of school was most frequent in India, Greece, and in the U. S. Negro sample, least frequent in Denmark and Japan, and of intermediate frequency in Italy and in the U. S. Caucasian sample.

The frequencies of Ss believing that friends will support the discipline of the school and of all other authority figures were similar across all countries except Japan, where the percentage of children expecting their friends to support the discipline of the school was significantly higher than that of children expecting their friends to reinforce the discipline of all other authority figures.

The relative salience of beliefs in the various types of inter-system support was roughly similar across all countries except Japan. Children in all countries but Japan believe that the discipline of school is reinforced by the total family (i.e., parents and other adult relatives) rather than by the peer group; in Japan, however, the expectation that friends will reinforce the discipline of the teacher was almost as widespread (see Figure 17). The Japanese data are in particularly sharp contrast in this respect with the data pertaining to U. S. Negro, Italian, and Greek children. The difference between the two indices in the other countries, although less sharp than in Greece, Italy, and the U. S. Negro sample, was large enough to contrast with the pattern found in Japan. Apparently, the role of the peer group within the school is quite different in Japan than in all other countries.

Sampling variations. In all countries there was a significant decline with age in the frequency of children believing that non-family authority figures support the discipline of parents. The belief in non-family authorities' support of the school's discipline also declined with age in all countries except Japan (see Table 1). In contrast, the four indices which summarize the frequencies of children holding beliefs about the role of the family in support of the discipline of all the other non-family authorities remained generally constant with grade (see Table 1).

Social status differences.* When the frequencies of Ss believing in a particular type of inter-system support differed by SES, the trend was in the same direction in all countries except Japan. That is, in each case the scores of low status children were higher than the scores of high status children. In Greece, social status differences were significant for all indices; in Italy none of the indices differed by SES.

In all countries except Italy more low status than high status children believed that non-family authority figures support the disciplinary acts of parents. Similarly, in all countries but Italy, Japan, and the U. S. Negro sample more low status than high status children believed that non-family authority figures reinforce the school's discipline. There are no other indices on which social status differences are significant in more than half of the countries represented in the study.

Sex differences. Unlike SES and grade, the variable of sex appeared to have little effect on children's beliefs in inter-system reinforcement of punishment for noncompliance. The belief that anyone else will be willing to support the discipline of all authority figures was expressed in Japan more often by boys than girls. Also, in India, belief in friends' support of all authority figures (except school) was expressed more often by girls than boys at grade 4 and more often by boys than girls at grades 6 and 8 (see Table 1).

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*Table 1 shows only the total grade means by nation. Tables showing the means by SES and sex for each country are included in section B1d of each national chapter.

2. The Child's Conception of Rules and Laws

This section deals with comparisons of data pertaining to children's views on the hierarchy of rules and laws, the locus of rule-making and rule-enforcing powers in the family, and the justice of rules and laws of various sources of authority.

a. Hierarchy of rules and laws

Children's ideas about the hierarchy of rules and laws are inferred from their ratings of the seriousness of three different types of offenses--against property, persons, and rules--committed within five different social systems--the family, school, community, religion, and peer group. Offenses against property are considered as the most serious in all countries, perhaps because this alternative is the only one which is clearly illegal. The percentages of Ss who chose the property offenses as the worst alternative were significantly higher than those who condemned offenses against persons or the social order of the systems considered. In Greece, Japan, and in the U. S. Negro sample, the average (across all grades) percentages of Ss who pointed out offenses against persons and the order of social systems as the worst were approximately equal (see Table 2).

Sampling variations. Changes with age in the frequencies of Ss choosing each of the three types of offenses are found in all countries. For Denmark, Japan, and Italy the frequency of Ss condemning offenses against persons increased significantly with age. In the two U. S. Samples, a significant decline in the frequency of Ss condemning anti-system acts was accompanied by an increase of those who consider anti-property acts as the worst. In Greece, there was a significant decline with grade in the frequency of Ss condemning anti-system acts. In India the number of Ss who condemned anti-system acts increased significantly with age; however, none of the two other alternatives showed a significant linear increase across the three grades (see Table 2).

In Denmark more low status children condemned anti-property acts, and more high status children condemned anti-person acts. In India, the SES relationships were reversed, with anti-property acts being condemned more by high status children and anti-person acts more by low status children. In the U. S. Caucasian sample, the frequency of Ss choosing these two types of offenses was affected by SES in interaction with grade; in the lower

grades more high status children chose anti-property acts as the worst and more low status children condemned anti-person acts; however, at grade 8 anti-property acts were condemned more often by low status than by high status children. In Greece, Japan, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample, more low status than high status children across all grades pointed out anti-system acts as the worst of the three types of offenses.

The variable of sex affected children's choices among the three types of offenses only in Greece and in the U. S. Caucasian sample. In both research groups more boys than girls chose anti-property acts as the worst. Also, in the U. S. Caucasian sample, more girls than boys chose anti-system acts as the worst among the three types of offenses.

b. Origin and Enforcement of Rules in the Family

Children's perception of rule-makers and rule-enforcers in the family is expected to provide information about the family power structure in the participating countries. The two questions used for this purpose were followed by the same response alternatives: father, mother, father and mother together, and the whole family. Children were instructed to choose one of the four alternatives for each question.

The percentages of children choosing each of the four alternatives by grade, by nation are presented in Tables 3 and 4. Sampling variations on these questions were not tested for statistical significance. The following discussion refers only to the national averages (i.e., the average percentages of Ss across all grades choosing each alternative).

Rule-makers in the family. Data shown in Table 3 indicate that the most salient type of distribution of rule-making power across all countries except Japan and India is the one involving both parents acting together. Few children across all countries perceive their families as ruled unilaterally by one of their parents. In Greece, India, and Italy unilateral rule-making power is attributed more often to the father than the mother, whereas in the U. S. Negro group, unilateral ruling of the family is perceived as mother-centered rather than father-centered.

The percentages of children who see rule-making in the family as carried out by father and mother together and those who see the whole family as participating in making the rules of the family vary considerably by country. "Father and mother together" is cited significantly more often than any other alternative in Greece, Italy, and in the two U. S. samples. Democratic rule-making involving the entire family is cited substantially more often than any other alternative in Japan. In India, the proportion of nominations given to "whole family" is slightly higher than that pertaining to "father and mother together."

Rule-enforcers in the family. A comparison of the data presented in Tables 3 and 4 suggests that across all countries children see the functions of rule-making and rule-enforcing in their families as having the same source. The distribution of frequencies of nominations given to the four alternatives for rule-making and rule-enforcing is substantially the same within each country. In Greece, Italy and the two U. S. samples, "father and mother together" is the most salient of the four alternatives, and the "whole family" ranks second. In Japan, the "whole family" received the highest percentage of nominations and "father and mother together" ranks second. In Denmark and India these two alternatives received approximately equal amounts of nominations. The alternatives denoting unilateral rule-enforcing by the father or the mother alone rank third in all countries. And while in Greece, India, and Italy unilateral rule-enforcing is father-centered rather than mother-centered, the opposite is the case for U. S. Negroes and Japanese children. Danish and U. S. Caucasian children gave almost equal amounts of nominations to father and to mother as sole rule-enforcers in the family.

c. Justice of Rules and Laws

The average (over all grades) positions of authority figures on the scale of justice of rules and laws, by nation, are presented in Figure 18. Data show that: (1) parents occupy the highest ranks in all countries. They are also rated fairly closely together in all countries except in the U. S., where both samples, especially the Negroes, showed more confidence in the fairness of rules of the mother than those of the father. (2) The teacher ranks second (slightly below parents) in Greece and India only. In Denmark, Italy, and the U. S., the teacher's rating is substantially lower than those of both parents. In India and Japan, there is practically no

distinction among parents, teacher, city, and government. (3) The policeman ranks quite low on this item. In Greece, India, Italy, and in the U. S. Negro sample he ranks last among the six authority figures. In Denmark and Japan the policeman is rated on a par with parents, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample he ranks slightly above the teacher but substantially below both parents. (4) The ratings of the city and government rules and laws are very similar in all countries but their relative position among the other authority figures varies by country as do their average mean scores. Danish, Greek, and Italian children rate the city and government rules and laws substantially below those of their parents, while Indian and Japanese children rate them on a par with the rules of parents. U. S. children rate them substantially below the rules of the mother but on a par with those of the father.

Relative positions of authority figures on the scale of justice of rules (see Figures 19 through 21).

Parents. Both parents' rank positions remain relatively stable across the three grades in all countries. Their ranks range from first to third. The degree of discrimination between mother and father in terms of the justice of their rules increases with grade for the U. S. Negroes, but remains stable for the U. S. Caucasians. Although in all other countries the mother ranks higher than the father across all grades (except in Greece where the relative position of the two figures is reversed at grade 6), the difference between the means pertaining to these two figures is insignificant for all country-grade groups except for U. S. Negroes across all grades and possibly for the U. S. Caucasians at grades 4 and 6.

Teacher. There is a wide variation between countries in children's confidence in the justice of rules of their teachers. Across all grades, the teacher maintains a relatively high rank in Japan and India, while in Denmark and in the U. S. Caucasian sample his rank position remains low across all grades. Within each country, the rank position of the teacher among the other figures remains relatively constant across the grades; in Italy, however, his relative position lowers from the third rank at grades 4 and 6 to the sixth rank at grade 8.

Policeman. In all countries except Greece and Italy the rank position of the policeman among the other figures remains relatively constant across the three grades. In Greece, his rank drops with age from the third to the sixth place while in Italy his rank rises from sixth to fourth place.

City. The relative ranking of the city ranges from second to fifth place, depending on the country. However, within each country the rank position of the city among the other figures remains relatively constant across the grades.

Government. The relative ranking of the government ranges from first to sixth position. In most country-grade groups the rankings for the city and the government are adjacent, with the city usually ranking above the government. This is true in Greece, India, Japan, Denmark, and in the U. S. Negro sample. In India, the government ranks higher than the city across all grades. In the U. S. Caucasian sample the rank position of the government among the other figures rises across grades (grade 4, fourth; grade 6, third; grade 8, first).

Sampling variations. Children's confidence in the justice of rules of parents, teacher, and other non-family authorities* generally declined with increase in age. This was true in Denmark, Italy, and in the two U. S. samples for all three groups of authority figures. In Greece, a decline of confidence in the justice of parents' and the teacher's rules was apparent only among high status children, while the decline of regard for the justice of rules of the other non-family authorities was significant for both SES groups. In Japan the decline of regard for the justice of rules of the teacher and other non-family authorities was more pronounced among high status than low status children, while regard for the justice of parents' rules declined with age for both SES groups. In India, the means pertaining to parents changed curvilinearly, increasing from grade 4 to 6 and decreasing again slightly from grade 6 to 8. Regard for the justice of rules of friends increased significantly with grade only in Greece.

SES as a main factor affected regard for the justice of parents' and friends' rules only. In India and Japan high status children showed a higher regard for the justice of their parents' rules than did their low status compatriots. In Denmark, Italy, Japan, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample, high status children showed more confidence in the fairness of rules of their friends than did their low status counterparts. In India, however, it was the low status rather than the high status group that demonstrated a higher regard for the justice of friends' rules.

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*Sampling variations in responses pertaining to the policeman, city, and government were tested for significance only on the combined index summarizing the ratings of all ("other authority" index).

Sex variations, always in the same direction, are found on all indices but not in all countries. Girls were more positive than boys in their appreciation of the justice of rules of the figures considered. The country in which ratings of the justice of rules of all authority figures and friends show variations by sex is Japan; in India, variations by sex are found only on the parents' rating; in Italy, on the ratings of non-family (and non-school) authorities and friends; and in the U. S. Caucasian sample, on the ratings of the teacher and other non-family authorities.

3. The Child's Internalization of Norms

a. Subjective Response to Noncompliance

The guilt or guilt-like reactions of children to the possibility of breaking rules of authority figures varies from figure to figure; the extent of this difference among figures varies by country (see Figure 22). The U. S. Negro, Italian, and Greek samples have the widest ranges; the Indian and Japanese samples the narrowest. The range for the U. S. Caucasian and Danish samples is intermediate. For the U. S. Negro sample the friends' rating (lower than in any other country and substantially below the teacher's rating in this sample) accounts for part of the range. With friends excluded from the comparison, the widest range would be found in Italy.

Several generalizations may be drawn from Figure 22: (1) The mother's relative position is high in all countries. The father also ranks high in Denmark, Greece, Japan, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample. In India, his rank position is sixth; in Italy and in the U. S. Negro sample, where the father ranks third, his mean is substantially lower than the mother's, especially for U. S. Negroes. (2) There is great variation between countries in the teacher's potential in creating guilt. His rank ranges from second (in India) to seventh (in the U. S. Negro sample). (3) The policeman's rank is low and variable, ranging from fourth (in Denmark) to seventh (in India, Italy, and Japan). It is sixth in the U. S. Negro sample and fifth in the U. S. Caucasian group. However, his position relative to the other authority figures varies by country. In all countries, the policeman's rating is relatively similar to that of the city. In all countries except Denmark and Greece, the policeman's rating is substantially lower than the rating of the government. (4) The government ranks from second (in India where its rating is identical to that of the teacher) to fifth (in

Greece and Italy). In most countries, the government holds an intermediate position among the other figures. Its highest rating relative to the other figures is found in Japan and India. (5) Religion ranks from first (in Italy and in the U. S. Negro sample) to eighth (in Japan). In Greece, in the U. S. Caucasian sample, and in India religion is rated on a par with the figure ranking highest (i.e., the mother). In Denmark, religion ranks seventh, on a par with friends whose rating is the lowest in most countries.

Relative position of figures on the scale of guilt by grade, by nation (see Figures 23 through 25).

Parents. Across all grade and country groups, children see their mother as guilt inducing; her ranking ranges from first to third. The father's ranking runs from first to eighth; however, he is ranked below fourth position only in India. There is no substantial variation by grade in the relative ranking of parents within each country.

Teacher. Within each country, the rank position of the teacher remains relatively constant across all grades.

Government. The relative positions of the government across grades and nations range from first to fifth among the eight figures. The government ranks highest in Japan and India, and lowest in Greece and Italy. Changes with grade in the rank position of the government are generally small in all countries except India and Japan.

City. The relative positions of the city across grades and nations range from third to eighth among the eight figures. Within each country, its relative position among the eight figures is consistent across grades. The city is ranked lower than the government across all country-grade groups.

Policeman. In general, the policeman maintains a relatively low position in most countries. His rank positions across all grades and nations range from third to eighth among the eight figures. His highest rankings are found in Denmark and his lowest in Italy. In Italy, Japan, and in the U. S. Negro sample his rank position remains relatively constant across the grades.

Religion. Across all country and grade groups, religion as a potential source of guilt ranked from first to eighth. It ranks highest in Italy (in first position

across all grades) and lowest in Japan (eighth across all grades) and Denmark (fifth, seventh, and eighth across the three grades, respectively). Other samples who rate religion relatively high are the two U. S. samples.

Friends. Friends are not generally seen as sources of guilt over noncompliance. With the exception of Japan and, to some extent, Denmark, friends rank relatively low across all country-grade groups.

Sampling variations. There was a general decline with age in children's reported guilt over violation of rules of all sources of authority considered. However, in India, guilt over violation of parents' rules increased with age. In Greece guilt over violation of parents' rules declined with age only among high status children. Also, in Greece, Italy, and in the U. S. Negro sample means indicating guilt over violation of rules of religion did not follow the pattern of linear decline with age indicated by the index summarizing responses to all non-family and non-school authorities.

SES as a main factor of variation affected all indices, including friends, but not in all countries; the direction of SES trends was not consistent across countries and figures. Parents and friends in Italy, parents only in India, and all the figures assessed in Japan appeared to have a stronger guilt-inducing potential among high status children than among low status children. In Greece, violation of rules of the teacher and other non-family authorities appeared to induce more guilt among low status than among high status children.

Differences between boys and girls were not consistent across countries and indices, but where they appeared the trend consistently indicated that girls report more intense feelings of guilt over rule violation than do boys. Sex differences were significant for all four indices in Denmark and in the U. S. Caucasian sample. None of the four indices was significantly affected by sex in Greece, India, and in the U. S. Negro sample. In Italy, sex affected responses to all figures except parents, while in Japan, sex differences were significant for parents, teacher, and friends but not for the figures included in the "other authority" index.

b. Identification with the Norms of the System

Inferences on this matter are drawn from children's responses to questionnaire items indicating the extent to which they would attempt to enforce authority norms upon their noncompliant peers and the methods they would use to this effect. To compare the salience of the seven action-indices within and across countries the mean scores pertaining to each index were converted into percentages and averaged across the three grades. Figure 26 shows the average over all grades percentages of children citing each type of reaction to peers' disobedience of rules of all sources of authority considered (i.e., father, mother, teacher, religion, and city).

There are three rather distinct groupings in the rankings of these percentage scores across all countries. The alternatives which suggest verbal confrontation with the offenders--i.e., "Ask why" and "Tell them they are wrong"--rank highest (first or second) in frequency across all countries. The second grouping of percentage scores pertains to the alternatives indicating that peers' noncompliance would be faced by appealing to authority figures--i.e., "Tell the figure," "Tell my parents," and "Tell their parents." With two exceptions, these action indices, grouped closely together, rank third, fourth, or fifth across all countries. The exceptions concern the alternative "Tell their parents" which is ranked seventh in Japan and sixth in India. In Japan and India, more children cited the alternative "Try to punish them myself" than the alternative "Tell their parents." The third group is composed of alternatives selected rather infrequently--i.e., "Try to punish them myself" and "Do nothing"--both of which appear to be seen as extreme.

Sampling variations. The children's willingness to enforce authority norms upon their disobeying peers generally declined with increase in age (see Table 5). This may reflect the children's decreasing concern with their own noncompliance and a growing awareness of the peer group solidarity against authority. Responses indicating an appeal to authority declined more than responses denoting direct verbal confrontation with the offenders.

Differences by SES, although not consistent across all countries and indices, suggest that low status children are more likely to try to enforce rules on their noncompliant peers than are high status children. Exceptions to this general trend are found in India and Japan (see Table 5).

The variable of sex had less effect than SES on children's responses to peers' disobedience of rules of authority. In two countries (Denmark and Greece) there were no sex variations on any index. On the other hand, no sex differences appeared in any country for the indices "Tell the offenders they are wrong," "Tell the offenders' parents," and "Do nothing" to oppose peers' disobedience. Most of the sex effects across all countries are found on the index "I would try to punish them myself" and were all in the same direction; more boys than girls in Italy, Japan, and in the two U. S. samples reported that they would use this means to enforce authority rules upon their peers.

4. The Child's Response to Unjust Authority*

a. Reaction to Injustice from Total Authority**

Across all the national groups few children report that they would remain passive in the face of injustice from authority figures (see Figure 27). In no country

*To assess the methods used by children in dealing with unjust commands or actions of authority figures which affect them directly or indirectly, the question "If your... (authority figure) did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, what would you do?" was asked for both parents, the teacher, the policeman, and the country's government. In general, the same types of response categories followed the question for each authority figure, and Ss were instructed to answer all of them by "Yes" or "No." In the analysis of the national data, the various response alternatives were grouped into the six action categories listed in Table 6. The numbers of "Yes" responses by category of action or method of coping with authorities' injustices were grouped into the following indices: parents (combining mother and father), teacher, other authority (combining the policeman and the government), and total authority (combining all five authority figures). The analysis of national data is based on the above-mentioned grouping of authority figures into four indices and the grouping of response alternatives into six categories of methods of facing injustice from authority. The comparison of data of the seven national samples is based on the same indices described above.

**To compare the six variably scaled action-indices within and across countries the mean scores pertaining to each index were converted into percentages, and the percentage scores by grade were averaged for each national sample. These average percentage scores by nation are shown in Figure 27.

does the average frequency of "Do nothing" responses reach 20 percent. There is consistency over all countries in reporting that they would at least challenge an unjust authority (i.e., they would "Ask why"), although this is somewhat lower in Italy than in other countries. A tendency to retaliate is reported more often in Denmark, India, and the U. S. Negro group than in the other samples.

Apart from these overall similarities among countries, Figure 27 shows that the seven national groups differ in terms of the frequency with which children use each method of coping with injustice. The largest differences among countries are related to the frequency with which children declare that if faced with injustice from authority figures they would "Ask parents to intervene" on their behalf. This type of response was most frequent in India and among U. S. Negroes, least frequent in Japan, and of an intermediate frequency in Denmark, Greece, Italy, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample. The smallest differences among countries are related to the frequency of Ss who would "Talk to peers." This type of response was cited with approximately equal frequencies in Denmark, Greece, Italy, Japan, and in the U. S. Negro sample, and somewhat more often in India and in the U. S. Caucasian group. Differences among countries in terms of frequencies with which Ss cited the response categories "Ask why," "Verbal responses," and "Get even" were moderate. The percentage of Ss citing the alternative "Ask why" was highest in India, Japan, and in the two U. S. samples, lowest in Italy, and intermediate in Greece and Denmark. The frequency of "Verbal responses" was highest in India, lowest in Greece, Italy, Japan, and in the U. S. Caucasian group, and intermediate in Denmark and in the U. S. Negro group.

Sampling variations. Changes in the frequencies with which children of different age groups cited each response category usually followed consistent trends across countries (see Table 6). For example, the challenging response (i.e., "Ask why") became more frequent with grade in all countries, although the increase was not significant for Italy and Japan. The frequency of Ss who would "Talk to peers" also increased significantly with grade in all countries but India, where the number of Ss who selected this response category decreased significantly as children grew older. The changes observed with age in the frequencies of Ss citing "Verbal responses" were not consistent across the countries. The likelihood of facing authority injustices with open verbal protests increased linearly with age only in Denmark and decreased with grade only in India.

The frequency of Ss who would "Do nothing" to deal with authority figures' injustices showed significant changes with grade only in Denmark and Japan. In both countries the incidence of passive submission to injustice decreased significantly as children grew older.

In three of the seven national groups (the Greek, Italian, and U. S. Negro), the variable of SES had no significant effects on the frequency of any of the categories of reactions to injustice from total authority. Denmark is the only country where SES differences affected the frequency of all response categories except "Do nothing." When SES variations affected the frequency of a category of responses in more than one country, the direction of the SES differences was often different by country (see Table 6).

In all countries except Greece more boys than girls maintained that they would protest verbally or they would retaliate against injustice from authority figures considered in total. For all other response categories, frequency variations by sex occurred sporadically by country, and they do not seem to follow a meaningful pattern (see Table 6).

b. Variations in Reactions to Injustice by Different Authority Figures.*

"Do nothing." Table 7 shows that across all countries there are small differences in the average percentage scores indicating the frequency with which injustice from parents, teacher, and governmental authority figures is faced with passive submission.

Sampling variations. Linear changes with age in the frequency of "Do nothing" responses were significant only with respect to the teacher and parents but not for "other authority." In Denmark, the incidence of passive submission to parents' and teacher's injustices decreased with age. The incidence of passive submission to teacher's injustices decreased with age in Japan and increased with age in India.

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*As in the previous analysis by total authority, the grade means for the variably scaled indices in this analysis by figure-groupings were converted into percentages and averaged (across all grades) within each national sample. These percentage scores by figure groupings are shown in Tables 7 through 12.

SES differences were significant only in Greece and Japan. In both countries more low status than high status children declared they would "Do nothing" to cope with injustice from the policeman and the government; in Japan a SES difference in the same direction was significant for parents also.

Sex differences were significant in Denmark and Greece only. In Denmark more girls than boys would "Do nothing" against governmental authorities' injustices; in Greece, the frequency of "Do nothing" responses to parents' and teachers' injustices declined linearly with grade for girls but changed curvilinearly for boys; thus, while at grade 4 more girls than boys cited the "Do nothing" alternative in response to injustice from parents and the teacher, at grades 6 and 8 more boys than girls said they would "Do nothing" when faced with injustice from parents and the teacher. In Italy and in the two U. S. samples the frequency of "Do nothing" responses showed no variations by any sampling factors.

"Ask why." Table 8 shows that there are substantial differences between countries in the extent to which children would "Ask why," depending on whether they face injustice from parents, the teacher, or the policeman.* In Denmark parental injustice elicited the "Ask why" response alternative considerably more often than injustice from the policeman and the teacher (the latter two figures being undifferentiated). In Italy, the rank order is similar to that found in Denmark, but the teacher elicits "Ask why" responses less often than does the policeman. In the U. S. Caucasian sample the rank order of figures with respect to "Ask why" is parents, teacher, policeman, with the national percentages for the three groups of figures differing substantially from each other. In Greece, injustice from the teacher elicits fewer "Ask why" responses than does injustice from parents and the policeman. In Japan parents and teacher rank together, while the percentage of "Ask why" for the policeman is somewhat higher.

Sampling variations. Linear changes with grade in the frequency of "Ask why" responses indicated a consistent rising trend across countries and figures. An increase with age in the incidence of "Ask why" responses in the face of injustice from parents and the policeman was

*The alternative "I would ask why" was not included among the response categories following injustice from the government.

significant in all countries except Italy and Japan. An increase with grade of the frequency of children who would "Ask why" when the injustice comes from the teacher was significant only in Denmark and in the U. S. Negro group. In Greece, the incidence of "Ask why" responses in the face of an unjust teacher decreased from grade 4 to 6 and rose again at grade 8 (see Table 8).

SES differences in the incidence of "Ask why" responses were not consistent across figures and countries. Parental injustice appeared to evoke differences by SES in the frequency of "Ask why" only among U. S. Caucasians, with high status children citing this response more often than did low status children. Injustice from the teacher elicited more "Ask why" responses from low status than high status children only in Denmark and in the U. S. Caucasian sample. The incidence of "Ask why" reactions to an unjust policeman was higher among low status than high status children in Denmark, India, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample, whereas in Japan the SES trend was in the opposite direction (see Table 8).

Sex did not affect the frequency of Ss who would "Ask why" when faced with injustice from parents. In Italy, Japan, and in the U. S. Caucasian group more boys than girls declared that they would "Ask why" of an unjust teacher (see Table 8).

"Verbal responses." The frequency with which verbal protests are elicited by injustice from parents, teacher, and "other authority" vary by country (see Table 9). Across all countries and figures "Verbal responses" were cited least frequently by Greek children and most frequently by Danish, Indian, and U. S. Negro children.

Sampling variations. There were significant increases by grade in the frequency of "Verbal responses" in Denmark in reaction to injustice from parents and teacher. The opposite age trend was noted in India for parents and teacher and in Italy for "other authority."

SES differences were not consistent across countries and figures. In Denmark and India, injustice from the teacher was more likely to elicit verbal protests among low status than high status children; the same SES trend was apparent in Denmark and Italy for other non-family authorities and in India for parents. However, in the U. S. Caucasian group, parental injustice appeared to elicit verbal protests more often among high status than among low status children.

Differences by sex in the frequency of verbal protests were significant only in the face of injustice from non-family authorities. When significant, these differences consistently indicated a higher incidence of "Verbal responses" among boys than among girls. Such differences were significant in all countries but Greece for "other authority" (i.e., policeman and government), and in Italy, Japan, and in the two U. S. samples for the teacher.

"Talk to peers." Children in all countries but India are less inclined to "Talk to peers" about their parents' injustices than about injustice from non-family authorities (see Table 10). In Denmark and the two U. S. samples it is the teacher's injustice which is most likely to be discussed with peers, whereas in Greece, Italy, and Japan the over-all-grades frequencies of "Talk to peers" are approximately equal for teacher and other non-family authorities.

Sampling variations. A linear rise with grade in the frequency of Ss who would "Talk to peers" about injustice from the teacher was significant in all countries but India, where the incidence of "Talk to peers" in the face of teachers' injustices declined significantly with grade. In Denmark, Japan, and in the two U. S. samples "Talk to peers" increased with age also when the source of injustice is "other authority." In the Danish and U. S. Caucasian samples the frequency of "Talk to peers" increased with age also in response to parents' injustices.

SES differences in the frequency of "Talk to peers" were consistent in direction for all figures in Denmark and in the U. S. Caucasian group and for the teacher in Greece; in all instances more high status than low status children maintained that they would discuss the matter with their peers. In India, however, more low status than high status children declared that they would discuss injustice from their parents and teachers with their peers.

Sex differences in the frequency of "Talk to peers" responses pertaining to parents and the teacher were significant only in Italy, where more girls than boys maintained that they would discuss such matters with their peers.

"Ask parents to intervene." The frequency with which children seek familial support when faced with injustice from parents, the teacher, and other non-family authority figures was roughly comparable in all countries except in the U. S. Negro sample (see Table 11). In this group,

parental support appeared to be sought considerably more often when children are faced with injustice from the teacher or other non-family authorities than when the injustice comes from one of the parents.

Within each country, however, the three groups of figures are rank-ordered quite differently (see Table 11). In Denmark, Italy, and in the U. S. Negro group the percentage of Ss who would "Ask parents to intervene" is highest when the injustice comes from the teacher, while in Greece, India, and Japan parental intervention is sought most often when the source of injustice is "other authority" (i.e., the policeman and government). In the U. S. Caucasian group parental intervention appeared to be sought with equal frequency to face injustice from the teacher and other non-family authorities.

Sampling variations. Changes with grade in the frequency of Ss who would "Ask parents to intervene" were not apparent for all figures nor were they significant in all countries. However, when such changes occurred they consistently indicated that the incidence of this type of response declines with age. For parents, such a decline was significant in all countries except Denmark and Japan; for the teacher, in Denmark, India, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample; for other non-family authorities a decrease with age of the frequency of "Ask parents to intervene" was significant only in Italy.

SES differences, indicating a higher incidence of requests for familial intervention among low status than high status children, were significant in response to parents' injustices in Denmark, India, Italy, and Japan; for the U. S. Caucasian sample, the SES difference on the parents index was in the opposite direction. In Denmark, India, and Japan teachers' injustices were also likely to elicit this response more often on the part of low status than high status children.

Sex differences were significant only with respect to injustice from the policeman and government and only in India and Italy. In both instances more boys than girls appeared to think that parental intervention might be of help when they are faced with injustice from state authorities.

"Get even." In Greece, India, and Japan there is no discrimination among the three groups of authority figures as recipients of retaliatory reactions from children. In Denmark and in the two U. S. samples the teacher is the figure whose injustice is most likely to elicit

retaliation, while in Italy, "Get even" responses are more likely to follow injustice from other non-family authorities than injustice from parents and teacher (see Table 12).

Sampling variations. Changes with grade in the frequency of "Get even" responses were not consistent across countries and figures. However, when such changes occurred they always indicated a decline with age in the frequency of Ss who would rataliate against unjust authorities (see Table 12).

SES differences, although not significant across all countries and figures, consistently indicated that the frequency of "Get even" responses was higher among low status than among high status children.

Similarly, sex differences, when significant, consistently indicated that boys are more likely than girls to "Get even" with unjust authorities.

5. Involvement and Participation in Authority Systems

a. Participation in the Political System

Children in all countries give more positive responses when asked about their personal interest in political affairs than when they express their feelings about the extent to which their families can influence governmental policies in their countries (see Table 13). The largest differences between the two measures are found in Greece and in the two U. S. samples; the smallest differences between children's political interest and their feelings about the political efficacy of their families are found in Italy, Denmark, and Japan (where both ratings are relatively low) and India (where both ratings are relatively high).

The summary scores indicating the extent to which children participate in political activities vary widely by country. The highest scores are found in the two U. S. samples and India and the lowest in Denmark and Italy; Greece and Japan rank slightly above the two last countries and substantially below the two U. S. samples and India (see Table 13).

Sampling variations. Changes with age affected all three measures. Political interest increased significantly with grade in Denmark and Italy. In Greece and Japan an interaction of SES with grade indicated that political interest increased with age among high status children but declined (in Greece) or remained relatively constant with grade (in Japan) among low status children.

The children's sense of political efficacy of their families declined significantly with age in India and Italy; in Greece and the U. S. Caucasian sample, age trends differed by SES. In both countries, the high status children's assessment of the political efficacy of their families remained relatively constant between grades 4 and 8; however, assessment of the political efficacy of their families declined with age among low SES children in Greece but rose among low status U. S. Caucasians.

The frequency of children's involvement in political activities increased significantly with grade in all countries except India and in the U. S. Negro sample (where there is no significant change with grade).

Political interest was affected by SES as a main factor in Denmark and in the U. S. Caucasian sample. Sense of family's political efficacy varied by SES as a main factor only in Japan. Political activity was affected by SES in Denmark, Greece, Japan, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample. In all instances the trend was for high status children to report more involvement in political activities than did low status children.

The Ss' sex had no significant influence in any country on children's feelings about their families' political efficacy. Sex affected political interest in Denmark and Japan (with boys reporting more interest than girls). In the U. S. Caucasian sample the trend was similar to that found in Japan and Denmark only for high status children; in the low status U. S. Caucasian group, however, girls demonstrated more political interest than did boys. Sex differences were also apparent in the extent to which children in Denmark and Italy participate in political activities, with more boys than girls reporting such involvements.

b. Participation in Family and Classroom Decision-Making.

The children's feelings of personal efficacy in the family and the classroom (see averages across all grades by country, in Table 14) are quite similar within each

country, suggesting that children feel they have roughly equal opportunities to participate in decision-making processes within the two social settings. There are, however, substantial differences between countries in terms of the degree to which children feel they can influence family and classroom decisions. In India and Japan children appear to feel more efficacious within both social settings than do children in Italy and the U. S.; Denmark and Greece occupy intermediate positions in this respect.

Sampling variations. Age, as a main factor or in interaction with SES, affected both measures but not in all countries. In Greece and Japan the children's sense of personal efficacy in making classroom decisions declined with age. Participation in family decision-making processes appeared to increase with age for Danish children (of both SES groups) and for the Greek high status group (for the Greek low status group the means followed a downward trend with grade). In India, the children's sense of personal efficacy in the family declined for both SES groups, the decline being more marked for the high status group.

SES as a main factor of variation affected both measures in Denmark, Japan, and in the U. S. Caucasian sample; in all instances the SES trend was for high status children to report a higher sense of personal efficacy within both social settings than did their low status compatriots.

Sex differences were rare and their direction varied by country.

C. Relationships Among Variables of the Study

1. Relationships Among Questionnaire Variables

One of the features of the orientations of children toward authority is the structure of association among opinions and attitudes that children hold--that is, the extent to which one attitude is associated with another. Our data on this aspect of the children's responses are correlational in nature and cannot be used in any way to indicate that one attitude causes another, but it is of some interest to observe the clustering of attitudes as well as to note those that seem to be unrelated to each other. Clusters which are maintained across several countries are of particular significance since they suggest a fairly reliable or stable interdependence of attitudes.

Some correlations between items vary considerably from one country to another. Among these is the relationship of the perception of authority figures as helpful and the expression of a feeling of liking for them. While roughly two-thirds of the correlations are significant across all countries, there is considerable inter-country variation (see Table 15). This is not true of the correlation between the view of the figures as having the power to punish noncompliance and the pupils' belief that punishment will follow disobedience of the figures' rules. The degree of association between these two sets of variables is moderately high across all countries.

There is a cluster of attitudes that surround the child's view of the figures' rules as fair. For example, children who like authority figures also see their rules as fair and a similar association holds for their view of figures as helpful. There is little variation across countries in these relationships. However, in most countries the children's view of the figures' rules as fair or unfair has little to do with their estimates about the figures' power to punish and their beliefs that punishment will follow disobedience of the figures' rules (see Table 15).

Feelings of guilt or discomfort over undetected violation of rules of authority figures are also directly associated with the children's confidence in the fairness of the figures' rules and with their feelings that authority figures are likable. There is considerable variation from one country to another in these associations, however. In addition, the degree of correspondence between guilt and a view of the figures as helpful was substantially lower over all countries and varied considerably from one country to another. Somewhat more consistent across countries and also relatively low was the relationship between expressions of guilt and a view of the figures as having the power to punish as well as the children's belief in the inevitability of punishment from the figures following noncompliance with their rules.

Of the indices summarizing the children's beliefs about the support that one part of the compliance system gives another, there are three with high percentages of positive correlations with measures of guilt--(1) belief that parents support the disciplinary acts of non-family authorities; (2) belief that non-family authorities support each other's discipline; and (3) belief that the total or extended family supports the school's discipline. There was, however, considerable variation from one country to another in the degree to which these beliefs are

associated to the children's expressions of guilt. A summary of the proportion of significant correlations on these various relationships and the median level of correlation is shown in Table 15.

2. Relationships Between Questionnaire Variables and Peer Ratings of Behavior in the Classroom

The attitudes of the children in the various countries as indicated on the questionnaire were related in a more or less consistent fashion to the nominations that they received from their peers as compliant or noncompliant with their behavior in the classroom. Perhaps the most prominent feature of the pattern of these relationships is that compliant and noncompliant behavior appear to be much more systematically related to the children's regard for the affective features and moral prestige of authority figures than they are to their perceptions of the authority figures as powerful and likely to punish disobedience. Across most of the countries, for example, affection (liking) for authority figures yielded a notable number of significant positive relationships with compliant behavior and of negative relationships with noncompliant behavior. A similar pattern appears for the questionnaire items that deal with the fairness of the authority figures' rules. Children who see the rules as fair are more likely to be compliant and cooperative in the classroom both toward peers and toward teachers than are children who see the rules of authority figures as unfair.

This general relationship is carried over to measures of guilt, which show a comparable level of relationships with classroom behavior. The only other area in which such relationships seem to be sufficiently consistent to be important was that of children's responses to unjust authority. Children who reported that they would give "Verbal responses" to authority figures who they thought were treating them unfairly were likely to be voted by their classmates as engaging in behavior which is not congruent with the rules of the teacher and their classmates. A similar relationship appeared for the items which indicated a wish to "Get even" with authority figures who had been unfair. Perhaps both of these measures--verbal responses and a desire to be vindictive--indicate an orientation toward authority figures which is negative and likely to result in resistance and conflict. This would be in keeping with the general findings of this section of the study that children who see the authority figures in positive terms tend to be seen as more cooperative by their classmates. It is impossible to say whether this

is a causal relationship. It also seems likely that overactive children who find themselves punished frequently by the teacher for things that they did not regard as necessarily serious would come to see the teacher's rules as unfair and the teachers as arbitrary and difficult to deal with. Perhaps the most significant aspect of this pattern of findings is that the children's regard for the power of authority figures to punish and their beliefs about the inevitability of punishment following noncompliance with the figures' rules seem unrelated to the scores they received by peers for their behavior in the classroom.

2. CONCLUSIONS

The study was designed in an attempt to find answers to the following questions.

1. How do children perceive the authority figures in the institutions in which they live and the rules and regulations that are made and imposed by these figures?

2. What are the children's responses to these figures and to the rules and regulations which they represent?

3. What is the relationship between the children's attitudes and responses to authority figures and their classroom behavior?

4. How do the attitudes toward authority figures and the rules and regulations they represent vary by grade, sex, and socioeconomic status?

5. How many of these patterns of response, interaction, and attitude vary from one country to another?

This part of the report has summarized a few of the findings from the seven national samples and has attempted to indicate the extent to which there is consensus and agreement in the data from the participating projects. It seems evident from the narrative report of findings in each country as well as from the analysis of variance that there is much more variation between countries and most of the variables of which we are concerned than there is within countries. That is, the major differences in the analysis of variance results are between rather than within projects. There are a number of patterns that emerge, however, on which several if not all of the countries show some consensus.

Perhaps the most prominent point of agreement is that children in all the countries showed uniformly high regard for parents, little differentiation between father and mother, and little change in the attitudes toward parents between grade 4 and grade 8. This indicates a primacy and importance of attitude toward parents and supports the concept of parents as major sources of influences on the child's relationship to authority even when his relationships are not altogether clear.

In contrast to the congruity across countries in attitudes toward parents, the attitudes toward teachers vary tremendously from one country to another. They are particularly low, relatively speaking, in the United States and the children's low opinion about the power of the teacher to discipline and maintain order may have significance for patterns in classroom behavior in this country.

There is also considerable variation in the attitudes of children toward political figures in the several countries. The attitudes toward representatives of the city and of the nation were generally less favorable than would have been predicted on the basis of studies of political authority in the United States.

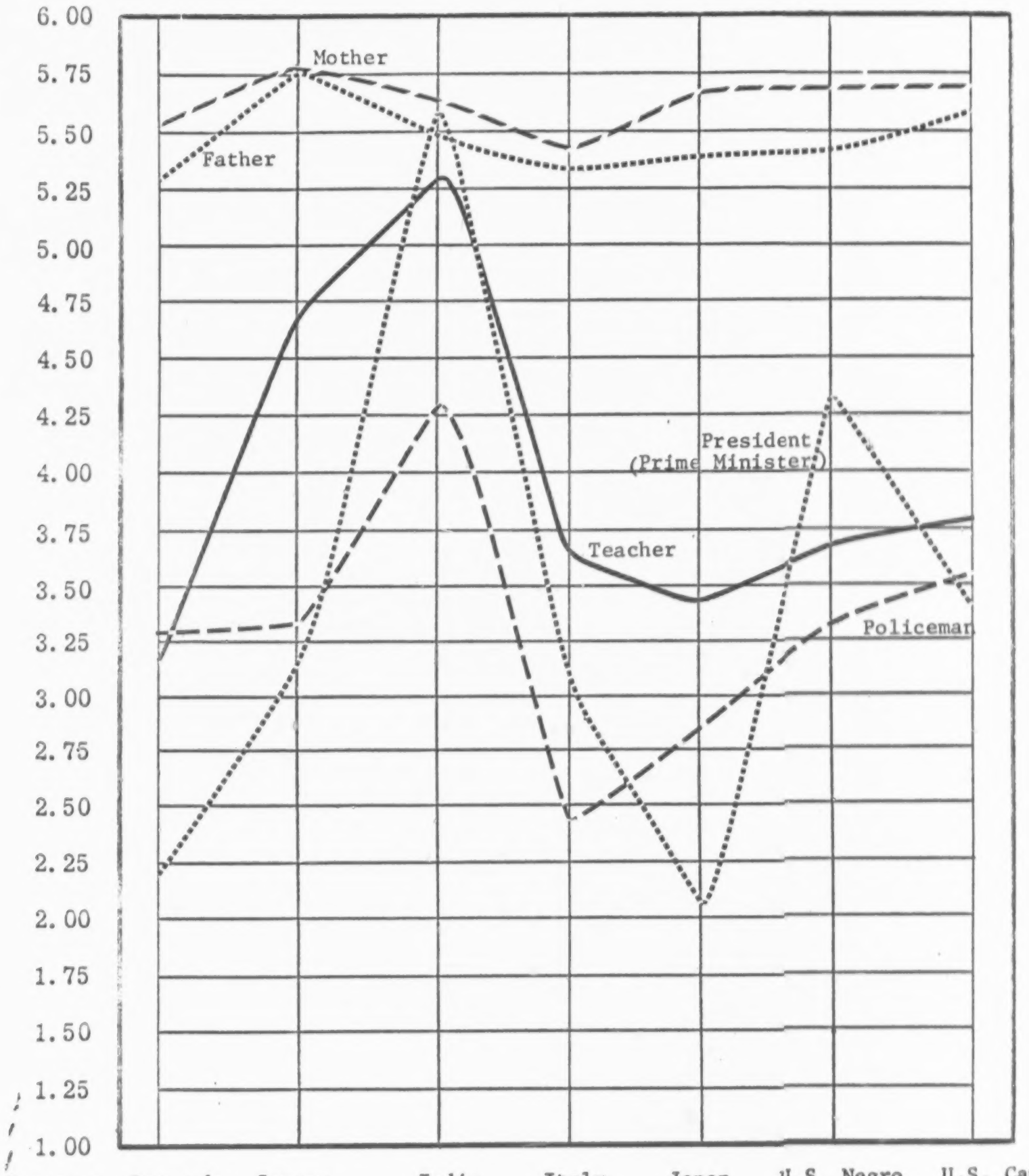
There seems to be a general tendency across most of the countries and most of the figures for the image of authority to become less positive as the children grow older. The notable exceptions to this are the figures of father and mother, although on some items certain non-family figures also seem to maintain a stable level across the grades. In general it appears to be true that there are considerable differences in role definitions of figures from one country to another. The fact that the attitudes expressed in these questionnaires reflect both a definition of the figure and his role and the children's attitude toward that figure tends to confound somewhat the usefulness of cross-national comparisons.

The major parameters of the study--i.e., grade, sex, and socioeconomic status--show somewhat different relationships to the data produced by the study. It is clear that there is more change in attitudes and behavior with grade than there is variation between boys and girls or between middle and lower social class groups. The experience and increasing information as represented by increase in grade and age are by far the most important influences on attitudes toward authority and presumably on responses to authority figures. Sex differences were much less prominent but they indicated familiar patterns; girls are more trusting of authority figures than boys and tend to be more supportive in general of the system. Social class differences are not consistent from country to country or from one section of the questionnaire to another. It would not be justified to assert on the basis of the data from this study that differences in prestige and status within a social structure make for differences in attitude toward the authority figures. Although there are some instances and patterns that would appear to support this conception of the social structure, there

are enough exceptions so that it could not be maintained with confidence. Social class differences tend to vary from one country to another and a more careful analysis of social status within each country would be needed to understand these inter-country variations.

The pattern of relationships among the attitudes toward authority and between these attitudes and behavior in the classroom shows somewhat more consistency. There is a cluster of attitudes that express feelings of affiliation and trust in the helpfulness and confidence in the justice of rules that seem to be characteristic in several of the countries which participated in the project. There is also a definite pattern of positive relationship between variables that make up this cluster and the tendency of children to deal with a classroom situation in cooperative ways. This is in contrast to a lack of relationship between perception of figures as powerful or a belief that punishment will inevitably follow noncompliance and classroom behavior. Such attitudes apparently have no effect upon what the children do in the classroom. It appears then that the behavior of authority figures that makes for feelings of guilt over noncompliance rather than feelings of fear is more likely to have positive outcomes in actual behavioral situations.

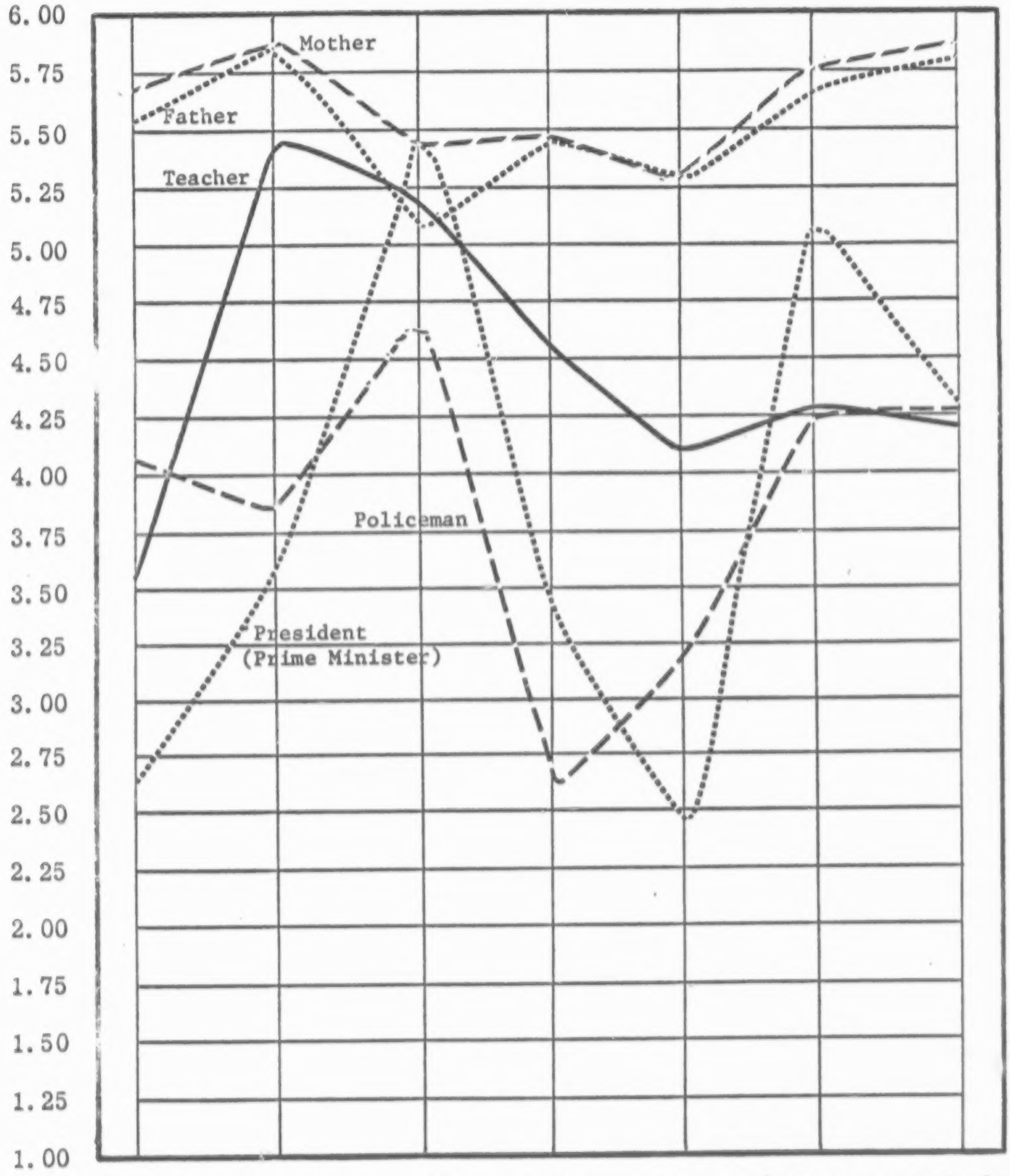
FIGURE 1
AFFILIATION TO AUTHORITY FIGURES (LIKING)
ACROSS GRADES, BY NATION



Item: Do you like (figure)?

Scale: 1 - No not at all; 6 - Yes, very very much.

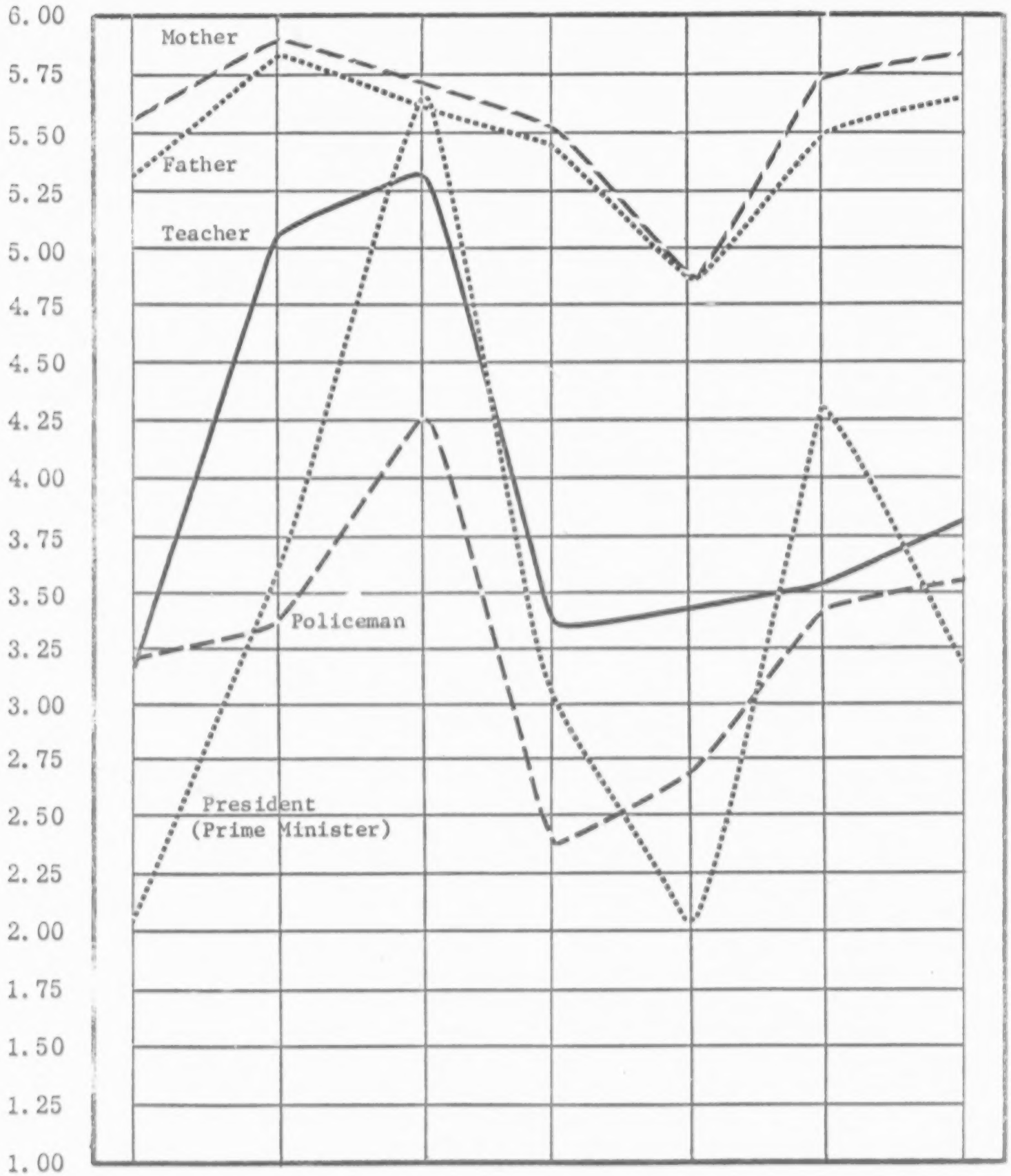
FIGURE 2
COMPARISON OF FOURTH GRADE STUDENTS'
AFFILIATION TO AUTHORITY FIGURES (LIKING)
BY NATION



Item: Do you like (figure)?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very very much.

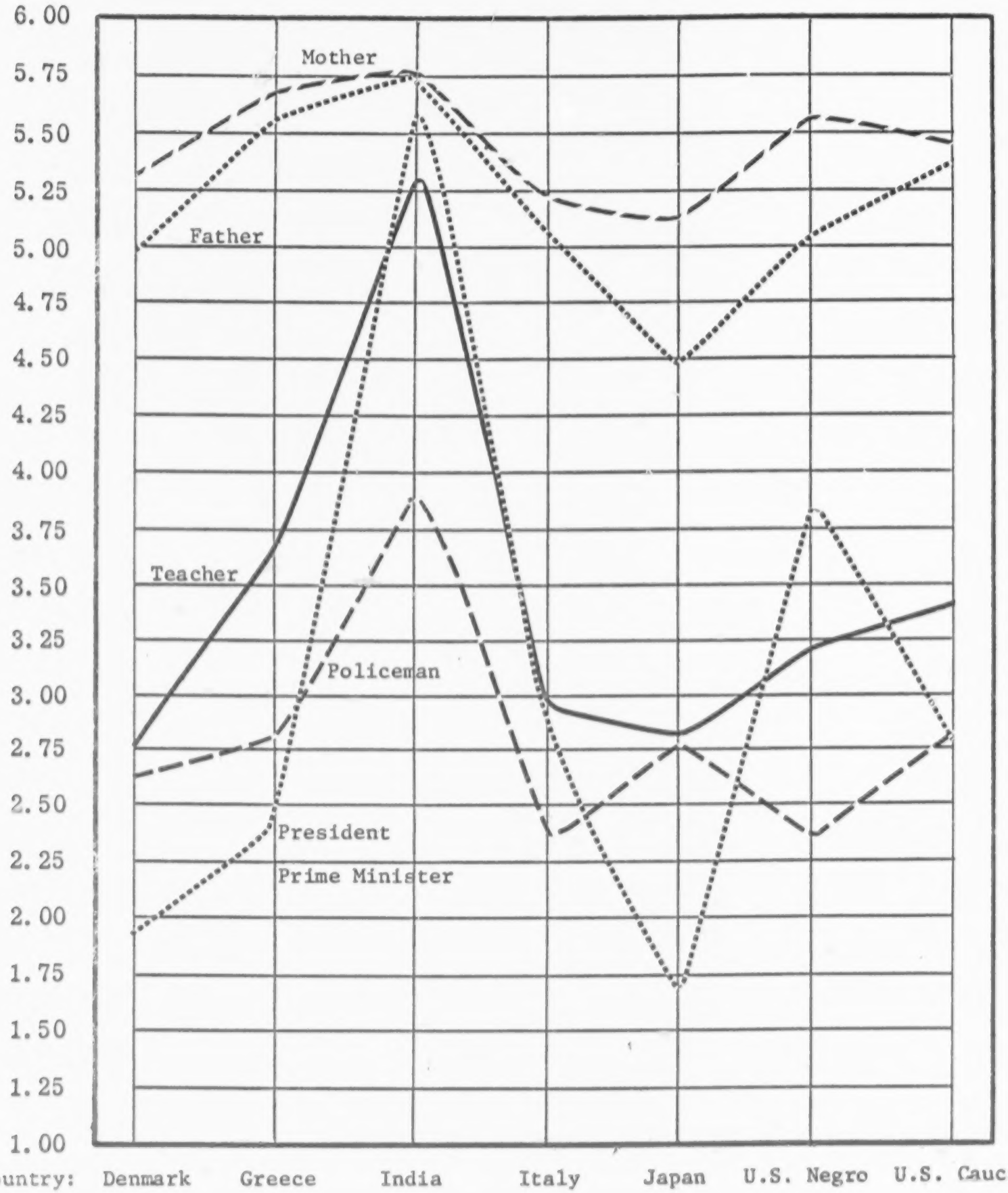
FIGURE 3
COMPARISON OF SIXTH GRADE STUDENTS'
AFFILIATION TO AUTHORITY FIGURES (LIKING)
BY NATION



Item: Do you like (figure)?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very very much.

FIGURE 4
COMPARISON OF EIGHTH GRADE STUDENTS'
AFFILIATION TO AUTHORITY FIGURES (LIKING)
BY NATION



Item: Do you like (figure)?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very very much.

FIGURE 5
PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL,
ACROSS GRADES, BY NATION

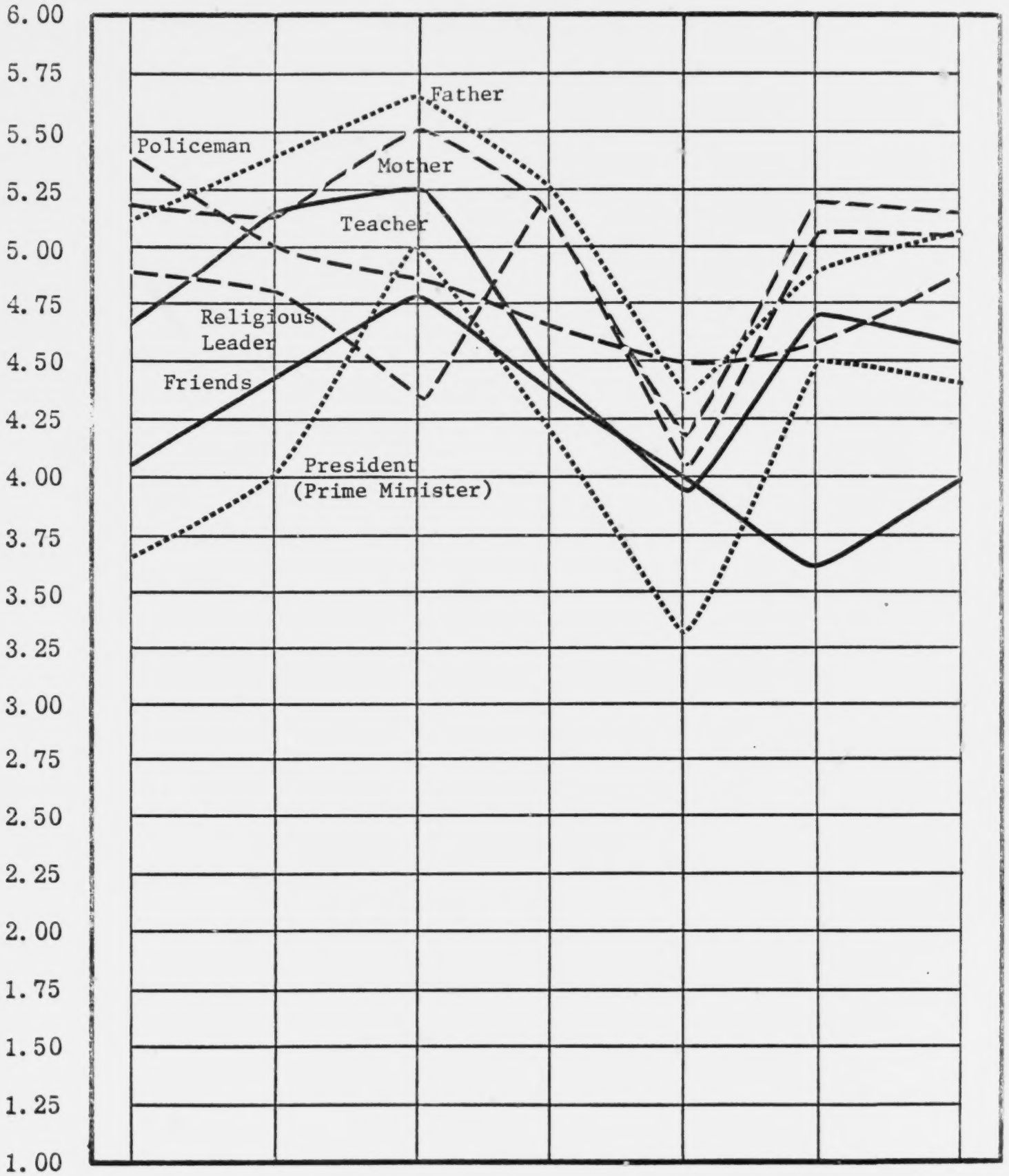
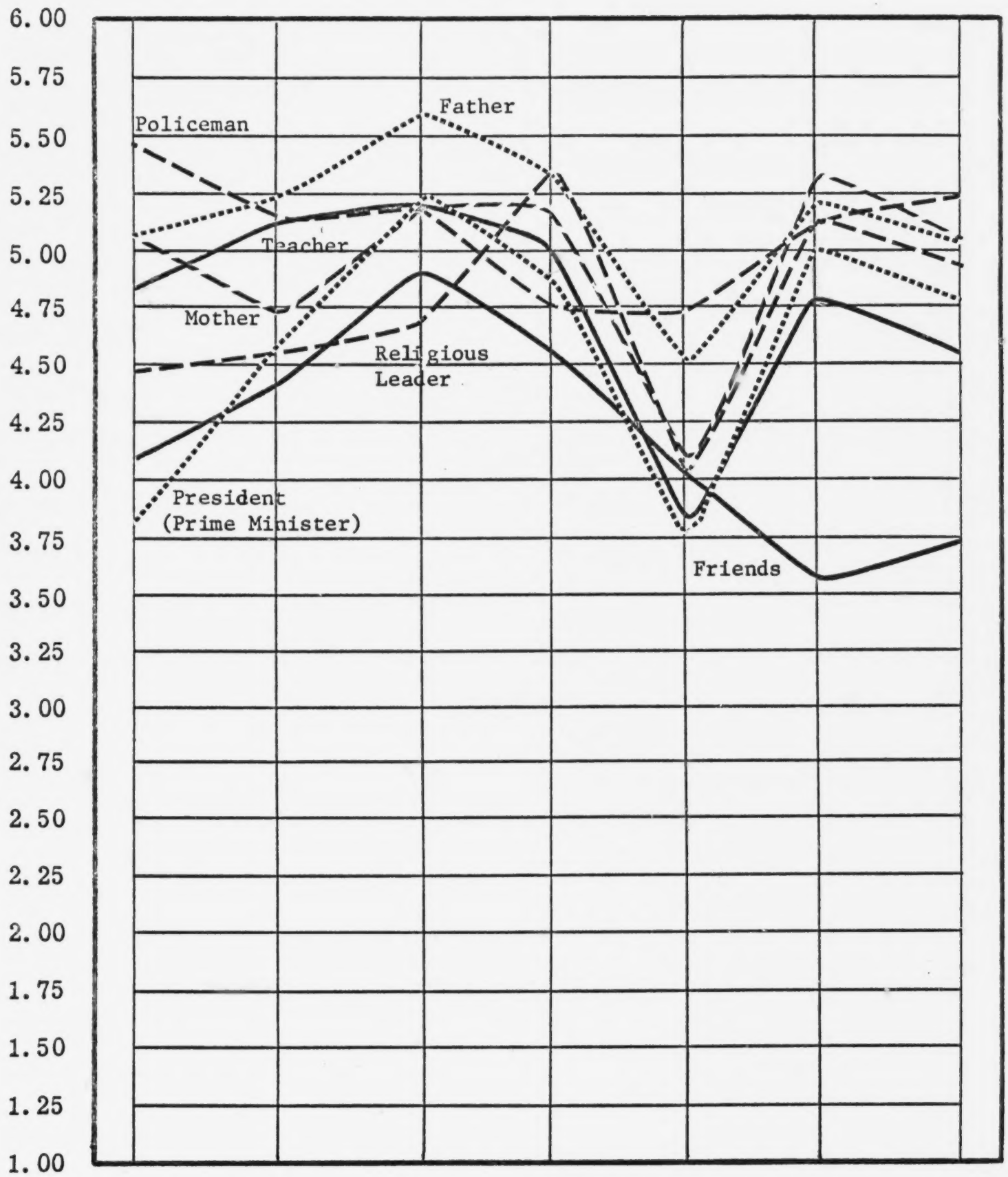


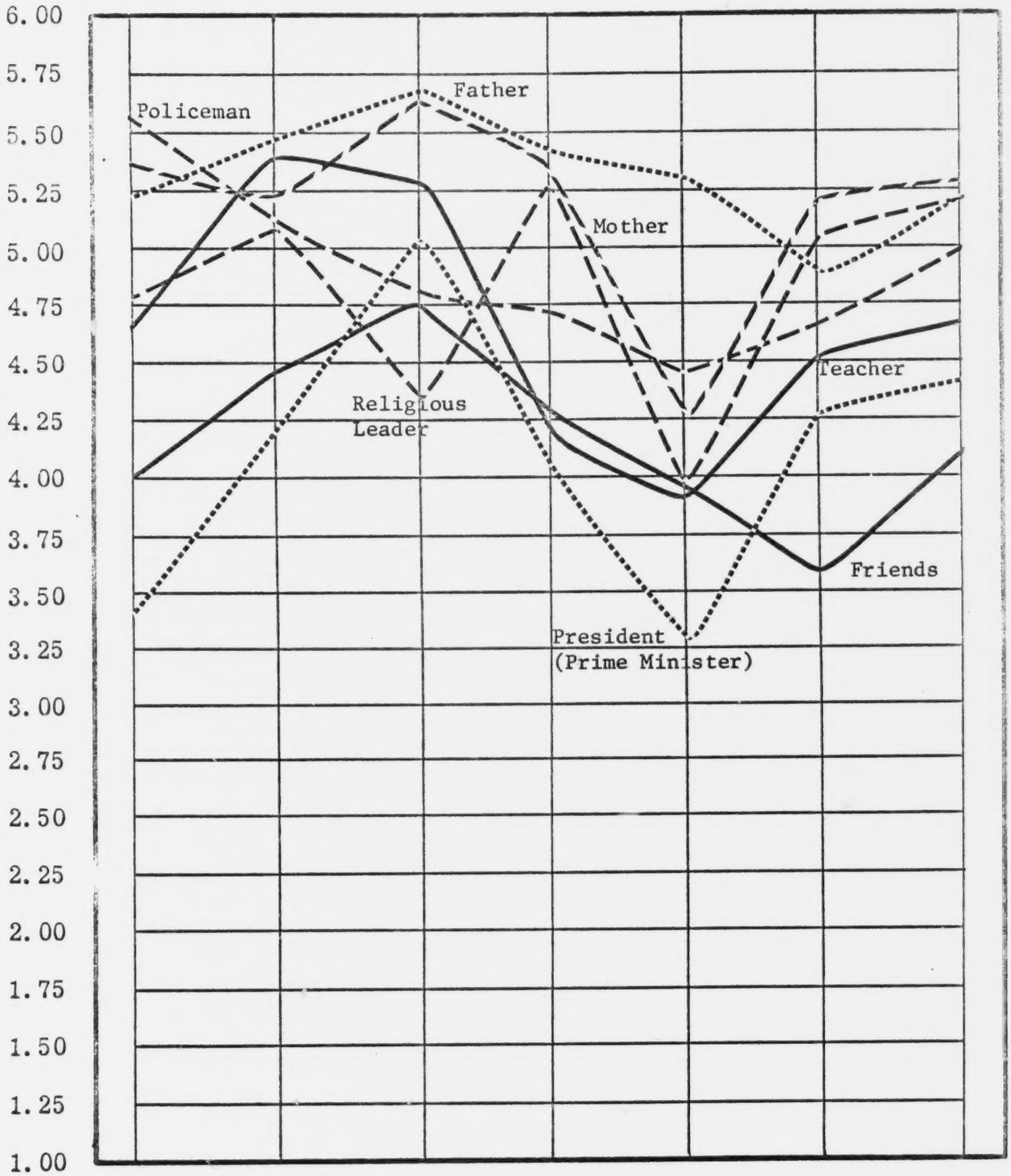
FIGURE 6
COMPARISON OF FOURTH GRADE STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF
AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, BY NATION



Item: Does (figure) want to help you when you need it?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

FIGURE 7
COMPARISON OF SIXTH GRADE STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, BY NATION

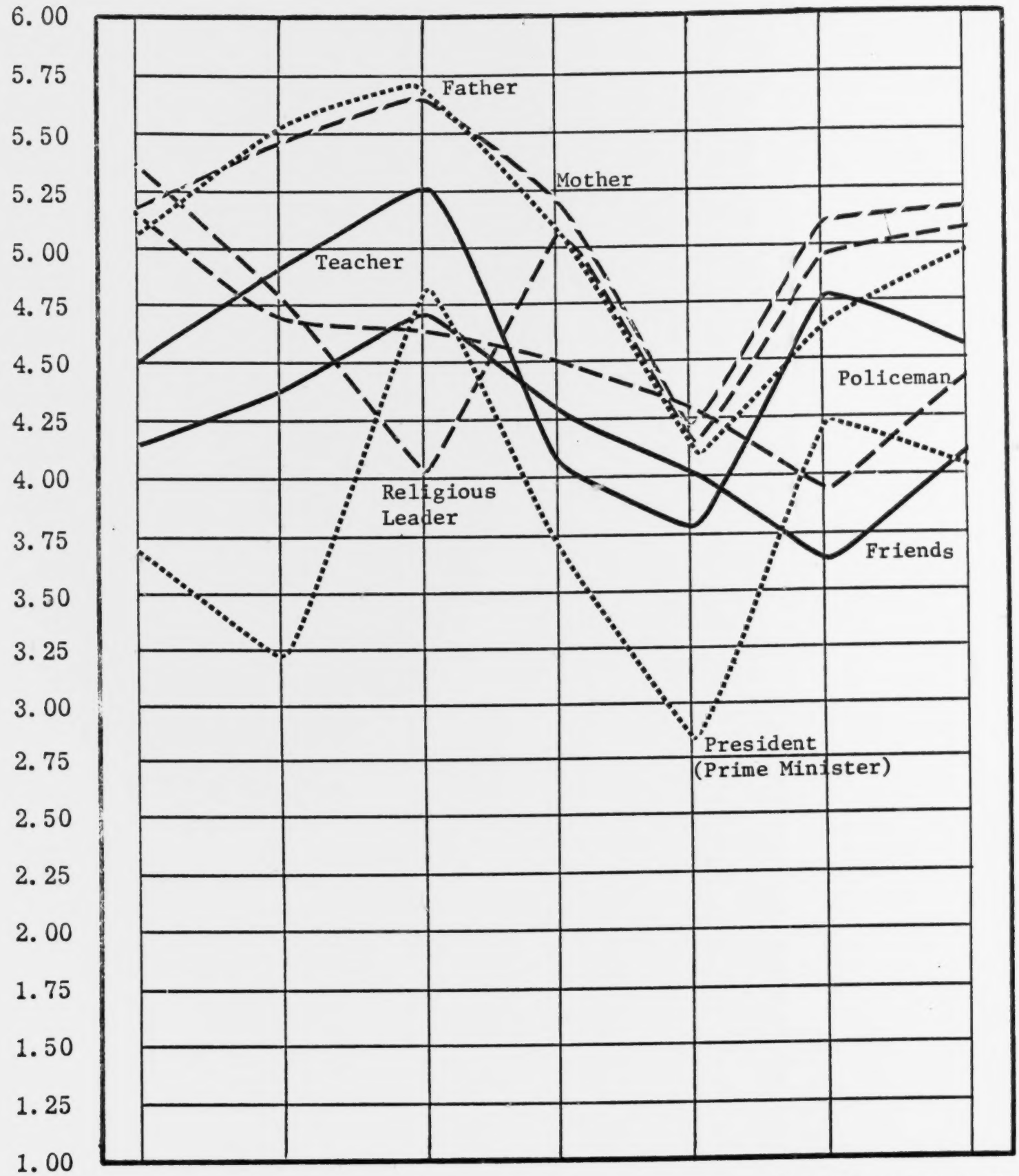


Country: Denmark Greece India Italy Japan U.S. Negro U.S. Caucasians

Item: Does (figure) want to help you when you need it?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

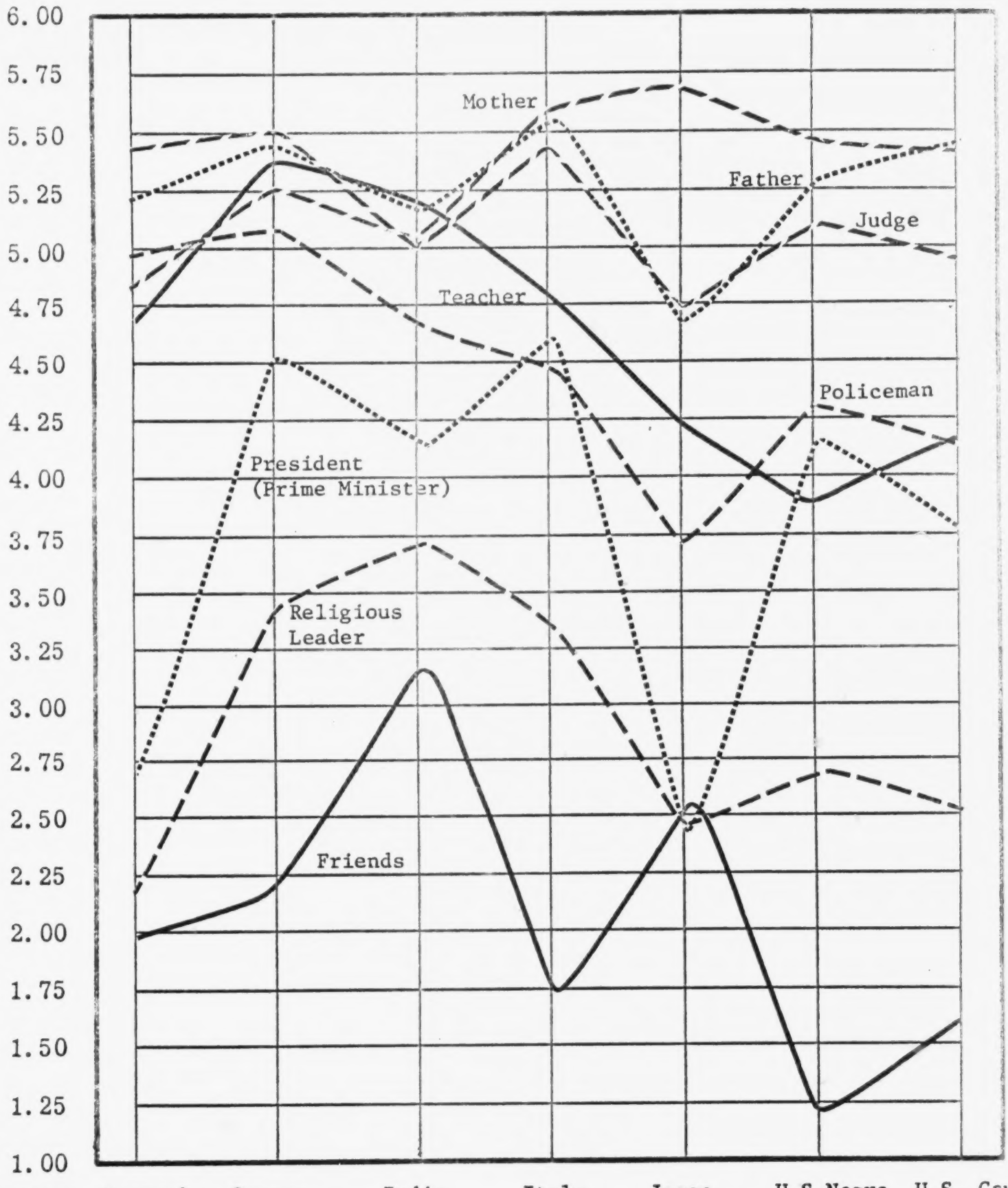
FIGURE 8
COMPARISON OF EIGHTH GRADE STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES AS HELPFUL, BY NATION



Item: Does (figure) want to help you when you need it?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

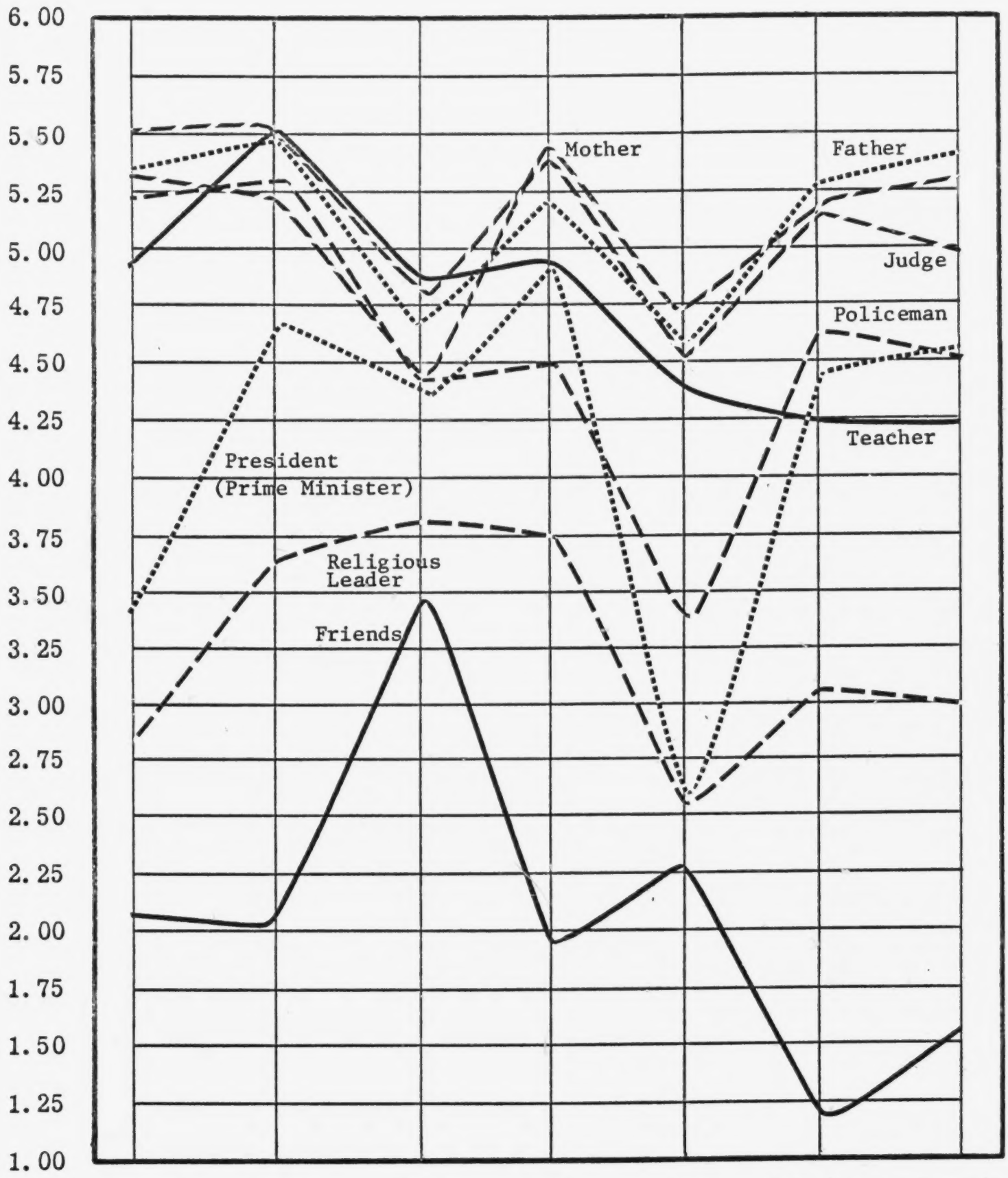
FIGURE 9
PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH
ACROSS GRADES, BY NATION



Item: Does (figure) have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

FIGURE 10
COMPARISON OF FOURTH GRADE STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH NONCOMPLIANCE, BY NATION

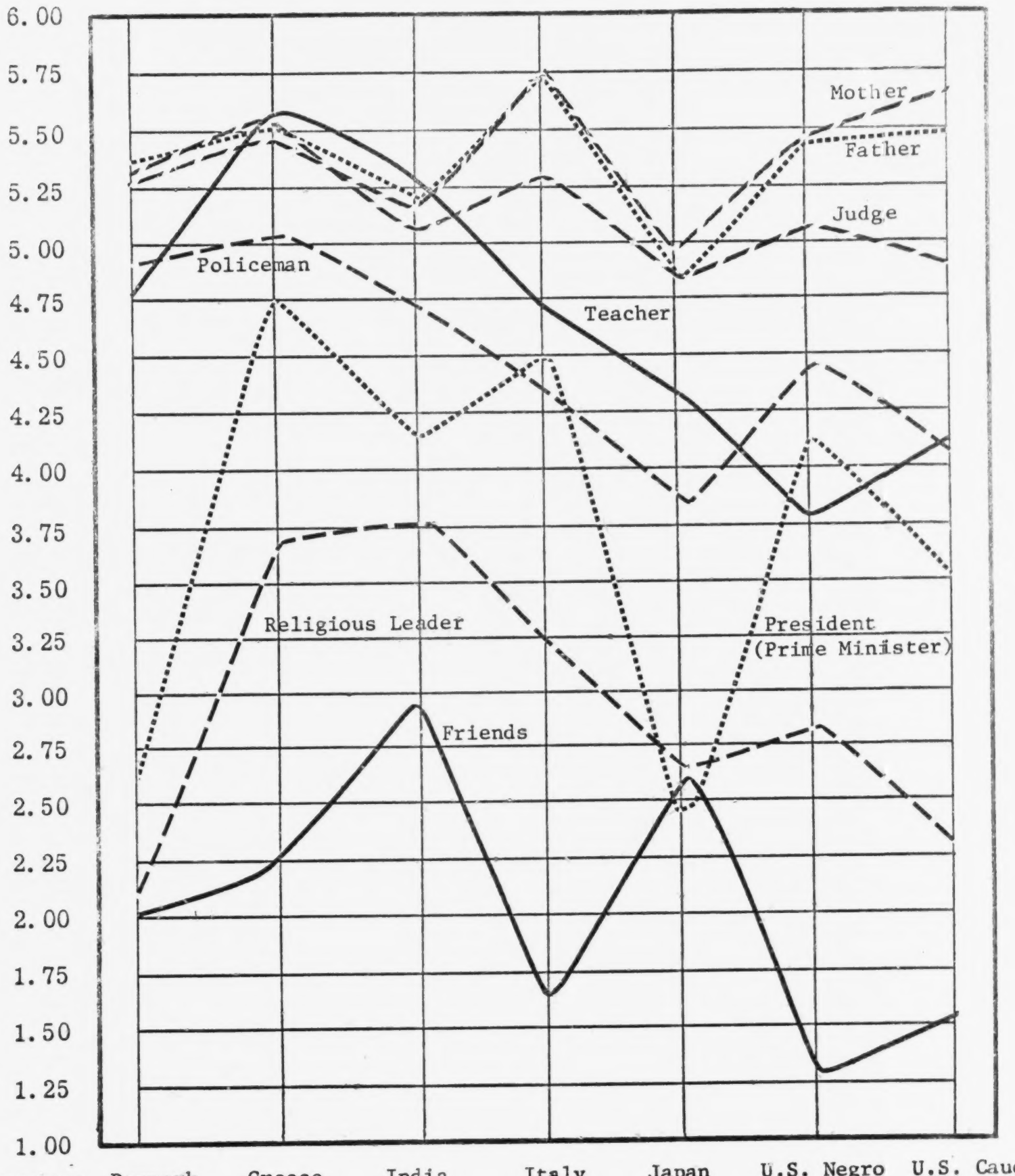


Item: Does (figure) have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

FIGURE 11

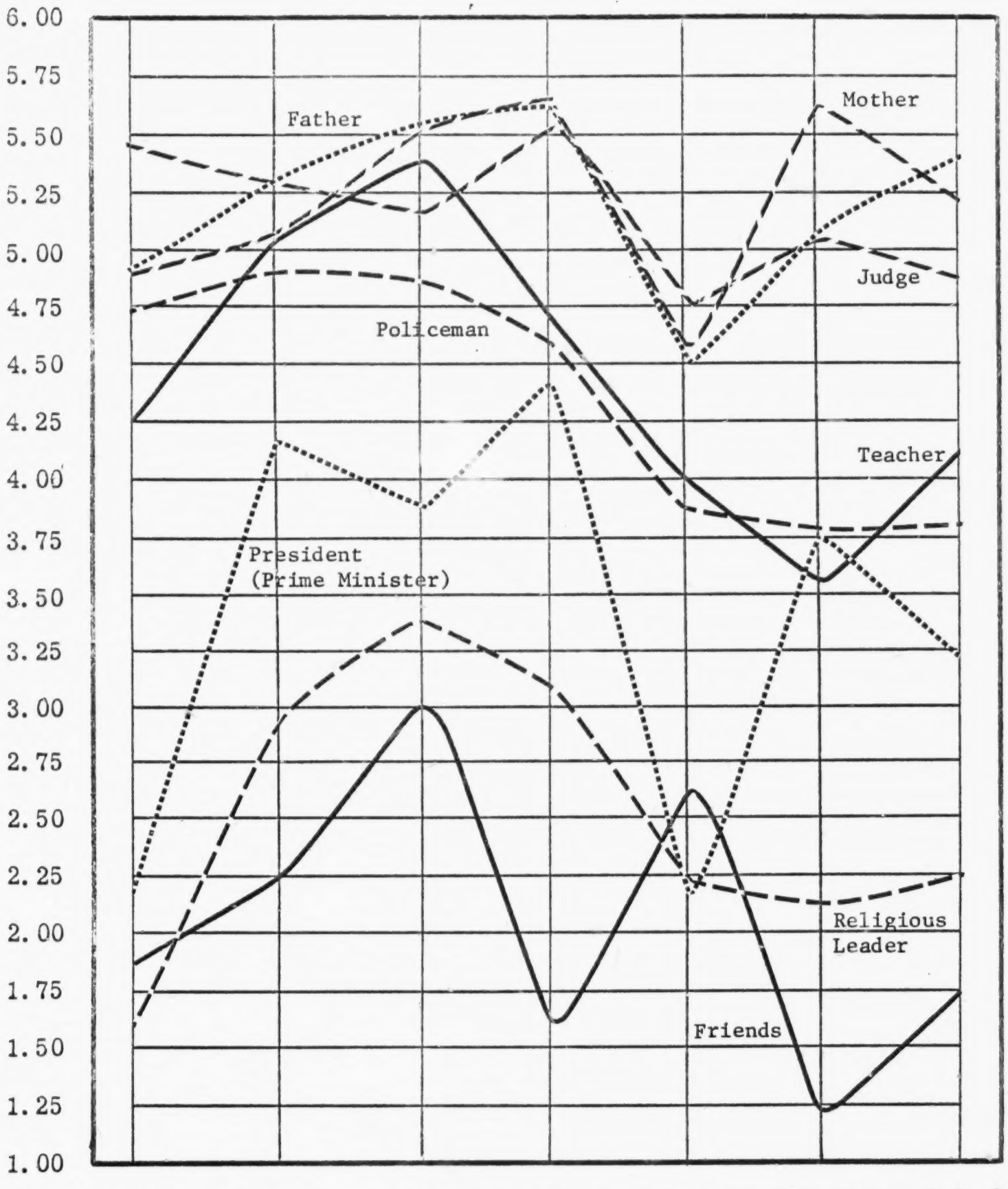
COMPARISON OF SIXTH GRADE STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH NONCOMPLIANCE, BY NATION



Item: Does (figure) have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

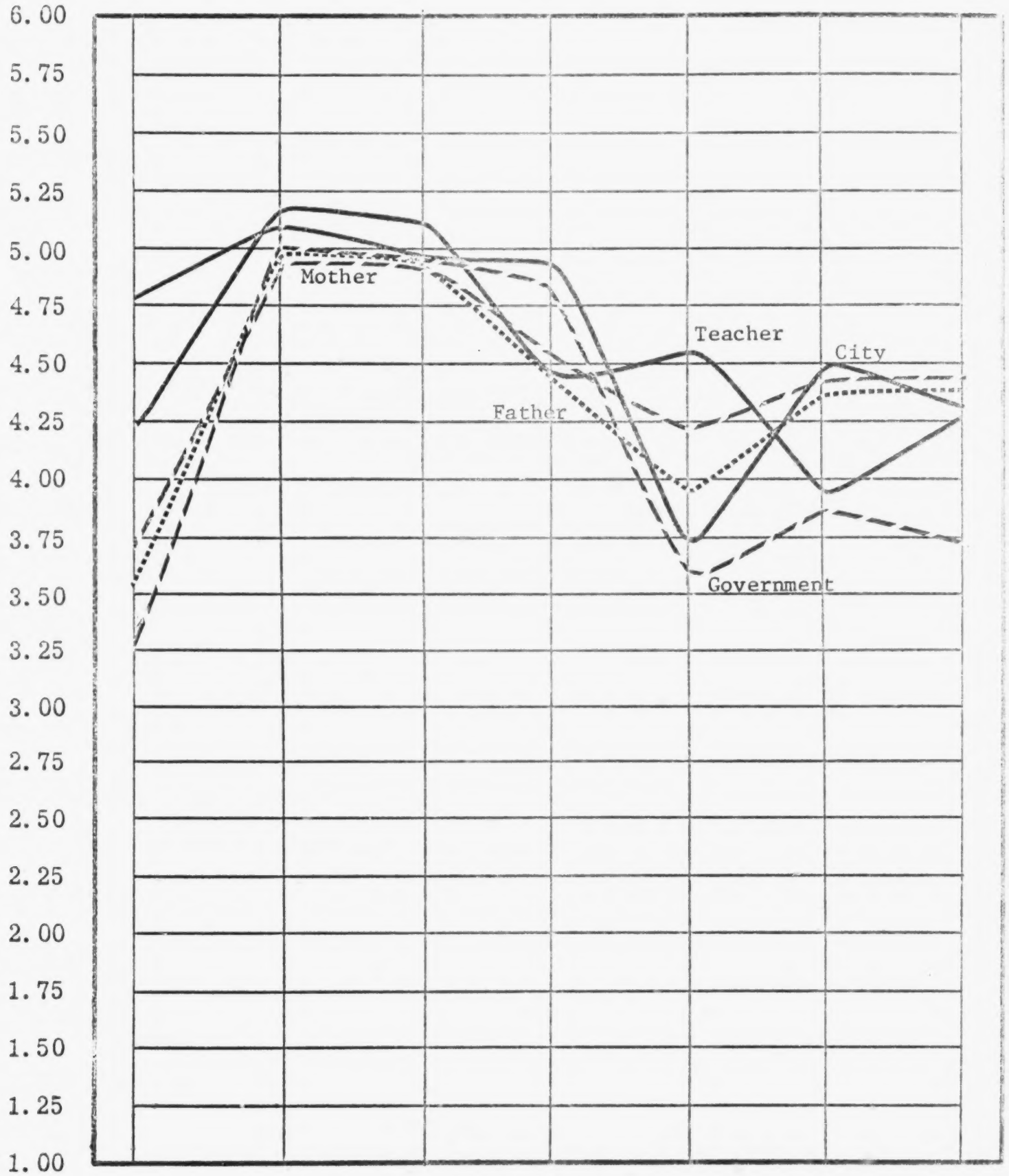
FIGURE 12
COMPARISON OF EIGHTH GRADE STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' POWER TO PUNISH NONCOMPLIANCE, BY NATION



Item: Does (figure) have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

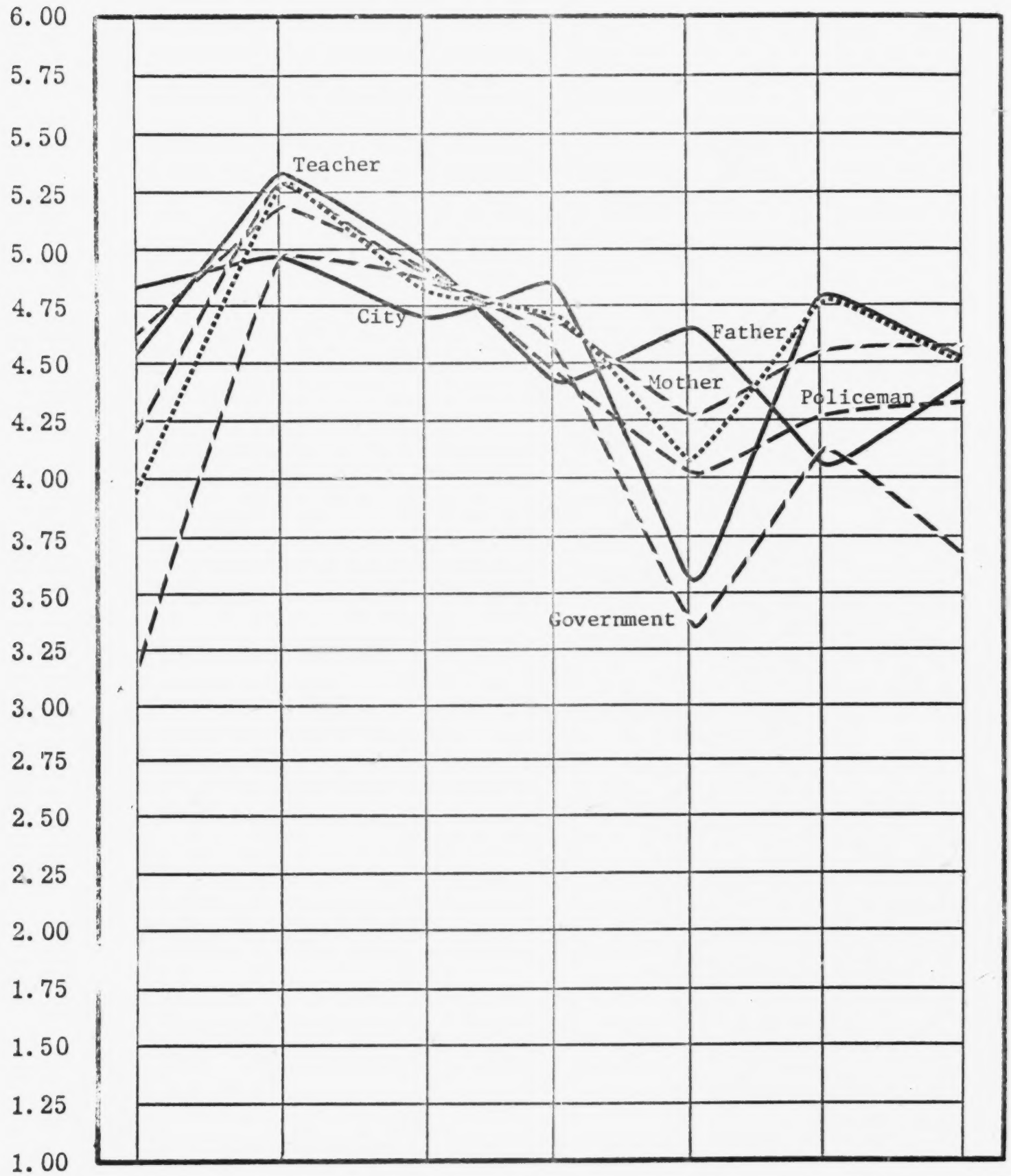
FIGURE 13
PERCEPTION OF INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT
FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH AUTHORITY FIGURES' RULES,
ACROSS GRADES BY NATION



Item: If you do not obey the laws or rules of (figure) does he punish you?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

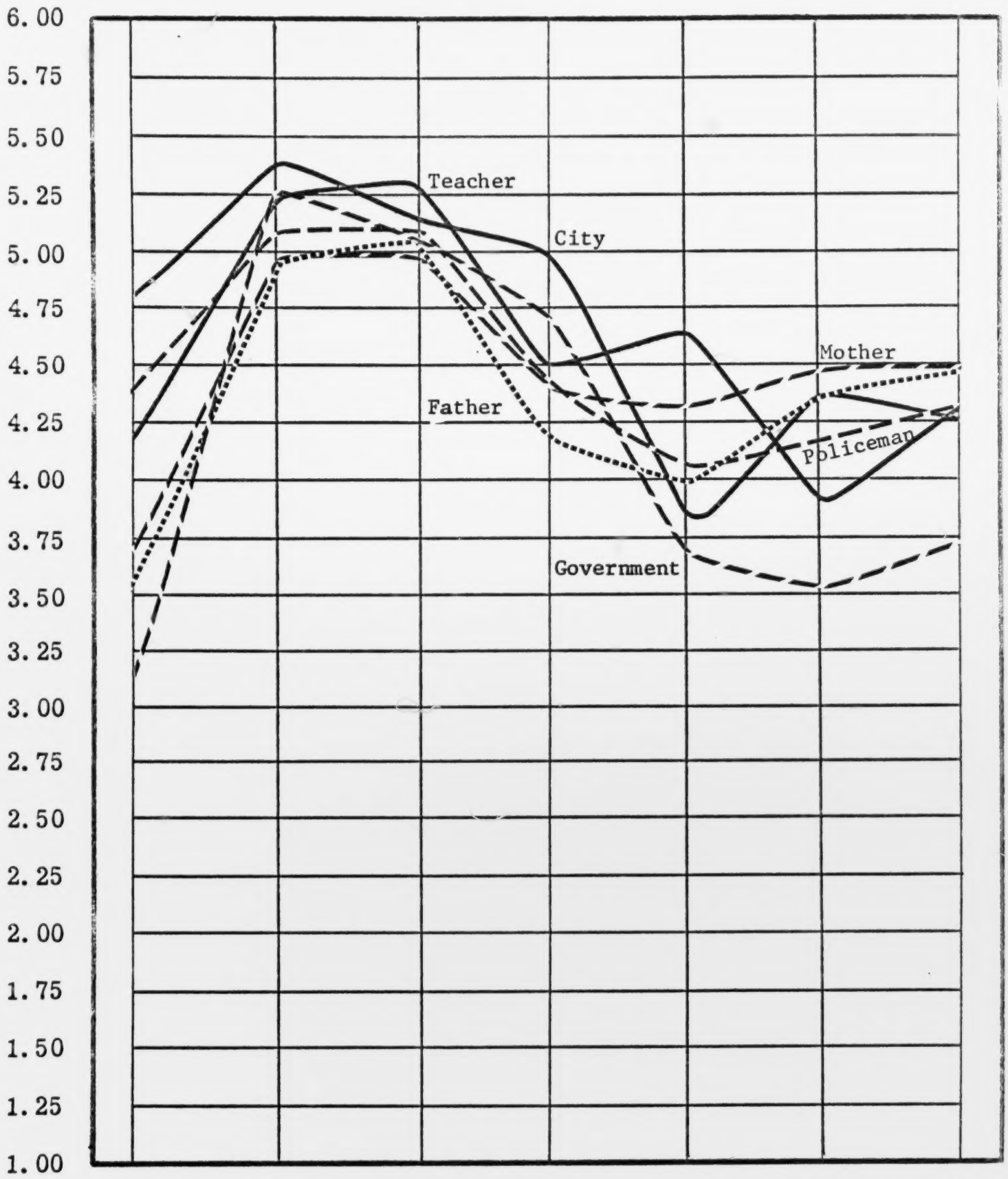
FIGURE 14
COMPARISON OF FOURTH GRADE STUDENTS'
PERCEPTION OF INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT
FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH AUTHORITY FIGURES'
RULES, BY NATION



Item: If you do not obey the laws or rules of (figure) does he punish you?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

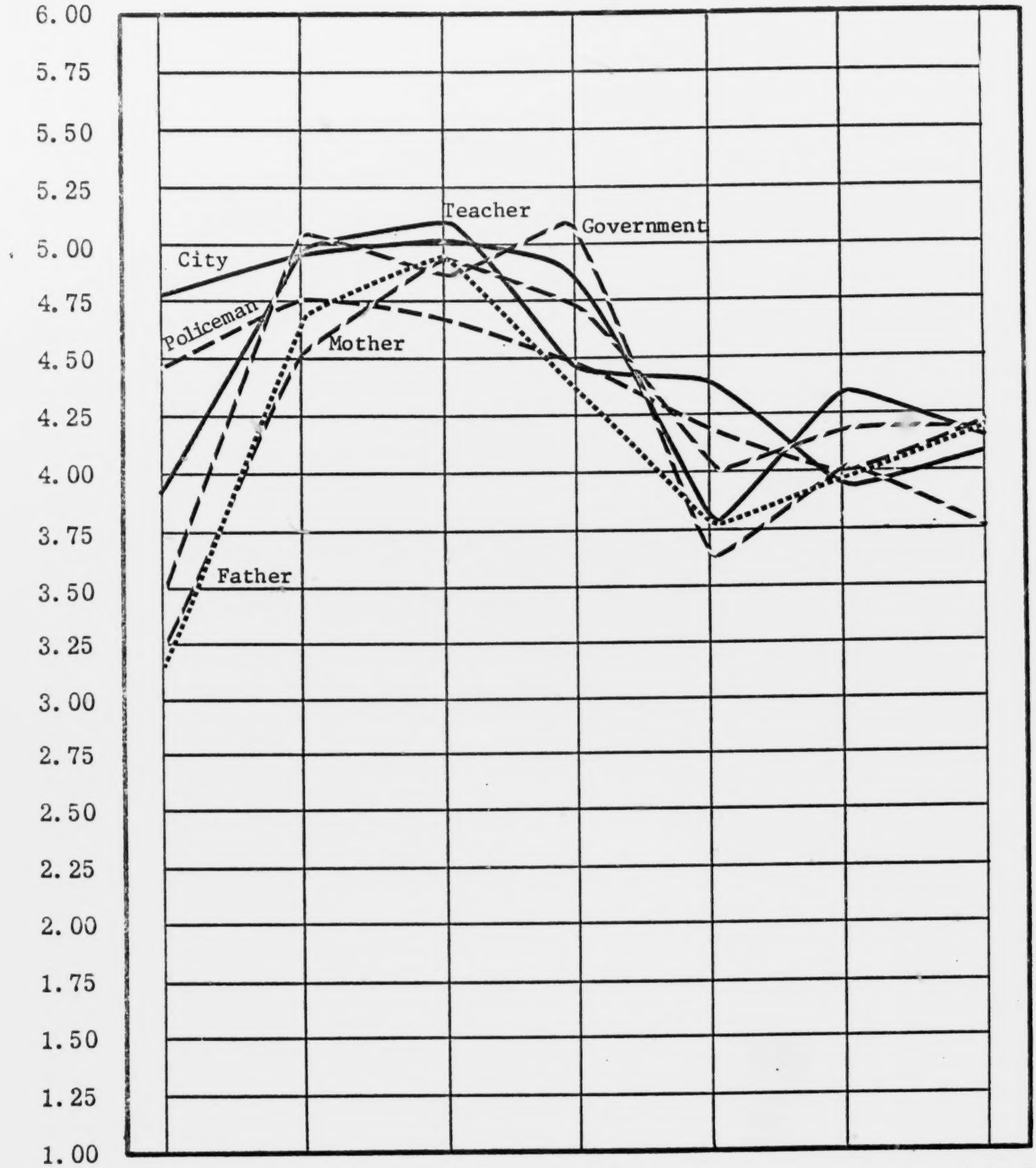
FIGURE 15
COMPARISON OF SIXTH GRADE STUDENTS'
PERCEPTION OF INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT
FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH AUTHORITY FIGURES'
RULES, BY NATION



Item: If you do not obey the laws or rules of (figure) does he punish you?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

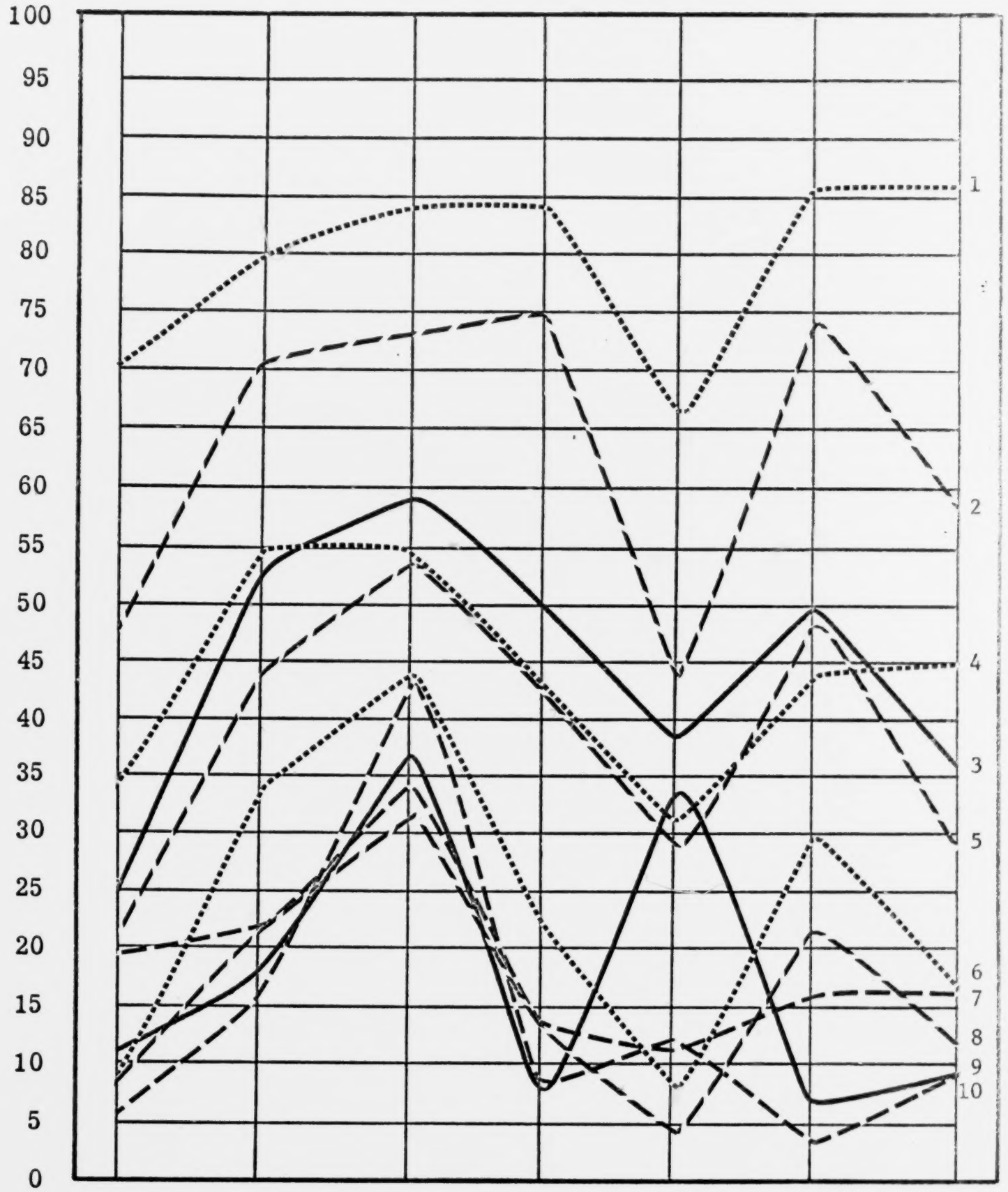
FIGURE 16
COMPARISON OF EIGHTH GRADE STUDENTS'
PERCEPTION OF INEVITABILITY OF PUNISHMENT
FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH AUTHORITY FIGURES'
RULES, BY NATION



Item: If you do not obey the laws or rules of (figure) does he punish you?

Scale: 1 - Never; 6 - Always.

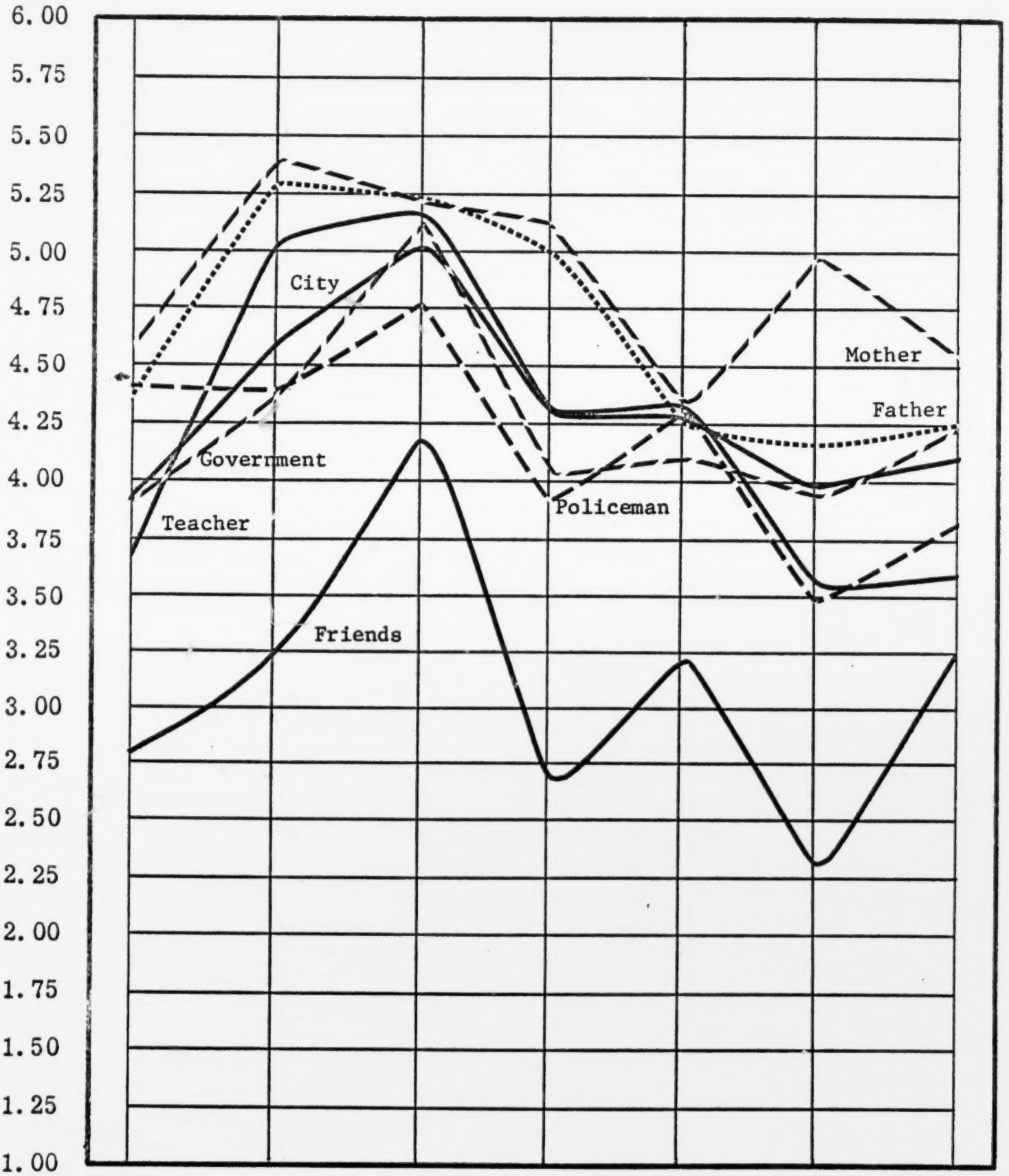
FIGURE 17
COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES REPORTING BELIEFS IN TYPES OF INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE, ACROSS GRADES, BY NATION



Country: Denmark Greece India Italy Japan U.S. Negro U.S.Caucasians

1 Parents for Non-Family Authorities
2 Total Family for School
3 Other Family Members for Parents
4 Non-Family Authorities for Non-Family Authorities
5 Other Family Members for Non-Family Authorities
6 Non-Family Authorities for Parents
7 Anyone Else for All Authority Figures
8 Non-Family Authorities for School
9 Friends for School
10 Friends for All (except School)

FIGURE 18
PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' RULES AS FAIR
ACROSS GRADES, BY NATION



Item: How many of (figure's) rules are fair?

Scale: 1 - None; 6 - All.

FIGURE 19
COMPARISON OF FOURTH GRADE STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' RULES AS FAIR, BY NATION

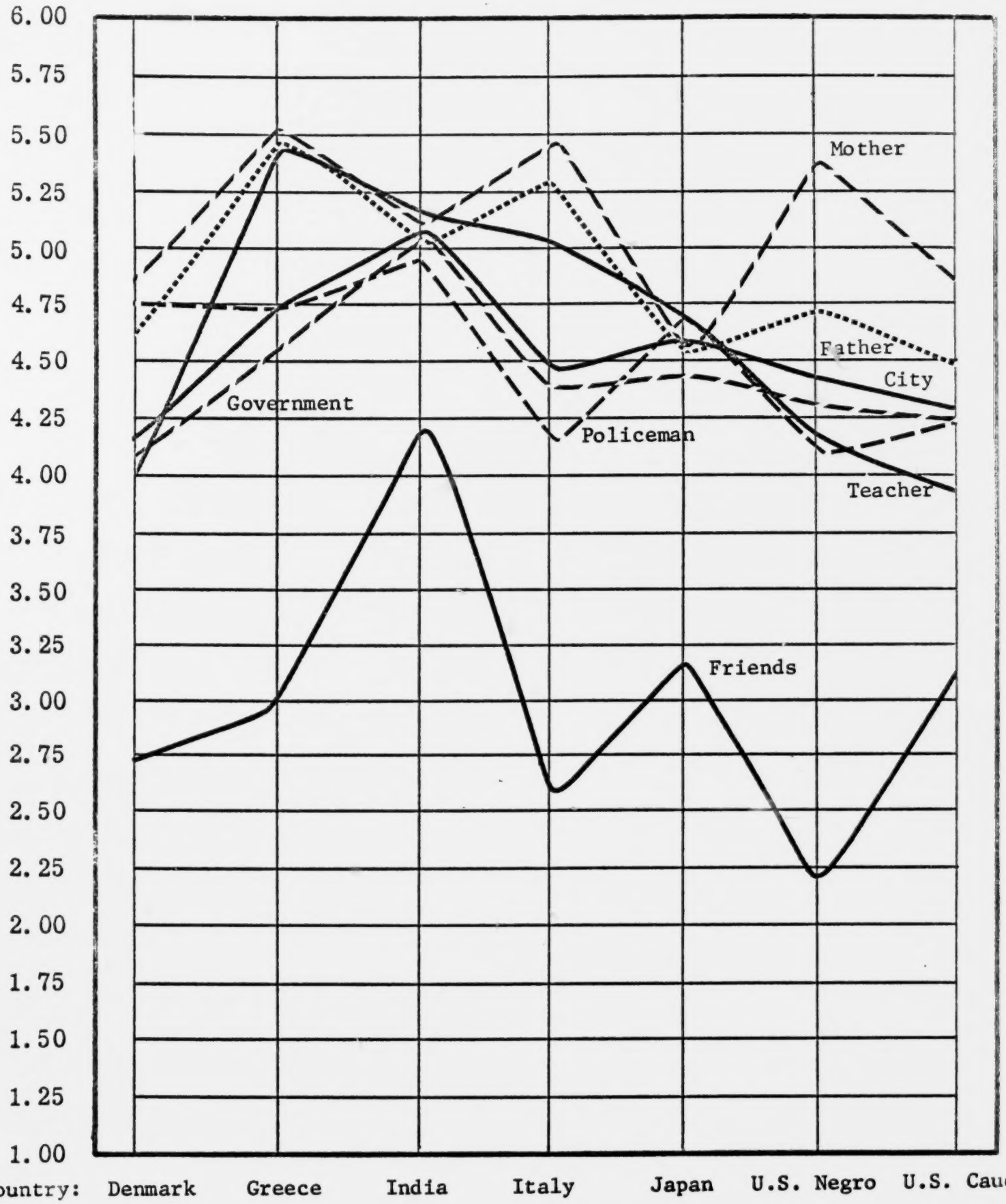


FIGURE 20
COMPARISON OF SIXTH GRADE STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' RULES AS FAIR, BY NATION

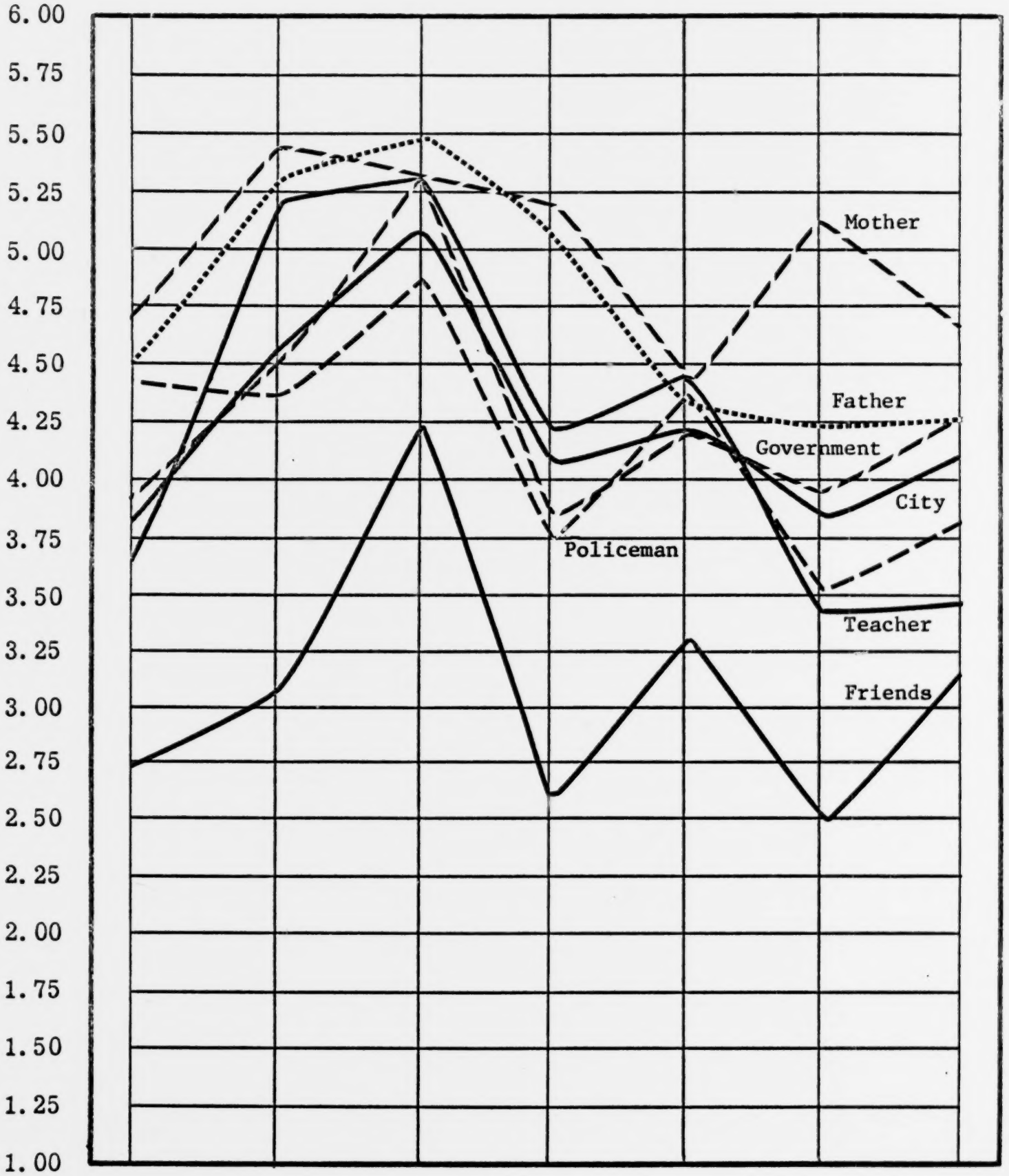
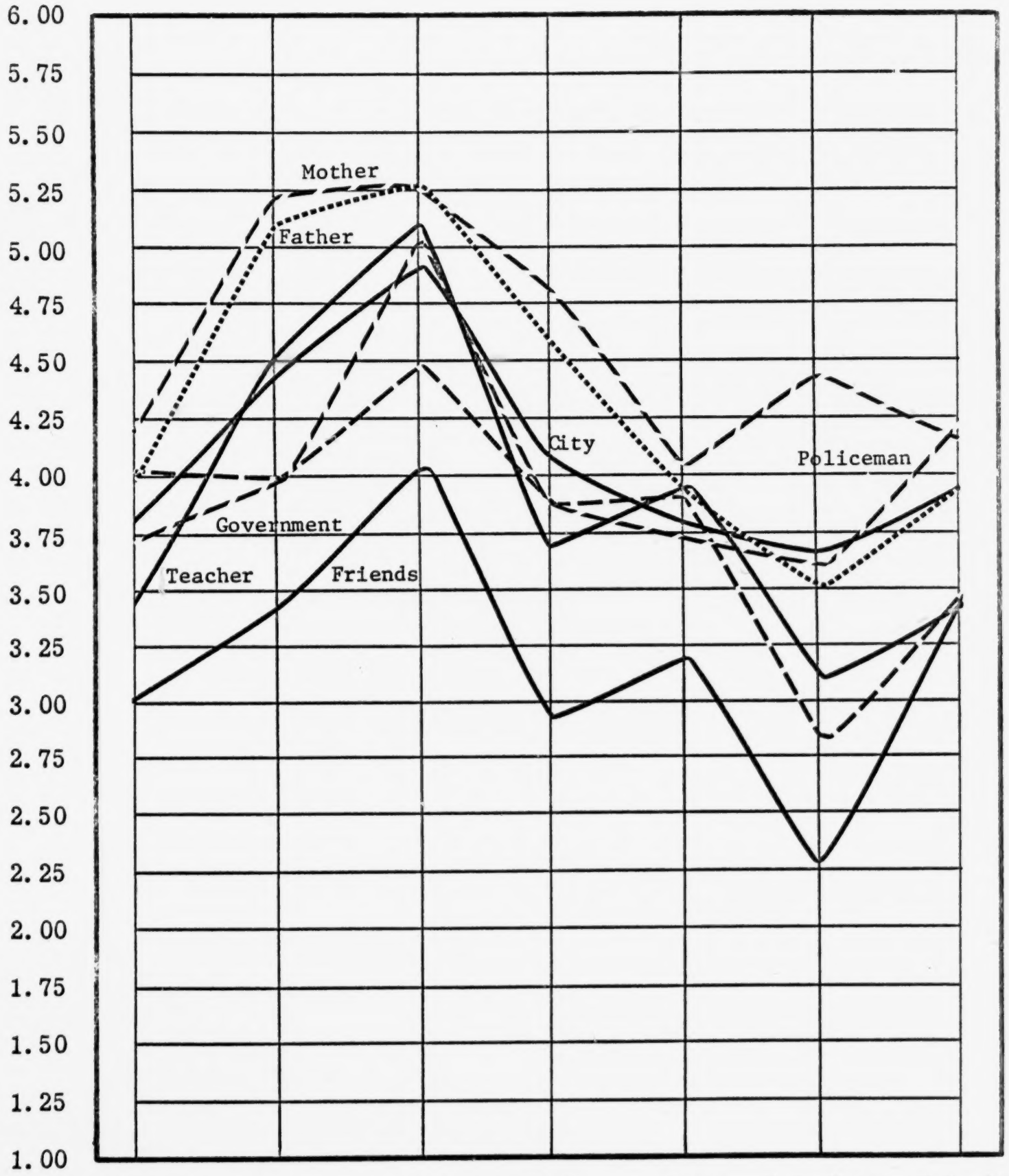


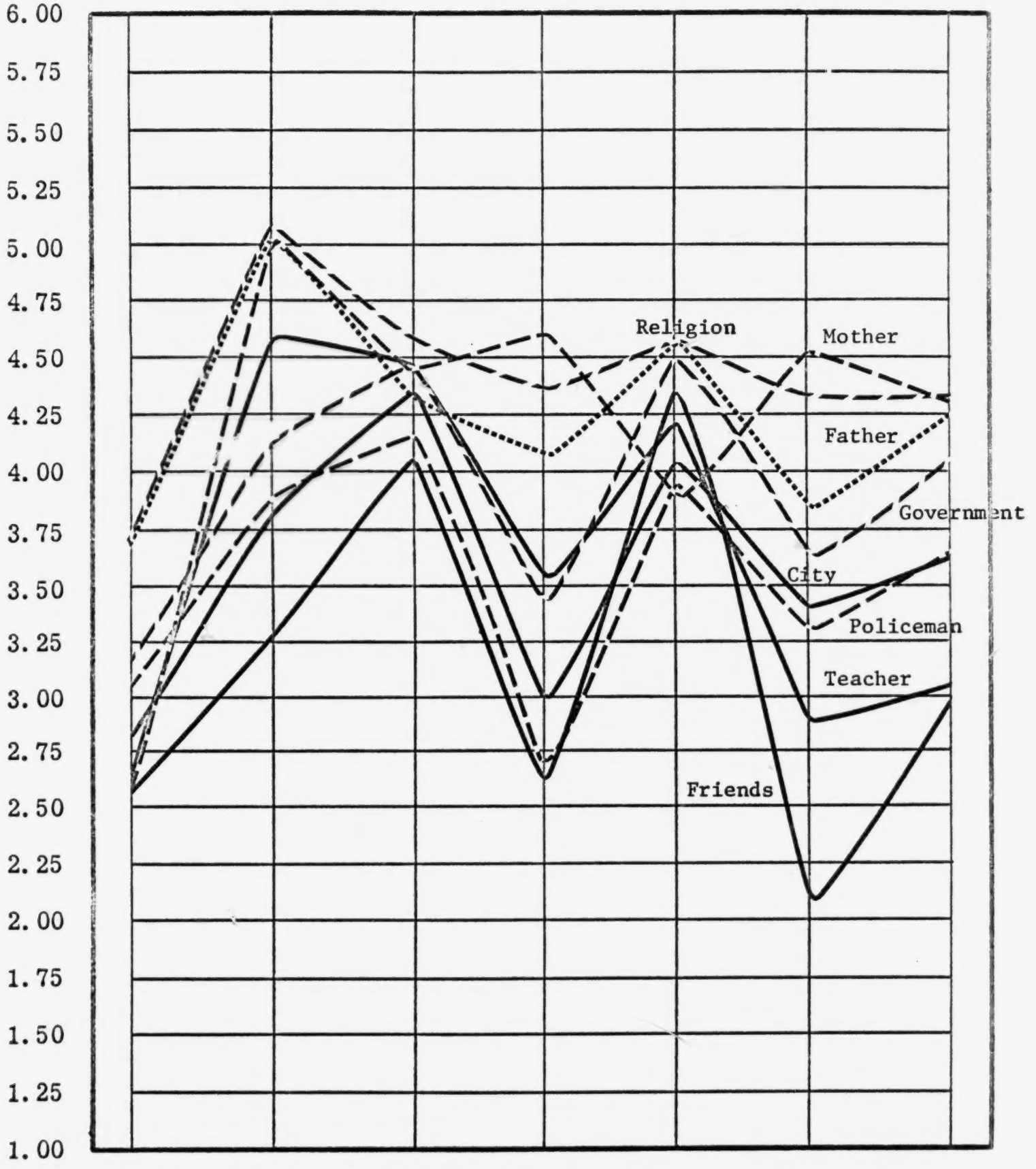
FIGURE 21
COMPARISON OF EIGHTH GRADE STUDENTS' PERCEPTION OF AUTHORITY FIGURES' RULES AS FAIR, BY NATION



Item: How many of (figure's) rules are fair?

Scale: 1 - None; 6 - All.

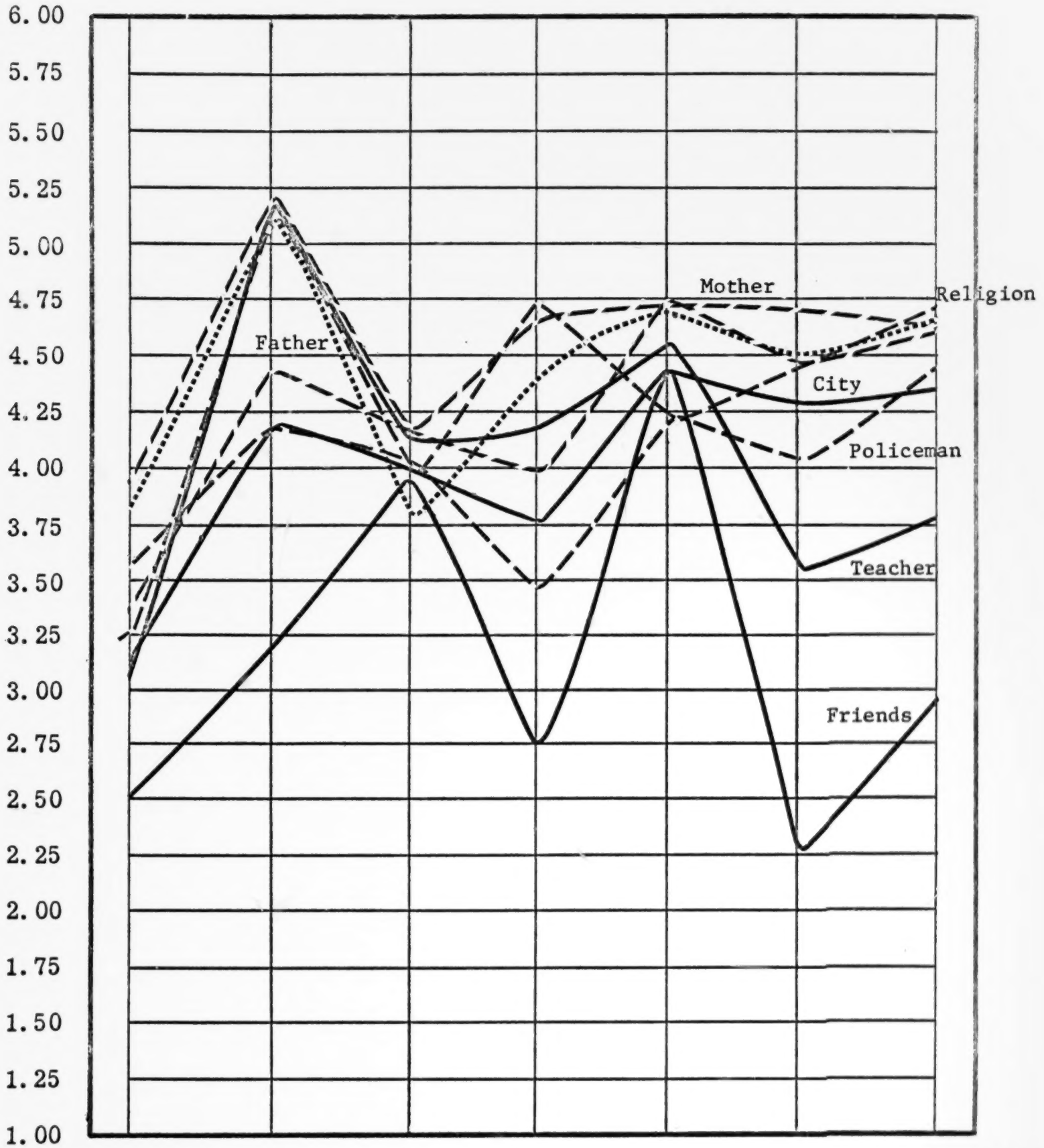
FIGURE 22
COMPARISON OF NATIONAL MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS
FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THE RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES



Item: When you break (figure's) rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very very much.

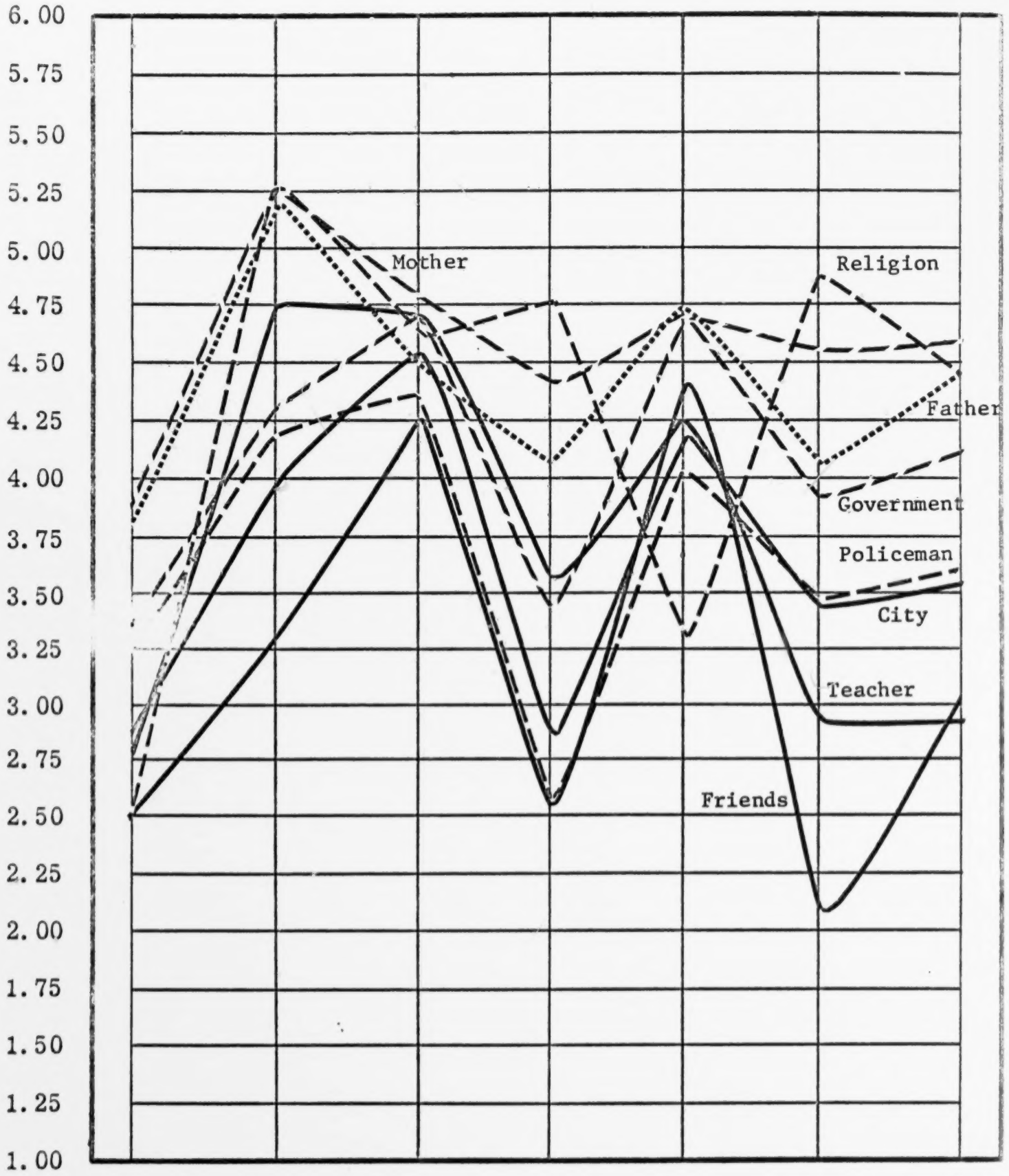
FIGURE 23
COMPARISON OF FOURTH GRADE STUDENTS' MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THE RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY NATION



Item: When you break (figure's) rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very very much.

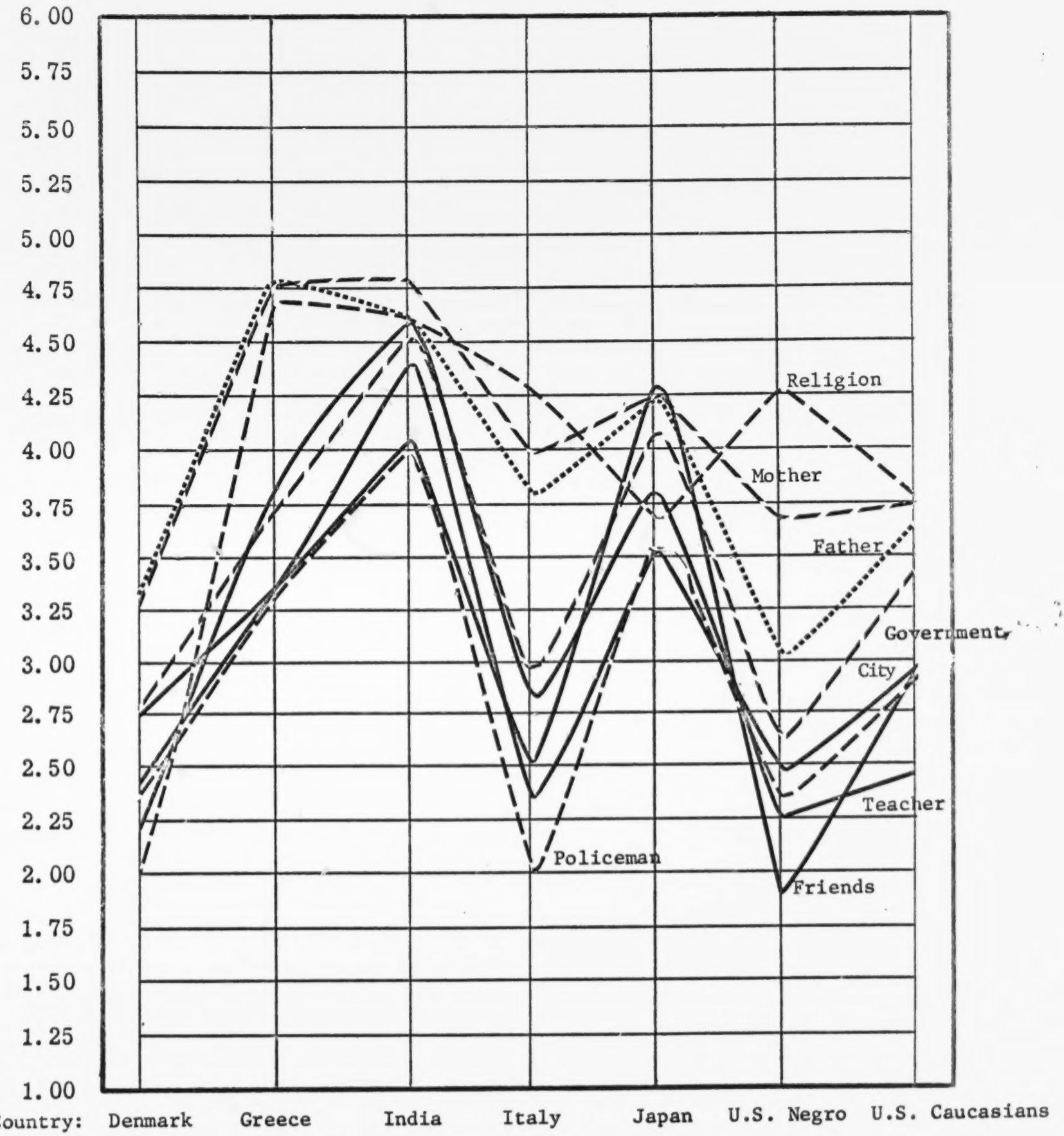
FIGURE 24
COMPARISON OF SIXTH GRADE STUDENTS' MEANS OF GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THE RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY NATION



Item: When you break (figure's) rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very very much.

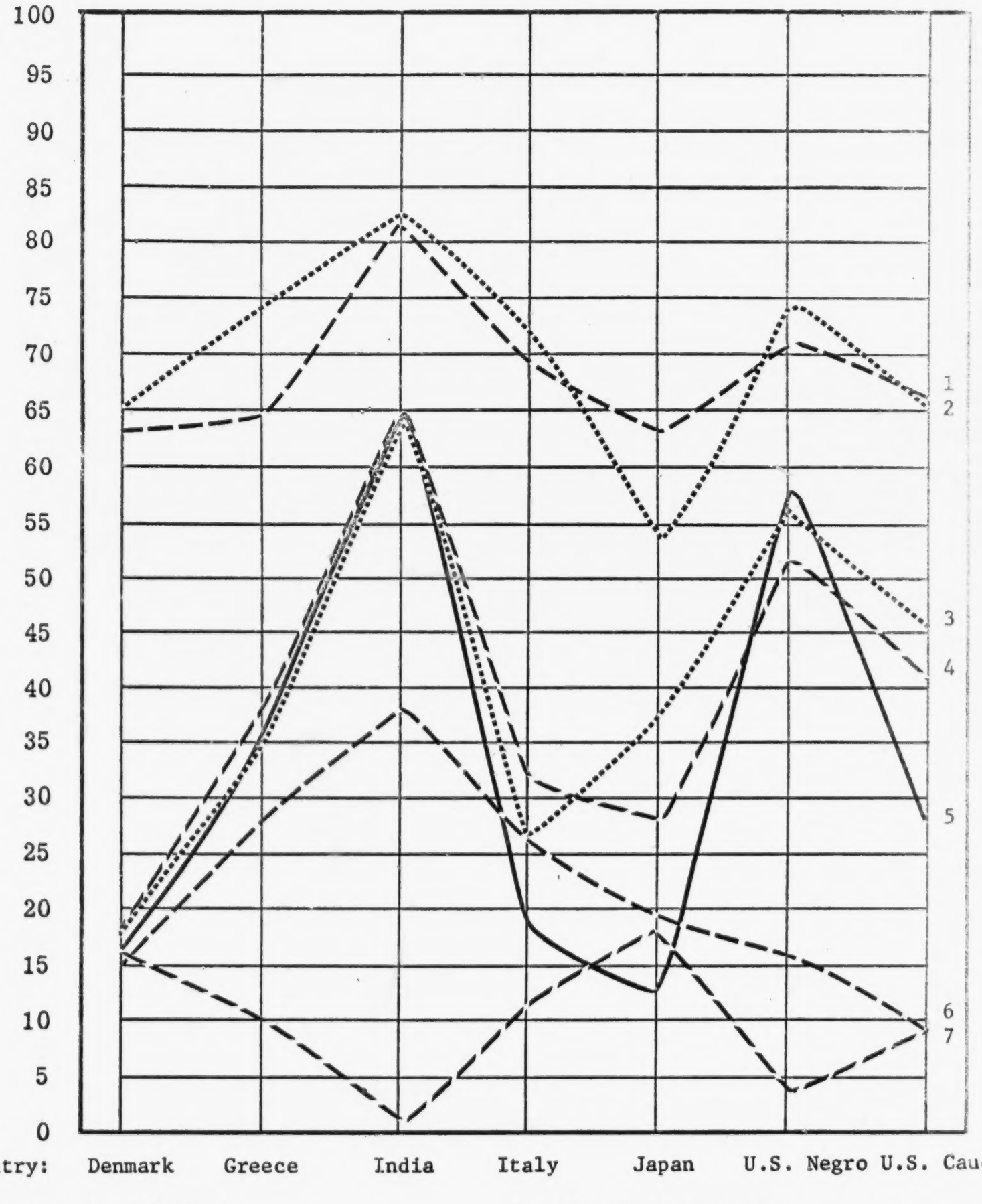
FIGURE 25
COMPARISON OF EIGHTH GRADE STUDENTS' MEANS ON GUILT FEELINGS FOLLOWING NONCOMPLIANCE WITH THE RULES OF AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY NATION



Item: When you break (figure's) rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?

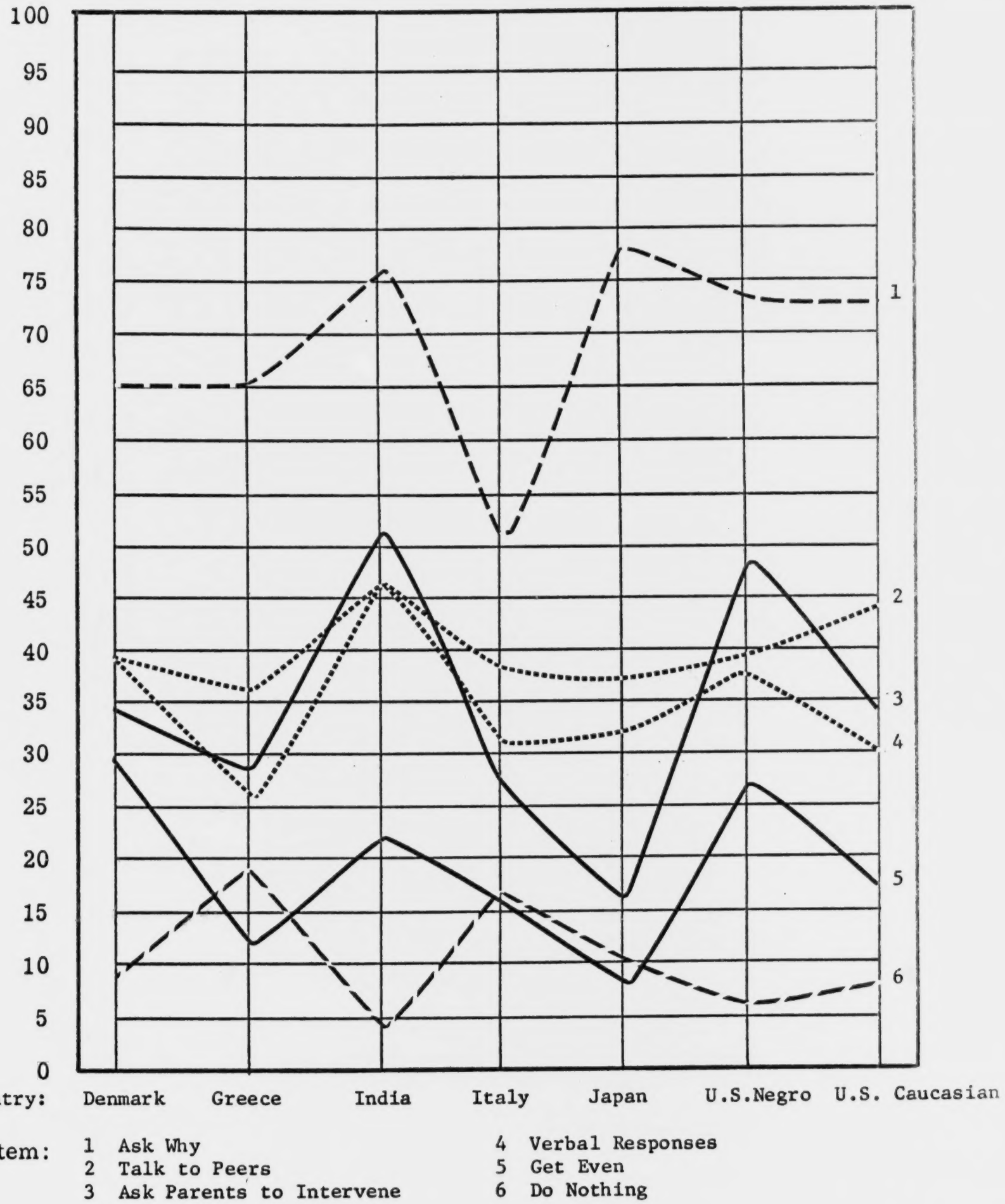
Scale: 1 - No, not at all; 6 - Yes, very very much.

FIGURE 26
COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES CITING TYPES OF RESPONSES
FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES,
ACROSS GRADES, BY NATION



Item:
1 Ask Why
2 Tell them they are wrong
3 Tell the Figure
4 Tell my Parents
5 Tell their Parents
6 Try to Punish them Myself
7 Do Nothing

FIGURE 27
COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES CITING TYPES OF REACTIONS
TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY ACROSS GRADES,
BY NATION



Item:
1 Ask Why
2 Talk to Peers
3 Ask Parents to Intervene
4 Verbal Responses
5 Get Even
6 Do Nothing

TABLE 1

COMPARISON OF GRADE MEANS ON BELIEFS ABOUT INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT OF PUNISHMENT FOR NONCOMPLIANCE, BY NATION

INDICES OF INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO	INDEX SCALE
Parents for Non-Family Authority Figures	4	5.77	6.36	6.37	6.93	5.25	6.99	7.11	0-8
	6	5.77	6.62	6.79	6.68	5.76	6.98	7.07	
	8	5.29	6.40	6.99	6.70	4.99	6.92	6.68	
Other Family Members for Parents	4	.53	1.09	1.16	1.09	.70	.72	.90	0-2
	6	.55	1.13	1.09	1.09	.94	.75	1.12	
	8	.45	1.01	1.33	.88	.67	.72	1.00	
Other Family Members for Non-Family Authority Figure	4	.66	1.39	1.75	1.54	.76	.90	1.30	0-3
	6	.66	1.37	1.41	1.29	1.12	.94	1.54	
	8	.57	1.22	1.71	1.07	.80	.85	1.54	
Total Family for School	4	1.55	2.15	2.15	2.28	1.32	1.82	2.25	0-3
	6	1.50	2.20	2.12	2.29	1.45	1.82	2.27	
	8	1.34	2.10	2.41	2.21	1.20	1.76	2.17	
Non-Family Authority Figure for Parents	4	.89	2.82	3.66	2.05	.52	1.45	2.58	0-6
	6	.33	2.15	2.54	1.02	.38	.83	1.50	
	8	.37	1.27	1.73	.93	.29	.71	1.33	
Non-Family Authority Figure for School	4	.41	.91	1.55	.58	.13	.60	.97	0-3
	6	.21	.67	.80	.34	.10	.27	.58	
	8	.17	.42	.52	.34	.14	.26	.42	

TABLE 1 (CONTINUED)

INDICES OF INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO	INDEX SCALE
Non-Family Authority for Non-Family Authority	4	4.29	7.13	7.62	5.84	3.36	5.50	6.06	0-12
	6	3.76	6.80	6.48	4.57	4.04	5.33	4.87	
	8	4.28	5.81	5.89	4.96	3.80	5.43	5.13	
Anyone Else for All Authority Figures	4	1.19	1.65	2.72	1.01	.73	1.17	1.29	0-6
	6	1.20	1.45	1.67	.70	.70	.92	1.03	
	8	1.17	.89	1.67	.61	.69	.89	.68	
Friends for School	4	.10	.13	.43	.14	.25	.07	.08	0-1
	6	.11	.17	.29	.04	.40	.09	.06	
	8	.13	.21	.38	.05	.34	.12	.05	
Friends for All Authority Figures (except school)	4	.27	.60	3.26	.69	.34	.46	.35	
	6	.34	.75	1.35	.30	.75	.37	.32	
	8	.37	.96	1.86	.40	.73	.56	.38	
SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS BY NATION									
Parents for Non-Family Authority Figures		Sex	SES	Grade	Sex	SES Sex	None	None	
Other Family for Parents		None	SES	None	None	Grade	None	None	
Other Family for Non-Family Authority Figures		None	SES	None	Grade	Grade	SES	Grade	
Total Family for School		None	SES	Grade	None	SES	SES	None	

TABLE 1 (CONTINUED)

INDICES OF INTER-SYSTEM REINFORCEMENT	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO	INDEX SCALE
Non-Family Authority Figures for Parents		Grade, Curv. SES	Grade SES	Grade SES	Grade	Grade SES	Grade SES	Grade SES	
Non-Family Authority Figures		Grade SES	Grade SES	Grade SES	Grade	None	Grade SES	Grade	
Non-Family Authority Figure for		Curv. Sex	Grade SES	Grade SES	Sex by Grade	SES	None	SES by Grade	
Anyone Else for All Authority		None	Grade SES	Grade SES	Grade	Sex	None	Grade	
Friends for School		None	SES	SES	Grade	Grade	None	None	
Friends for All Authority Figures		None	Grade SES	SES Sex by Grade	Grade	SES by Grade	None	None	

TABLE 2

COMPARISON OF GRADE MEANS ON CHOICES OF OFFENSES AGAINST PROPERTY, PERSONS, OR SOCIAL SYSTEMS AS THE WORST BY GRADE, BY NATION

"WHICH IS WORST" INDICES	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO	INDEX SCALE
Offenses against Property	4	3.64	3.66	2.02	3.23	4.57	2.88	2.29	
	6	3.61	4.02	2.35	3.14	4.40	3.20	2.93	
	8	3.34	3.82	2.03	3.01	4.19	3.22	2.81	
	Total	3.53	3.83	2.13	3.13	4.39	3.10	2.68	0-5
		(71%)	(77%)	(43%)	(63%)	(88%)	(62%)	(54%)	
Offenses against Persons	4	.58	.52	1.25	.98	.15	.98	1.23	
	6	.76	.48	1.17	1.04	.23	.98	1.01	
	8	1.07	.66	1.07	1.27	.38	1.20	1.13	
	Total	.81	.55	1.17	1.10	.25	1.05	1.12	0-5
		(16%)	(11%)	(23%)	(22%)	(5%)	(21%)	(22%)	
Offenses against Social System	4	.72	.74	1.37	.71	.27	1.13	1.26	
	6	.60	.48	1.30	.76	.36	.81	.93	
	8	.50	.41	1.81	.70	.40	.57	.97	
	Total	.61	.54	1.49	.72	.34	.84	1.05	0-5
		(12%)	(11%)	(20%)	(14%)	(7%)	(17%)	(21%)	

SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS							
Property	SES	Sex	SES Curv.	None	Grade	Grade Sex SES by Grade	Grade, Curv.
Persons	Grade SES	None	SES	Grade	Grade	SES by Grade	None
Social Systems	Grade	Grade SES	Grade Curv.	None	SES	Grade SES Sex	Grade

TABLE 3

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN MAKING FAMILY RULES, BY GRADE, BY NATION

ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO
Father	4	08	18	20	27	11	10	12
	6	06	8	13	16	07	08	12
	8	07	12	17	10	07	14	06
	Total	07	13	17	18	08	11	10
Mother	4	15	4	09	04	06	07	15
	6	09	5	02	05	05	11	19
	8	13	4	00	03	08	10	24
	Total	12	4	04	04	06	09	19
Father and Mother Together	4	46	49	28	54	20	56	56
	6	48	60	36	60	26	55	51
	8	33	53	47	57	15	57	44
	Total	42	54	37	57	20	56	50
Whole Family	4	31	29	43	16	63	28	16
	6	37	27	49	20	62	26	18
	8	46	30	36	29	70	20	26
	Total	38	28	43	22	65	25	20

TABLE 4

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES ON PERCEPTION OF THE ROLES OF FAMILY MEMBERS IN ENFORCING FAMILY RULES BY GRADE, BY NATION

ALTERNATIVES	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO
Father	4	13	24	13	20	11	13	17
	6	08	15	19	18	06	08	14
	8	12	18	19	09	05	10	11
	Total	11	19	17	16	07	10	14
Mother	4	17	8	14	09	21	09	15
	6	14	5	05	11	15	14	22
	8	15	10	06	08	16	14	27
	Total	15	8	08	09	17	12	21
Father and Mother Together	4	41	46	34	57	29	51	50
	6	40	58	37	55	19	46	43
	8	32	46	39	65	18	57	39
	Total	38	50	37	59	22	51	44
Whole Family	4	29	21	38	14	39	27	19
	6	38	21	38	16	60	32	21
	8	41	27	36	18	60	19	23
	Total	36	23	37	16	53	26	21

TABLE 5

COMPARISON OF GRADE MEANS ON CHILDREN'S RESPONSES FOLLOWING PEERS' DISOBEDIENCE OF RULES OF FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY NATION

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO	INDEX SCALE
Ask Them Why	4	3.60	3.32	3.59	3.82	3.59	3.41	3.60	0-5
	6	3.11	3.28	4.29	3.53	3.04	3.33	3.72	
	8	2.76	3.03	4.36	3.04	2.87	3.19	3.30	
Tell Them They are Wrong	4	3.67	3.67	3.53	4.00	2.96	3.62	3.84	0-5
	6	3.29	3.81	4.18	3.67	2.62	3.21	3.80	
	8	2.85	3.59	4.64	3.16	2.50	2.88	3.52	
Tell my Parents	4	1.16	2.85	3.43	2.19	1.80	2.39	3.09	0-5
	6	.86	1.95	3.47	1.66	1.44	2.27	2.63	
	8	.66	.89	2.88	.86	1.02	1.44	2.08	
Tell Their Parents	4	1.10	2.79	3.22	1.56	.78	2.37	3.76	0-5
	6	.37	1.65	3.40	.85	.56	1.29	2.83	
	8	.30	.74	3.20	.38	.50	.55	2.06	
Tell the Figure	4	1.34	2.76	3.34	1.98	2.33	3.11	3.50	0-5
	6	.78	1.64	3.24	1.20	1.78	2.36	2.84	
	8	.52	.72	2.96	.64	1.36	1.44	2.09	
Try to Punish Them Myself	4	1.16	2.16	2.41	1.80	1.01	.63	1.12	0-5
	6	.70	1.36	1.93	1.29	.86	.33	.72	
	8	.40	.73	1.35	.74	1.00	.38	.65	
Do Nothing	4	.46	.26	.06	.18	.61	.22	.01	
	6	.84	.56	.05	.39	1.06	.45	.14	
	8	1.26	.77	.01	1.11	1.11	.74	.42	

TABLE 5 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO	INDEX SCALE
SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS BY NATION									
Ask Why		Grade	SES	Grade SES	Grade Sex	Grade SES	SES Sex	None	
Tell Them Wrong		Grade	SES	Grade	Grade	None	Grade SES	None	
Tell My Parents		Grade	Grade SES	Grade SES	Grade Sex	Grade SES Sex	Grade SES	Grade	
Tell Their Parents		Grade SES	Grade SES	SES	Grade SES	SES Sex	Grade SES	Grade	
Tell the Figure		Grade	Grade SES	Sex	Grade	SES by Grade	Grade SES	Grade SES	
Try to Punish		Grade	Grade SES	Grade SES	Grade SES Sex	Sex	Grade SES Sex	Grade Sex	
Do Nothing		Grade	Grade SES	None	Grade	SES by Grade	Grade SES	Grade	

TABLE 6

COMPARISON OF GRADE MEANS ON CHILDREN'S RESPONSES TO INJUSTICE FROM TOTAL AUTHORITY (SUMMARY FOR FIVE AUTHORITY FIGURES), BY NATION

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO	INDEX SCALE
Do Nothing	4	.60	.93	.13	1.01	.62	.52	.32	0-5
	6	.44	1.29	.19	.72	.51	.42	.35	
	8	.32	.61	.21	.82	.37	.37	.31	
Ask Why	4	2.25	2.42	2.70	1.96	3.03	2.81	2.63	0-4
	6	2.54	2.43	3.16	2.04	3.11	2.86	2.99	
	8	3.02	2.96	3.22	2.16	3.17	3.14	3.14	
Verbal Responses	4	6.22	5.32	8.65	5.24	4.55	5.47	6.80	0-17
	6	6.28	3.67	8.29	5.61	5.40	4.71	5.88	
	8	7.91	4.15	6.68	4.76	6.35	4.96	6.68	
Talk to Peers	4	2.77	3.43	5.39	3.30	3.15	3.28	3.34	
	6	4.05	3.24	4.54	3.69	3.80	4.61	3.98	
	8	5.05	4.34	3.84	4.27	4.21	5.32	4.27	
Ask Parents to Intervene	4	1.86	1.63	2.79	1.53	.85	2.02	2.71	
	6	1.65	1.28	2.70	1.41	.79	1.54	2.28	
	8	1.55	1.27	2.14	1.11	.75	1.51	2.30	
Get Even	4	1.52	.97	1.83	.83	.49	1.14	1.57	
	6	1.51	.45	.90	.93	.30	.74	1.27	
	8	1.34	.44	.59	.53	.37	.65	1.24	

TABLE 6 (CONTINUED)

RESPONSE CATEGORIES	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO	INDEX SCALE
SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS BY NATION									
Do Nothing		Grade Sex	Sex by Grade	None	None	Grade SES	None	None	
Ask Why		Grade SES	Grade	Grade	None	SES Sex by Grade	Grade	Grade	
Verbal Responses		Grade Sex SES	Grade	Grade Sex	Sex	Sex SES by Grade	Sex SES	Sex	
Talk to Peers		Grade SES	Grade	Grade SES	Grade Sex	Grade	Grade SES	Grade	
Ask Parents to Intervene		SES	None	Grade SES	Grade Sex	Sex	Grade	Grade	
Get Even		Sex SES	Grade	Grade Sex SES	Sex	Sex SES by Grade	Grade Sex	None	

TABLE 7
COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN CITING THE "DO NOTHING" OPTION IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES BY GRADE, BY NATION

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO
Parents	4	9	17	2	18	6	7	6
	6	5	26	4	12	7	5	6
	8	3	10	5	12	4	4	5
	Total	6	18	4	14	6	5	6
Teacher	4	9	23	1	20	14	7	6
	6	4	29	3	14	8	6	3
	8	3	9	6	14	5	5	2
	Total	5	20	3	16	9	6	4
Other	4	17	17	4	22	18	16	6
	6	14	24	4	18	14	12	10
	8	12	15	2	22	12	12	10
	Total	14	19	3	21	15	13	9
SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS BY NATION								
Parents		Grade	Sex by Grade	None	None	SES	None	None
Teacher		Grade	Sex by Grade	Grade	None	Grade	None	None
Other Authority		Sex	SES Grade (Curv.)	None	None	SES	None	None

TABLE 8

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN CITING THE "ASK WHY" OPTION IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES BY GRADE, BY NATION

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO
Parents	4	64	62	66	58	84	77	68
	6	76	63	78	61	86	82	76
	8	84	77	80	64	84	87	78
	Total	75	67	75	61	85	82	74
Teacher	4	49	58	67	36	67	59	62
	6	49	51	77	37	61	52	73
	8	67	69	75	35	68	62	78
	Total	55	59	73	36	65	58	71
Other Authority	4	48	60	70	43	69	66	65
	6	53	66	82	45	76	71	74
	8	69	73	88	52	82	78	81
	Total	57	66	80	47	76	32	73
SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS BY NATION								
Parents		Grade	Grade	Grade	None	None	SES Grade	Grade
Teacher		SES Grade	Grade (Curv.)	None	Sex	Sex	Sex SES	Grade
Other Authority		SES Grade	Sex Grade	SES Grade	None	SES	SES Grade	Grade

TABLE 9

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN CITING "VERBAL RESPONSES" IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES BY GRADE, BY NATION

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO
Parents	4	41	31	52	34	35	37	35
	6	47	19	45	40	43	34	27
	8	59	26	11	39	47	37	31
	Total	49	25	36	38	42	36	31
Teacher	4	35	24	47	22	21	30	42
	6	35	13	44	26	22	24	43
	8	45	18	34	20	28	26	51
	Total	38	18	42	23	24	27	45
Other Authority	4	34	31	52	33	23	29	43
	6	30	24	54	31	28	24	36
	8	37	24	49	11	34	24	40
	Total	34	26	52	25	28	26	40
SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS BY NATION								
Parents		Grade	Grade (Curv.)	SES, Grade	None	SES by Grade	SES	Grade (Curv.)
Teacher		SES Grade	Grade (Curv.)	SES, Grade	Sex	Sex SES by Grade	Sex	Sex
Other Authority		SES Sex	None	Sex	Sex SES Grade	Sex SES by Grade	Sex	Sex

TABLE 10

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN CITING THE "TALK TO PEERS" OPTIONS IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES BY GRADE, BY NATION

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO
Parents	4	25	30	55	26	24	31	32
	6	32	23	44	28	22	38	34
	8	42	32	31	36	25	49	40
	Total	33	28	43	30	24	39	35
Teacher	4	36	31	52	34	38	38	40
	6	54	34	44	40	48	52	46
	8	61	52	34	49	56	61	50
	Total	50	39	43	41	47	50	45
Other Authority	4	26	39	54	40	38	32	32
	6	42	41	48	44	48	50	42
	8	54	49	48	46	52	53	42
	Total	41	43	50	43	46	45	39
SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS BY NATION								
Parents		SES Grade	Grade (Curv.)	SES Grade	Sex	None	SES Grade	None
Teacher		SES Grade	SES Grade	SES Grade	Sex Grade	Grade	SES Grade	None
Other Authority		SES Grade	None	Sex	None	Grade	SES Grade	Grade

TABLE 11

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN CITING THE "ASK PARENTS TO INTERVENE" OPTIONS IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES BY GRADE, BY NATION

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO
Parents	4	36	30	58	34	19	36	40
	6	34	19	50	30	14	24	26
	8	33	17	36	22	22	23	26
	Total	34	22	48	29	18	28	31
Teacher	4	47	31	54	32	14	45	68
	6	43	24	49	40	12	37	69
	8	32	30	34	32	11	30	70
	Total	41	28	46	35	13	37	69
Other Authority	4	33	35	54	28	18	42	62
	6	28	33	60	20	20	34	53
	8	30	32	55	17	20	38	54
	Total	30	33	56	22	19	38	56
SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS BY NATION								
Parents		SES	Grade	SES Grade	SES Grade	SES	SES Grade	Grade
Teacher		SES Grade	None	SES Grade	None	SES	Grade	None
Other Authority		None	None	Sex	Sex Grade	None	None	None

TABLE 12

COMPARISON OF PERCENTAGES OF CHILDREN CITING THE "GET EVEN" OPTION IN REACTION TO INJUSTICE FROM PARENTS, TEACHER, AND OTHER AUTHORITY FIGURES, BY GRADE, BY NATION

AUTHORITY FIGURES	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO
Parents	4	26	19	40	10	14	24	27
	6	28	6	18	10	6	17	20
	8	29	7	14	6	8	13	20
	Total	28	11	24	9	9	18	22
Teacher	4	41	17	32	18	8	26	36
	6	45	7	18	21	6	19	36
	8	40	11	8	12	9	18	42
	Total	42	12	19	17	8	24	38
Other Authority	4	30	21	36	22	6	20	34
	6	25	12	18	26	6	10	26
	8	18	9	11	14	6	10	22
	Total	24	14	22	21	6	13	27
SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS BY NATION								
Parents		None	Grade	SES Grade Sex	None	Sex SES	Sex Grade	None
Teacher		SES	SES by Grade	SES Grade	SES	Sex SES	Sex	None
Other Authority		SES Grade Sex	Grade	SES Grade	Sex	Sex SES by Grade	Sex Grade	Grade

TABLE 13

COMPARISON OF GRADE MEANS ON THREE MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION (INTEREST, EFFICACY, AND ACTIVITY) BY NATION

MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO	INDEX SCALE
Political Interest	4	2.07	4.21	4.63	3.51	2.90	4.35	4.44	1-6
	6	2.39	3.76	4.84	2.61	3.20	4.52	4.63	(Ordinal
	8	2.84	3.60	4.95	2.73	3.14	4.34	4.46	Item)
	Total	2.43	3.86	4.81	2.95	3.08	4.40	4.51	
Political Efficacy	4	1.88	2.64	4.07	2.94	2.24	2.84	2.75	1-6
	6	1.85	1.85	3.94	2.51	2.31	2.80	2.74	(Combination
	8	1.89	1.72	3.32	2.10	2.32	3.14	2.51	of 2 ordinal
	Total	1.87	2.07	3.78	2.52	2.29	2.93	2.67	items)
Political Activity	4	0.71	0.97	2.46	0.77	1.22	2.02	2.00	1-4
	6	0.97	1.37	2.50	0.80	1.48	2.45	2.10	(Combination
	8	1.23	1.81	2.30	1.16	1.62	2.66	2.26	of 4 nominal
	Total	.97	1.38	2.42	.91	1.44	2.38	2.12	items)
	Total %	.24	.34	.60	.23	.36	.60	.53	
SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS BY NATION									
Political Interest		Grade SES,Sex	SES by Grade	None	Grade (Curv.)	SES by Grade,Sex	SES by Sex	None	
Political Efficacy		None	SES by Grade	Grade	Grade	SES,Sex	SES by Grade	None	
Political Activity		Grade SES Sex	Grade SES	SES	Grade Sex	Grade SES	Grade SES	None	

TABLE 14

COMPARISON OF GRADE MEANS BY NATION ON PARTICIPATION IN MAKING FAMILY AND CLASSROOM DECISIONS

ITEMS	GRADE	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S. CAUCASIAN	U.S. NEGRO	INDEX SCALE
Participation in Family Decisions	4	3.31	4.17	5.02	3.04	4.28	3.32	3.51	1-6
	6	3.55	3.21	4.74	2.94	4.32	3.42	3.22	
	8	3.79	3.73	4.45	3.02	4.23	3.29	3.32	
	Total	3.55	3.70	4.74	3.00	4.28	3.34	3.35	
Participation in Classroom Decisions	4	3.59	4.54	4.95	3.18	4.29	3.10	3.04	1-6
	6	3.42	4.03	4.92	3.09	4.22	3.12	2.93	
	8	3.52	3.92	4.69	2.97	3.91	3.22	2.94	
	Total	3.51	4.16	4.85	3.08	4.14	3.15	2.97	
SIGNIFICANT EFFECTS BY NATION									
Family Decisions		Grade SES	SES by Grade	SES by Grade	None	SES Sex	SES	None	
Classroom Decisions		SES Sex	Grade	None	None	Grade SES	SES Sex by Grade	None	

TABLE 15

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG YIAPR VARIABLES ACROSS ALL GRADE-SEX GROUPS, BY NATION
(PERCENTAGE OF SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS BY PAIR OF VARIABLES)

YIAPR VARIABLES		DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S.C.	U.S.N.	AVERAGE %
Affiliation (liking) with	N	26	16	14	15	25	27	22	
Willingness to Help	%	87	53	50	50	83	90	73	69
Power to punish with	N	20	19	20	17	21	22	22	
Inevit. of Punishment	%	83	79	83	70	87	91	91	83
Rules Fair with	N	23	16	18	17	18	24	26	
Willingness to Help	%	77	53	60	54	60	80	86	67
Rules Fair with	N	27	21	17	27	21	29	27	
Liking	%	90	70	54	90	70	96	90	80
Rules Fair with	N	9	9	9	11	14	4	14	
Power to Punish	%	30	30	30	37	47	13	46	33
Rules Fair with	N	1	18	8	4	10	4	7	
Inevit. of Punishment	%	3	60	27	13	33	13	23	24
Guilt with	N	25	26	6	12	27	26	26	
Affiliation(liking)	%	83	87	20	40	90	86	86	70
Guilt with	N	24	19	7	17	23	33	24	
Willingness to Help	%	57	45	16	40	54	79	57	49
Guilt with	N	37	35	11	34	34	39	35	
Rules Fair	%	88	83	26	80	80	92	83	76
Guilt with	N	21	17	14	21	22	22	13	
Power to Punish	%	50	40	33	50	52	52	30	44
Guilt with	N	15	24	12	11	23	15	12	
Inevit. of Punishment	%	41	66	33	30	63	41	33	44
Guilt with Self-	N	19	22	8/5*	17	27	30	18	
Punishment for	%	39	45	16/10*	35	56	62	37	41
Detected Disobedience									

TABLE 15 (CONTINUED)

YIAPR VARIABLES		DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S.C.	U.S.N.	AVERAGE %
<u>Guilt with Beliefs in Inter-system Support</u>;									
Parents for Parents	N	(17)	(17)	(3)	(10)	(20)	(11)	(7/1*)	
	%	35	35	6	20	41	22	14/2*	24
Parents for Non-family Authorities	N	(28)	(34)	(2)	(18)	(38)	(16)	(12)	
	%	58	70	4	37	79	33	25	43
Other Family for Parents	N	(16)	(30)	(9/3*)	(8)	(12)	(7)	(7)	
	%	33	62	18/6*	16	25	14	14	26/1*
Other Family for Non-family Authorities	N	(16)	(30)	(4/6*)	(9)	(11)	(12)	(10)	
	%	33	62	8/12*	18	22	25	20	27/1*
Total Family for School	N	(26)	(28)	(7)	(8)	(29)	(15)	(9)	
	%	54	58	14	16	60	31	18	36
Non-Family Authorities for Parents	N	(10)	(35)	(2/4*)	(15)	(4/1*)	(18)	(16)	
	%	20	75	4/8*	31	8/2*	37	33	29/1*
Non-Family Authorities for School	N	(4)	(25)	(4/4*)	(12/1*)	(2/2*)	(5)	(14)	
	%	8	52	8/8*	25/2*	4/4*	10	29	19/2*
Non-Family Authorities for Non-Family Authorities	N	(21)	(29)	(4/4*)	(29)	(19)	(20)	(17)	
	%	43	60	8/8*	60	39	41	35	49/1*
<u>Guilt with Reactions to Noncompliant Peers</u>									
Tell my Parents	N	(21)	(12)	(2)	(8/1*)	(14)	(29)	(24)	
	%	50	28	4	19/2*	33	69	57	37/1*
Tell their Parents	N	(2)	(8)	(2)	(2)	(2/1*)	(15)	(18)	
	%	4	19	4	4	4/2*	35	42	16/1*

TABLE 15 (CONTINUED)

YIAPR VARIABLES		DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S.C.	U.S.N.	AVERAGE %
Tell the Figure	N	(15)	(9)	(2/1*)	(8/1*)	(28)	(27)	(26)	
	%	35	20	4/2*	19/2*	66	64	61	38/1*
Ask Why	N	(27)	(21)	(7)	(14)	(30)	(31)	(19)	
	%	64	50	16	33	71	73	45	50
Tell Them Wrong	N	(32)	(31)	(10)	(15)	(26)	(31)	(23)	
	%	76	73	23	35	61	73	54	56
Try to Punish Them	N	(2/1*)	(6)	(3*)	(3/1*)	(2*)	(7*)	(14*)	
	%	4/2*	14	7*	7/2*	4*	16*	33*	3/9*
Do Nothing	N	(26*)	(17*)	(4*)	(15*)	(15*)	(28*)	(14*)	
	%	61*	40*	9*	35*	35*	66*	33*	40*
<u>Images of and Attitudes toward Authority with Choices of two Types of Reactions to Injustice</u>									
"Verbal Responses" with "Liking"	N	(14*)	(17*)	(2/3*)	14*	(7*)	(26*)	26*	
	%	25*	31*	3/5*	25*	12*	48*	48*	27*
"Verbal Responses" with "Helpful"	N	(4*)	(12*)	(2)	(7*)	(2/9*)	(19*)	(21*)	
	%	7*	22*	3	12*	3/16*	35*	39*	19*
"Verbal Responses" with "Rules Fair"	N	(3*)	(19*)		(16*)	(19*)	(44*)	(33*)	
	%	5*	35*		29*	35*	81*	61*	35*
"Verbal Responses" with "Guilt"	N	(17*)	(17*)	(1*)	(18*)	(2*)	(37*)	(34*)	
	%	31*	31*	1*	33*	3*	68*	62*	33*
"Verbal Responses" with "Power to Punish"	N	(2*)	(7*)	(3*)	(9*)	(1/5*)	(3*)	(1/13*)	
	%	3*	12*	5*	16*	1/9*	5*	1/23*	10*
"Verbal Responses" with "Inevit. of Punishment"	N	(2/2*)	(10*)	(1/3*)	(2*)	(10)	(3*)	(3/3*)	
	%	3/3*	18*	1/5*	3*	18	5*	5/5*	4/5*

TABLE 15 (CONTINUED)

YIAPR VARIABLES		DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S.C.	U.S.N.	AVERAGE %
"Get Even" with "Liking"	N	(20*)	(11*)	(1/1*)	(20*)	(1/9*)	(26*)	(29*)	
	%	37*	20*	1/1*	37*	1/16*	48*	53*	30*
"Get Even" with "Helpful"	N	(13*)	(10*)	(2/4*)	(1/4*)	(11*)	(17*)	(23*)	
	%	23*	18*	3/7*	1/7*	20*	31*	42*	18*
"Get Even" with "Rules Fair"	N	(12*)	(15*)	(1/3*)	(22*)	(17*)	(39*)	(33*)	
	%	22*	27*	1/5*	40*	31*	72*	61*	37*
"Get Even" with "Guilt"	N	(24*)	(14*)	(2*)	(13*)	(18*)	(34*)	(31*)	
	%	44*	25*	3*	23*	33*	62*	57*	35*
"Get Even" with "Power to Punish"	N	(7*)	(5*)	(1/4*)	(12*)	(13*)	(5*)	(9*)	
	%	12*	9*	1/7*	22*	23*	9*	16*	14*
"Get Even" with "Inevit. of Punishment"	N	(2*)	(1/12*)	(1)	(1/2*)	(1/3*)	(1/2*)	(3/4*)	
	%	3*	1/22*	1	1/3*	1/5*	1/3*	5/7*	1/6*

* Indicates negative relationship.

TABLE 16

RELATIONSHIPS AMONG IMAGES OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY AND MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION
(AVERAGE PERCENTAGE OF SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS ACROSS ALL COUNTRIES)

MEASURES OF POLITICAL SOCIALIZATION		PERCEPTION OF AND ATTITUDES TOWARD AUTHORITY					
		LIKING	HELPFUL	RULES FAIR	GUILT	POWER TO PUNISH	INEV. OF PUN.
Political Interest	%	35	20	27/1*	59	8/1*	17
Political Efficacy	%	16	11/1*	13	30	9/2*	7
Political Activity	%	7/5*	9/6*	5/6*	12/3*	4/5*	4/4*

Note. *Indicates negative relationship.

TABLE 17

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN YIAPR VARIABLES AND PNI INDICES OF CLASSROOM BEHAVIOR (PERCENTAGES OF SIGNIFICANT CORRELATIONS ACROSS GRADE-SEX GROUPS, BY NATION, AND AVERAGE ACROSS NATIONS)

	DENMARK	GREECE	INDIA	ITALY	JAPAN	U.S.C.	U.S.N.	AVERAGE %
Affiliation with Compliant Behavior	30	10/3*	5	20	23	15	8/1*	16
Affiliation with Non-Compliant Behavior	23*	5/10*	15*	19*	1/15*	23*	18*	17*
Rules Fair with Compliant Behavior	14	16/6*	2	15	21/2*	52	9/3*	18/1*
Rules Fair with Non-Compliant Behavior	2/16*	17*	4/4*	2/24*	1/24*	56*	27*	1/24*
Guilt with Compliant Behavior	34	12/5*	3	12/1*	32	24	11	18
Guilt with Non-Compliant Behavior	16*	2/23*	1	1/3*	10*	32*	27*	16*
Reactions to Unjust Authority								
Verbal Responses with Compliant Behavior	41*	25*	11*	25*	5*	19*	2/30*	27*
Verbal Responses with Non-Compliant Behavior	50	33	22	22	41	47	44	37
Get Even with Compliant Behavior	41*	5/19*	2*	11*	8/5*	44*	36*	1/22*
Get Even with Non-Compliant Behavior	50	41	13	27	33	69	61	42

APPENDICES

Appendix 1

Rating Scale of Parental Occupations

(CTC-based Scale)

When your father works, he has a certain kind of job. (Circle the number beside the answer that comes closest to describing what your father's job is or was like.)

1. He works at odd jobs--anything he can get.
   (Dishwasher, coal peddler, janitor, junk collector, day laborer.)

2. He works in a factory, mill, or at some other job where he works with his hands.
   (Construction worker, truck or cab driver, machine operator, freight loader, delivery man.)

3. He works with his hands in a job that takes a long time to learn.
   (Carpenter, electrician, plumber, TV repairman, barber, railroad conductor, automobile mechanic.)

4. He works in a store or office for somebody else, works for the government, or is in charge of other workers in a factory. He usually wears a white shirt and tie or uniform to work.
   (Salesman, post office clerk, bookkeeper, factory foreman, policeman.)

5. He works in an office or company where he is in charge of other workers. He owns a small store or business. He has had some special training.
   (Office manager, department head, factory superintendent, owner of a gas station, laundry, grocery, or shoe store.)

6. He works at a job which requires many years of college and also special training.
   (Doctor, lawyer, teacher, engineer, architect, chemist, airplane pilot.)

7. He owns a large business or factory.
   (President, chariman of the board.)

8. My father doesn't have a job. He is not working now.

9. I don't know what my father does.

Appendix 1 (Continued)

When your mother works, she has a certain kind of job. (Circle the number beside the answer that comes closest to describing what your mother's job is or was like.)

1. She works at odd jobs--anything she can get. (Cook, dishwasher, maid, scrub woman.)

2. She works with her hands at a place like a small store, restaurant, or factory. (Machine operator, waitress, grocery clerk, assembly-line worker.)

3. She works with her hands at a job which takes a long time to learn. (Nurse's aide, beauty operator, seamstress, dress cutter, switchboard operator.)

4. She works in a store or office for somebody else at a job which took her some time to learn. She usually wears a dress and high heels to work. (Secretary, typist, sales clerk, bookkeeper, bank clerk, laboratory technician, commercial artist.)

5. She works in an office or company where she is in charge of other workers. She owns a small store or business. She has had some special training. (Accountant, registered nurse, librarian, buyer for a large business or department store.)

6. She works at a job which requires many years of college and also special training. (Doctor, lawyer, school teacher.)

7. She owns a large business or factory. (President, chairman of the board.)

8. She is not working outside of our home now. She does housework only in our home.

9. I don't know what my mother does.

Appendix 2

Code No._____ _____
Y 18

YOUR IDEAS ABOUT PEOPLE AND RULES

This is part of a study on how children think and feel about people and rules. Children from all over the world are taking part in this study. There are many different ideas about people and rules. We want to know what you think; we want <u>your ideas</u>.

This is not a test. It has nothing to do with your marks in school. No one in school will see what you put down.

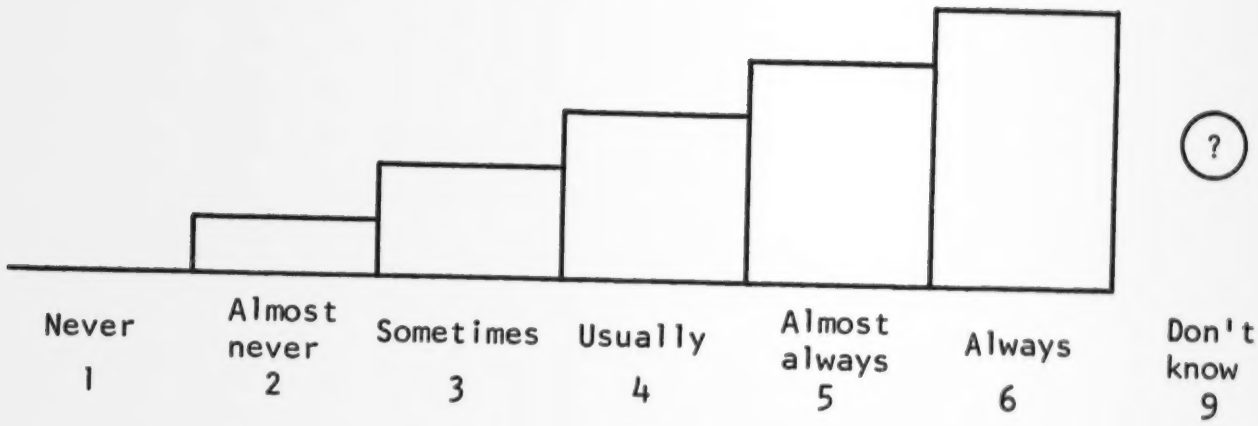
Be sure to answer every question. We are interested in what <u>you</u> think. The way to let us know what you think is to circle the number under the answer that comes closest to your idea.

There will be different kinds of questions and answers. Listed below are some examples for you to practice on. Try this example.

Playing games is fun.
(Circle the number under one answer only.)

Now try another example.

Going to the movies is fun.



Try this one.

If other children stood on their heads, I would:
(Circle the number under "Yes" or "No" for each answer.)

Do nothing or tell no one (I'd keep it to myself)	Yes 1	No 2

If I would do something or tell someone, I would:

Tell them they are wrong:	Yes 1	No 2
Tell my mother	Yes 1	No 2
Tell my father	Yes 1	No 2
Try to get even with them:	Yes 1	No 2

Remember, we want to know what <u>you</u> think. You tell us by circling the number under the answer which comes closest to your idea. Later on we will show you some pictures of children in other countries who will be answering the same questions. Thank you.

Tear off here

Code No. _____

Print your name: _____

Print your school's name: _____

Print your grade in school: _____

(118) I am:
(Circle the number under one answer only.)

8 years or under 1	13 years old 6
9 years old 2	14 years old 7
10 years old 3	15 years old 8
11 years old 4	16 years or older 9
12 years old 5	

(119) I am a:

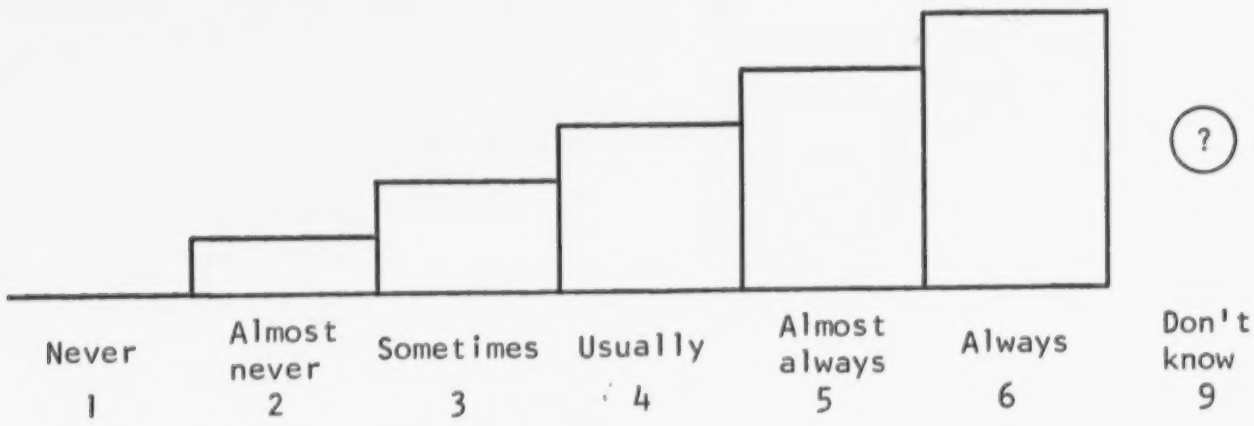
Boy	Girl
1	2

These people live with you in your house:
(Circle the number under "Yes" or "No" for each answer.)

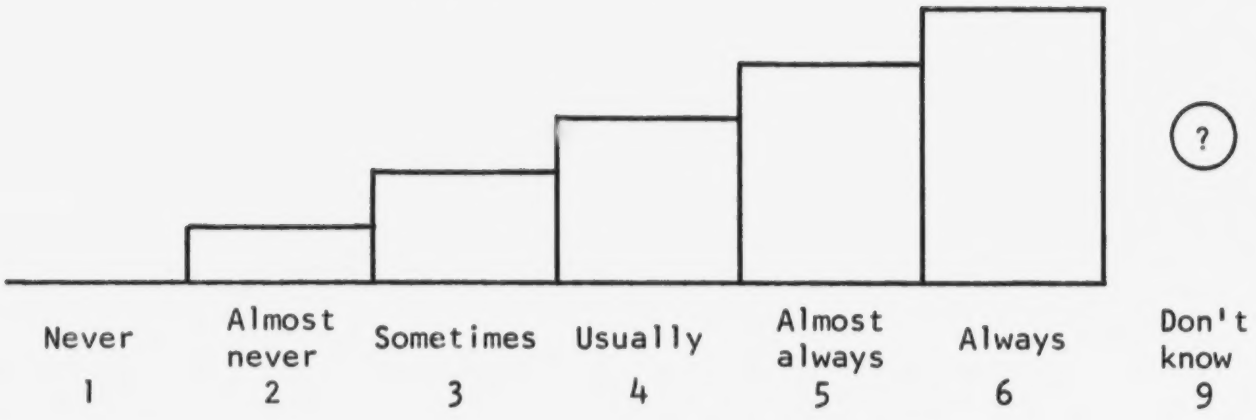
		Yes	No
(120)	Mother:	1	2
(121)	Father:	1	2

---

(122) Does your mother want to help you when you need it?
(Circle the number under one answer only.)

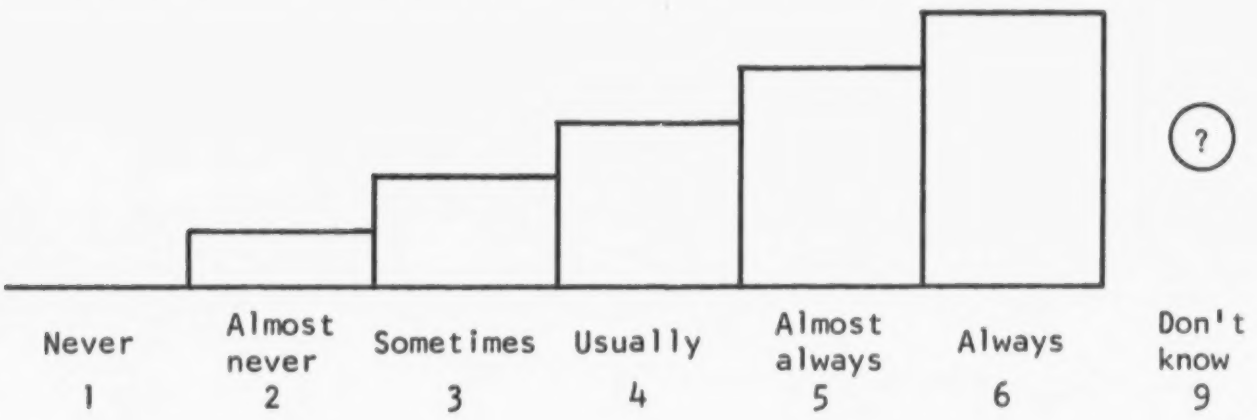


(123) Do teachers want to help you when you need it?

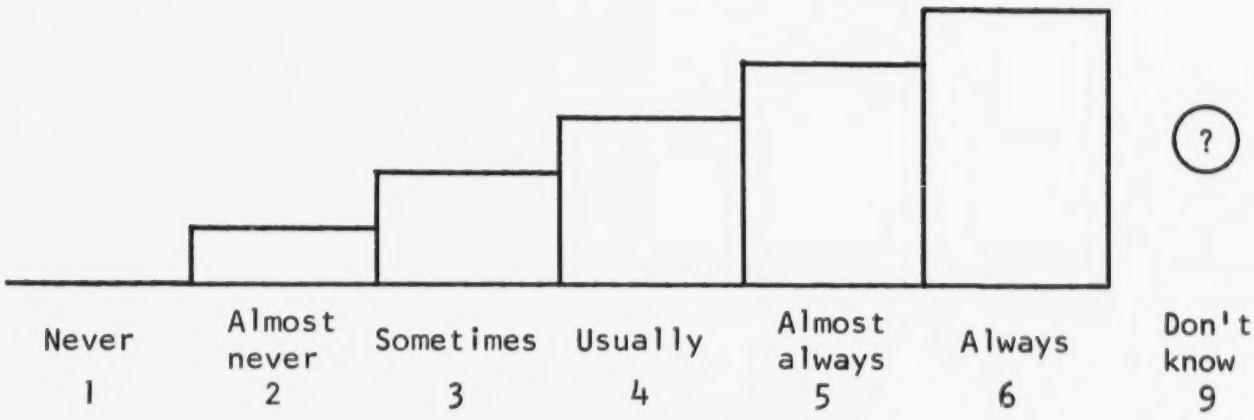


(124) Does the President of the United States want to help a person when he needs it?

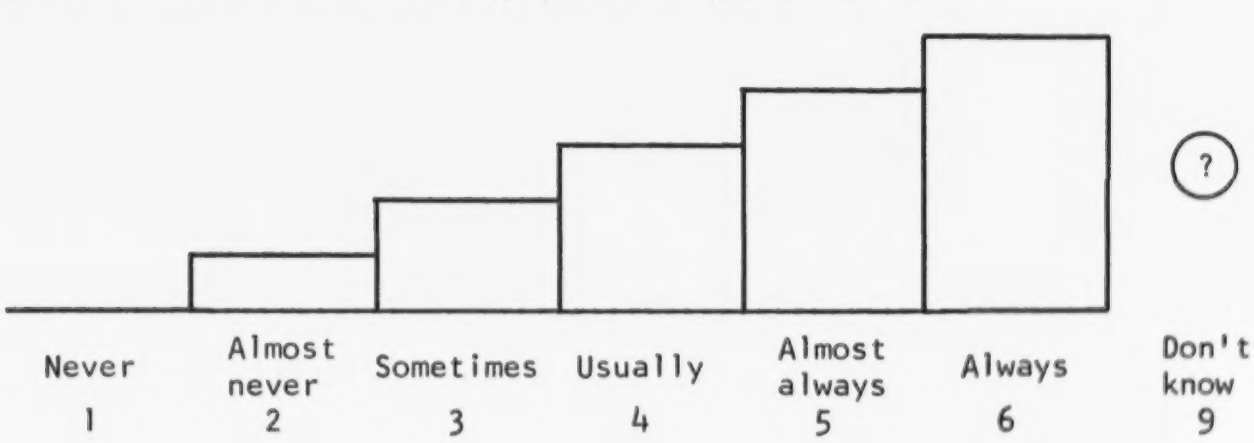
(125) Does your father want to help you when you need it?



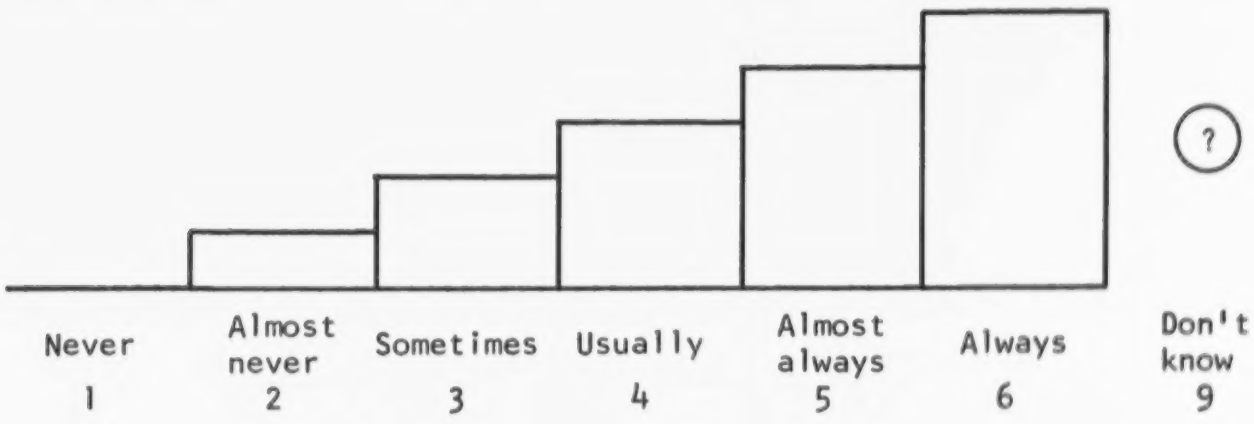
(126) Do policemen want to help you when you need it?



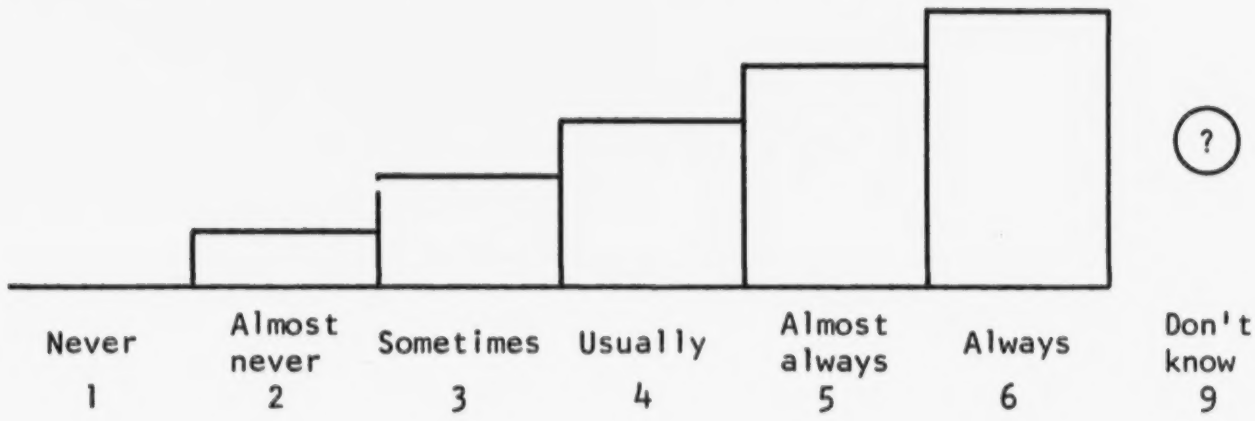
(127) Do your friends want to help you when you need it?



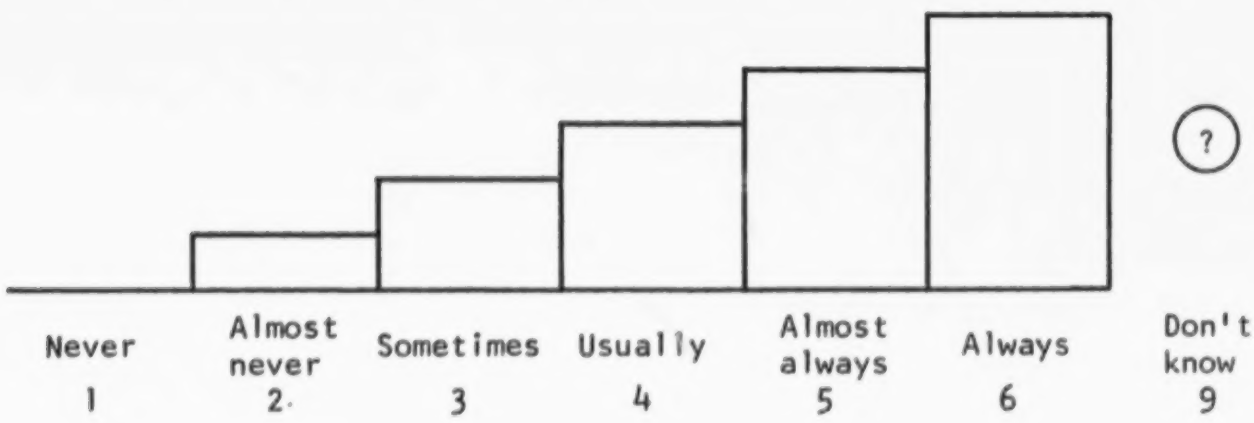
(128) Does your minister, priest, preacher, or rabbi want to help you when you need it?



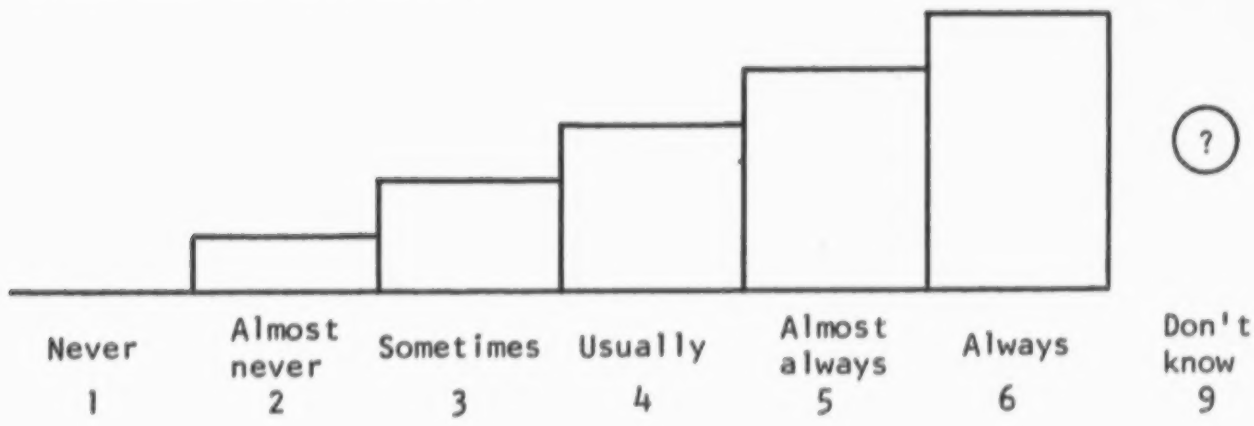
(129) Do policemen have the power to punish you when you do wrong?
(Circle the number under one answer only.)



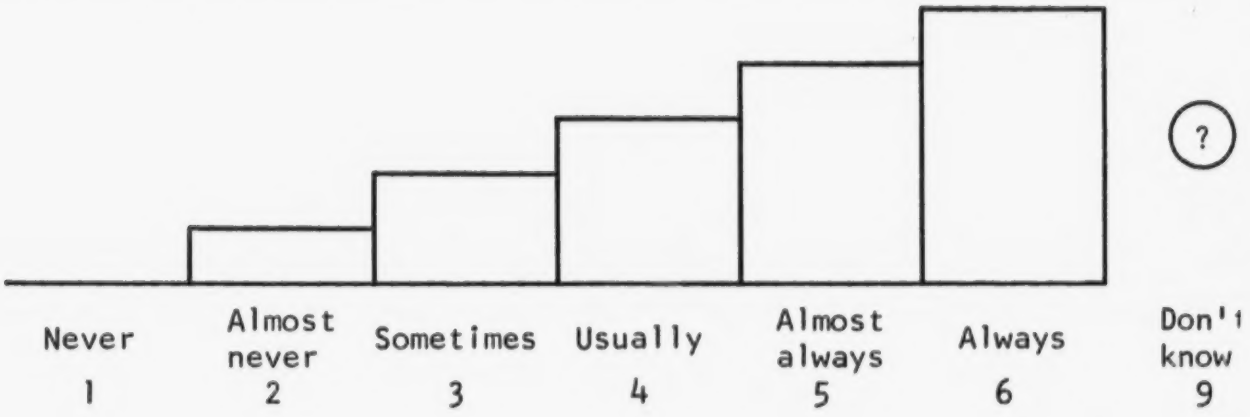
(130) Does your mother have the power to punish you when you do wrong?



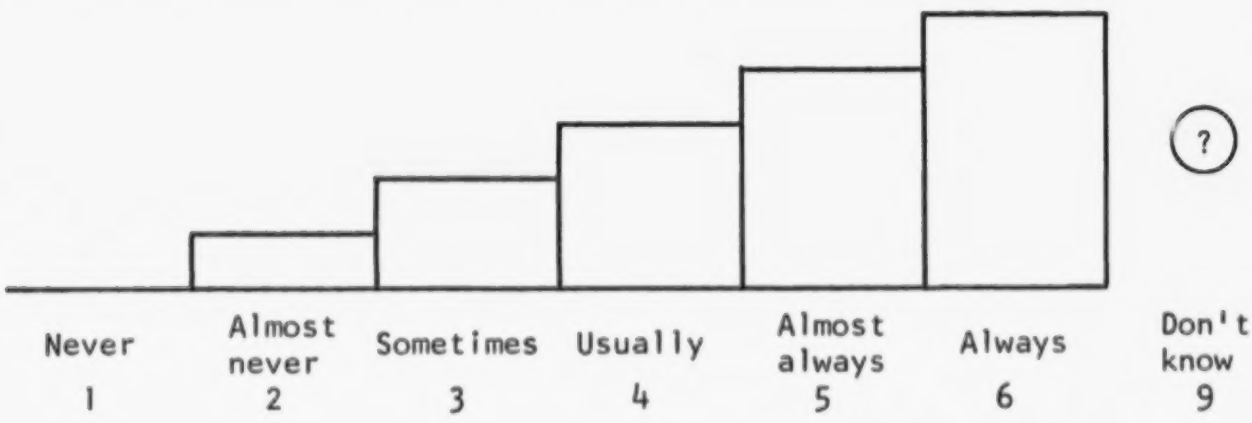
(131) Does the President of the United States have the power to punish a person when he does wrong?



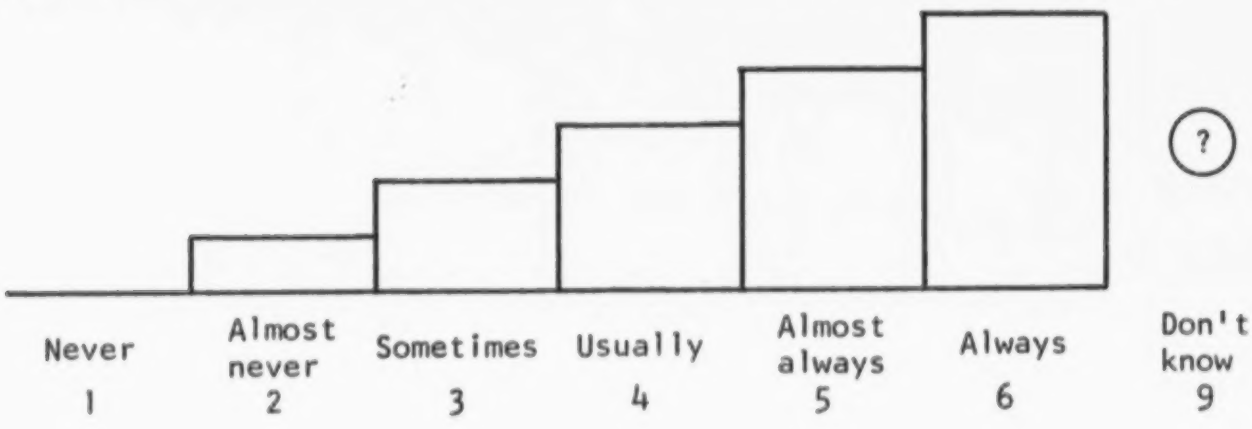
(132) Does a judge have the power to punish a person when he does wrong?



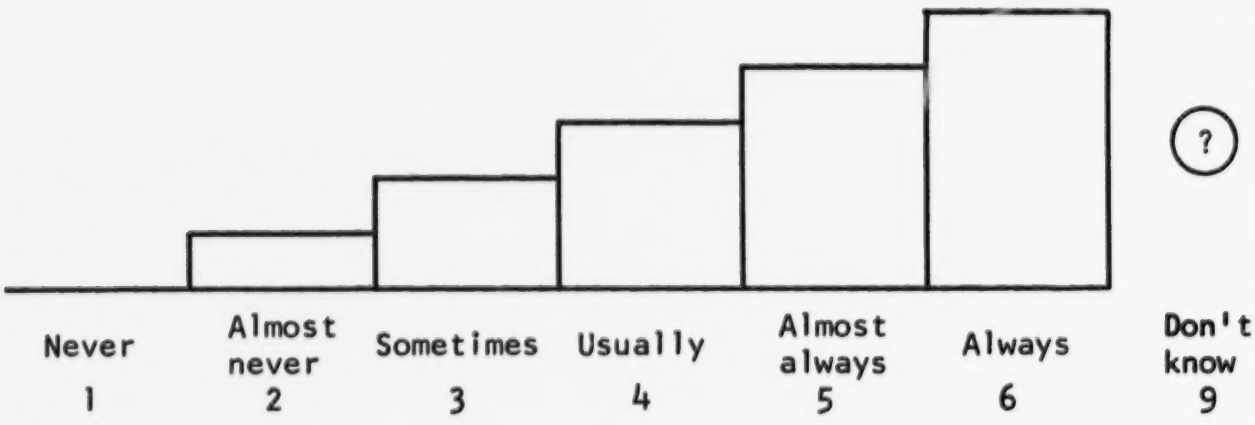
(133) Do teachers have the power to punish you when you do wrong?



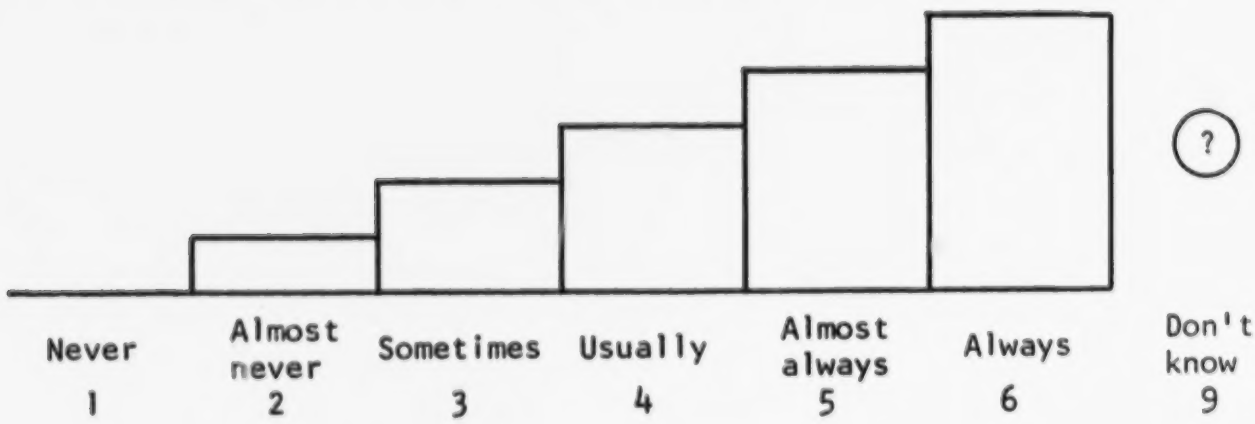
(134) Does your father have the power to punish you when you do wrong?



(135) Does your minister, priest, preacher, or rabbi have the power to punish you when you do wrong?



(136) Do your friends have the power to punish you when you do wrong?

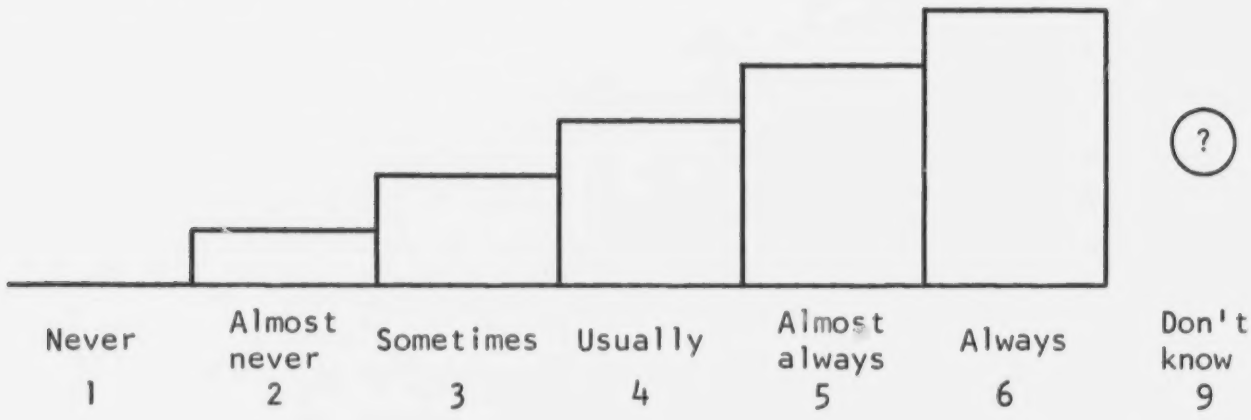


(137) If you do not obey the city's laws or rules, are you punished by city officials like a policeman or a judge?
(Circle the number under one answer only.)

Besides city officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the city's laws or rules?
(Circle the number under "Yes," "No," or "Don't know" for each answer.)

(138)	Teachers:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(139)	Minister, priest, preacher, or rabbi:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(140)	Friends:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(141)	Mother:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(142)	Father:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(143)	Other family members:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(144)	I (me):	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(145)	Anyone else:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9

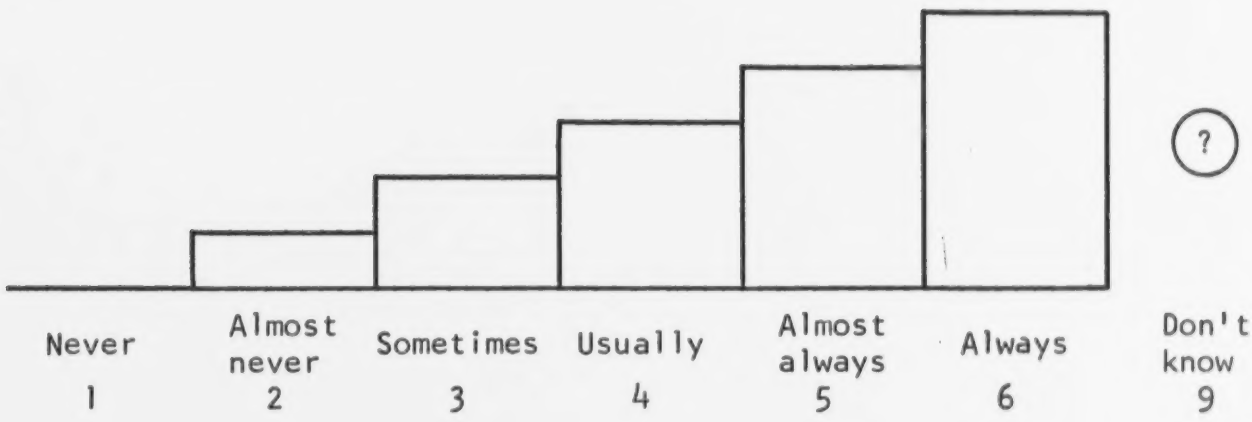
(146) If you do not obey your father's rules, does he punish you?



Besides your father, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your father's rules?

(147)	Mother:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(148)	Other family members:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(149)	Teachers:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(150)	Policemen:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(151)	Minister, priest, preacher, or rabbi:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(152)	I (me):	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(153)	Friends:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(154)	Anyone else:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9

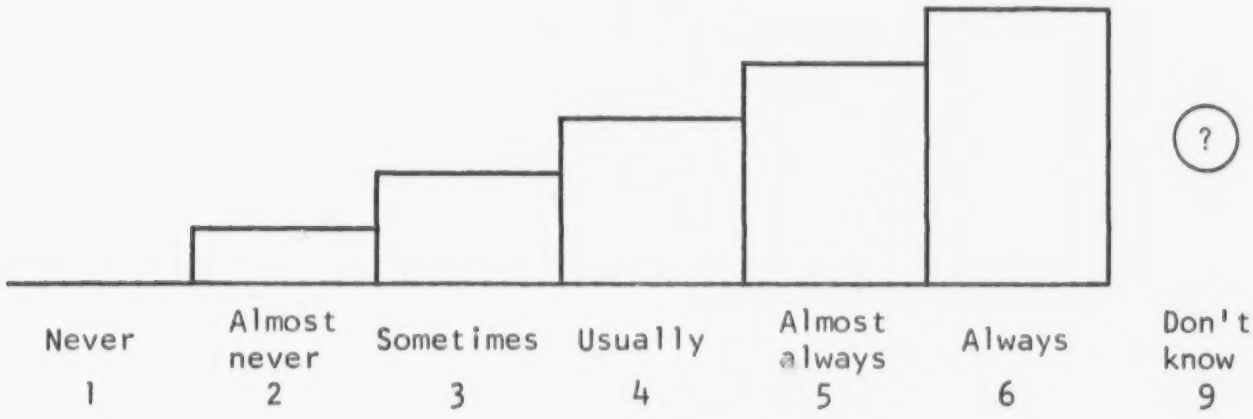
(155) If you do not obey your teacher's rules, does your teacher punish you?



Besides your teacher, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your teacher's rules?

(156)	Father:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(157)	Mother:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(158)	Other family members:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(159)	Principal or other teachers:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(160)	Policemen:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(161)	Minister, priest, preacher, or rabbi:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(162)	I (me):	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(163)	Friends:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(164)	Anyone else:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9

(165) If you do not obey the laws or rules of the United States, are you punished by government officials like a U.S. marshal, a U.S. judge, or an FBI agent?



Besides government officials, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey the laws or rules of the United States?

(166)	Father:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(167)	Mother:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(168)	Judge:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(169)	Policemen:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(170)	Teachers:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(171)	Minister, priest, preacher, or rabbi:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(172)	I (me):	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(173)	Friends:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(174)	Anyone else:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9

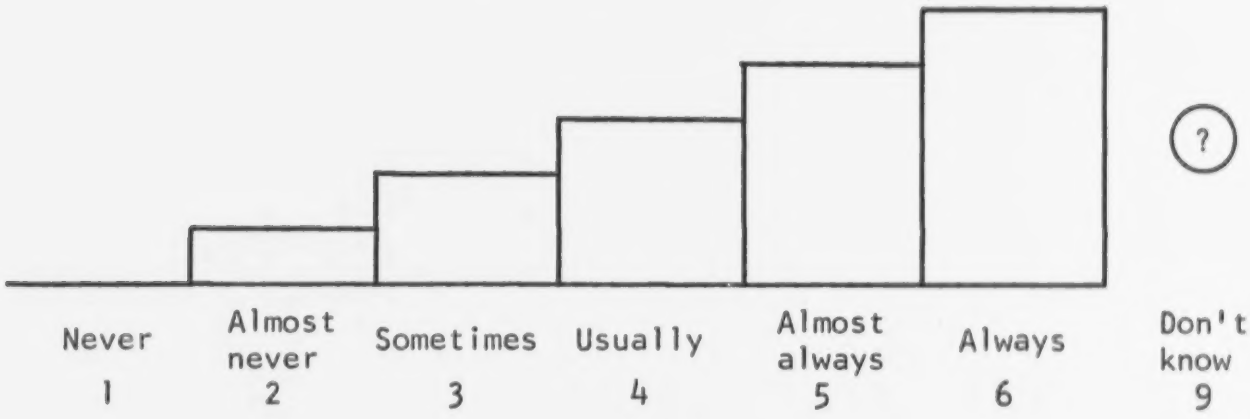
(END DECK 01)

(208) If you do not obey your mother's rules, does she punish you?

Besides your mother, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey your mother's rules?

(209)	Father:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(210)	Other family members:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(211)	Teachers:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(212)	Policemen:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(213)	Minister, priest, preacher, or rabbi:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(214)	I (me):	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(215)	Friends:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(216)	Anyone else:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9

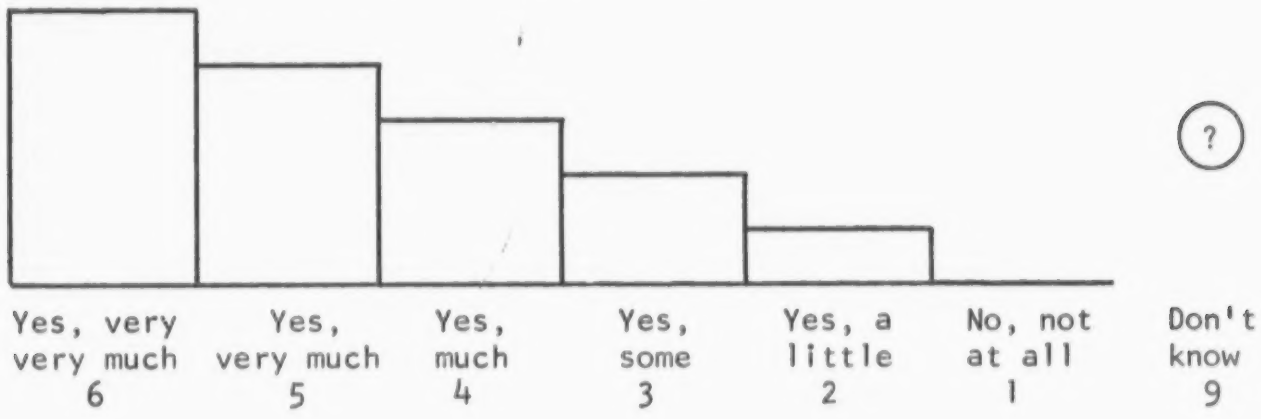
(217) If you do not obey policemen's orders, do they punish you?



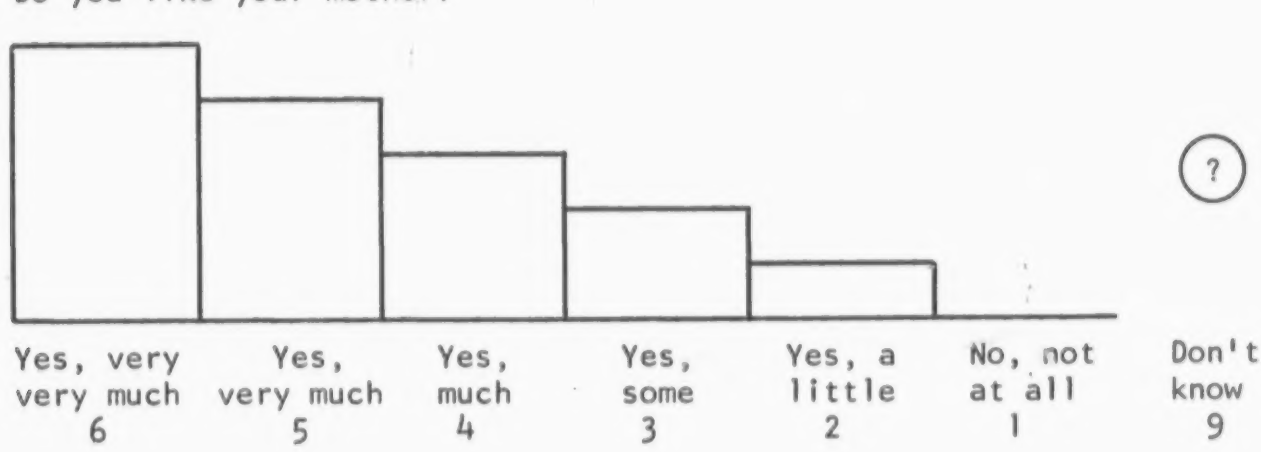
Besides policemen, who else might scold or punish you when you do not obey policemen's orders?

(218)	Father:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(219)	Mother:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(220)	Other family members:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(221)	Teachers:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(222)	Minister, priest, preacher, or rabbi:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(223)	I (me):	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(224)	Judge:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(225)	Friends:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(226)	Anyone else:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9

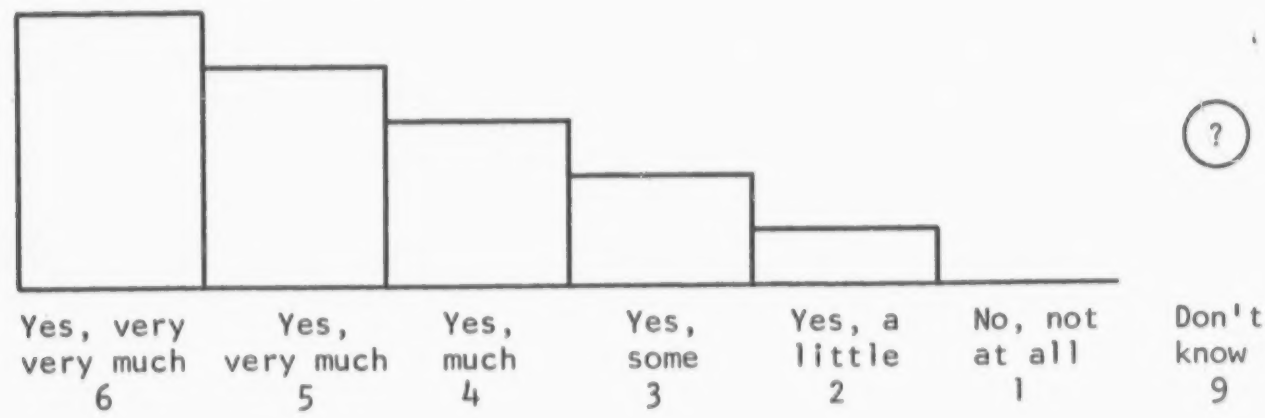
(227) Do you like your father?
(Circle the number under one answer only.)



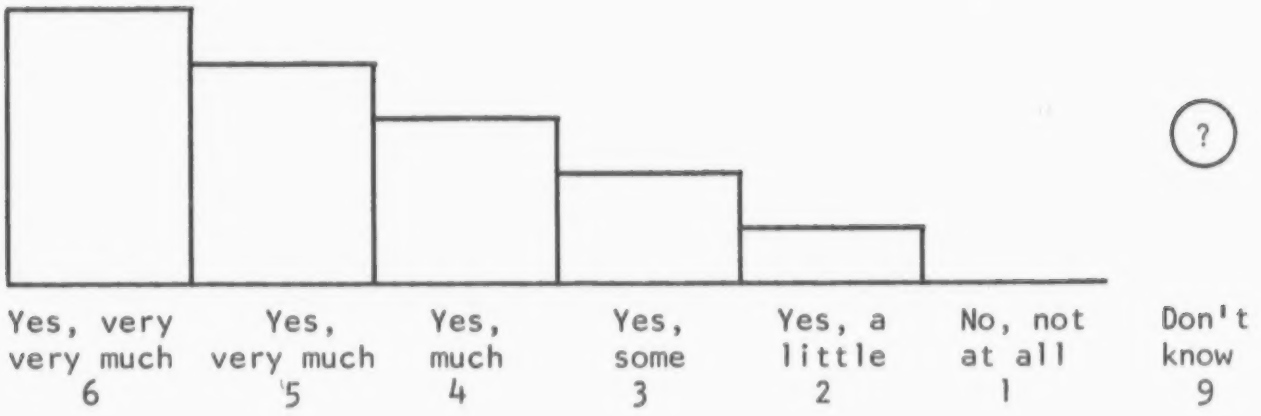
(228) Do you like your mother?



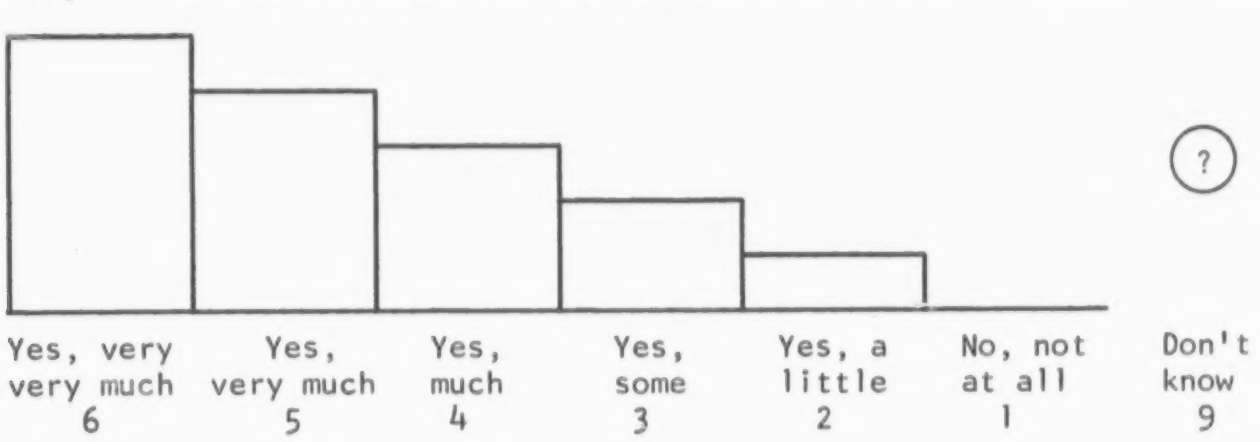
(229) Do you like your teachers?



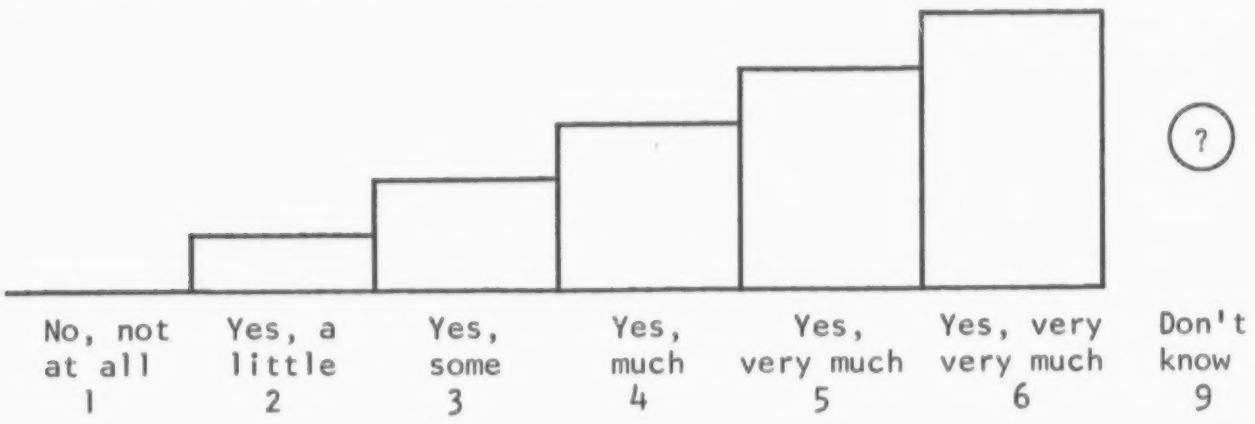
(230) Do you like policemen?



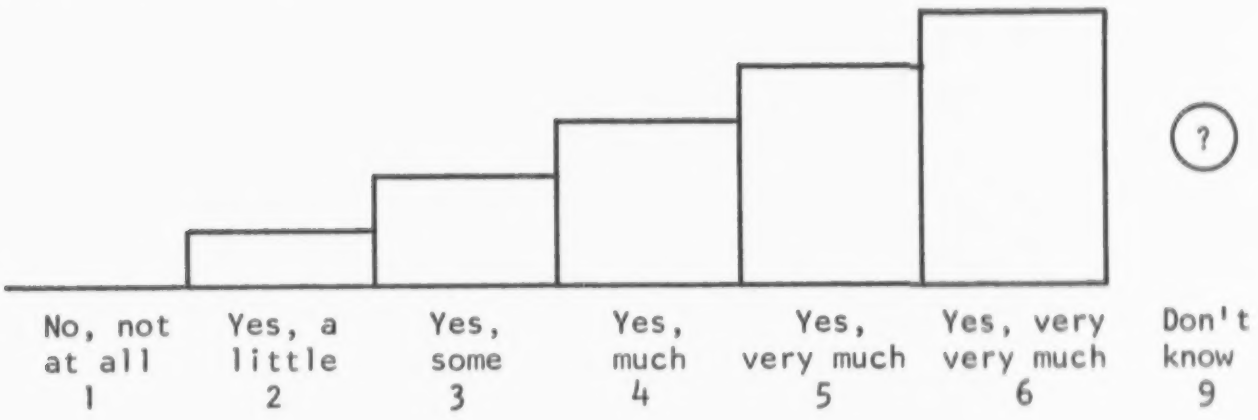
(231) Do you like the President of the United States?



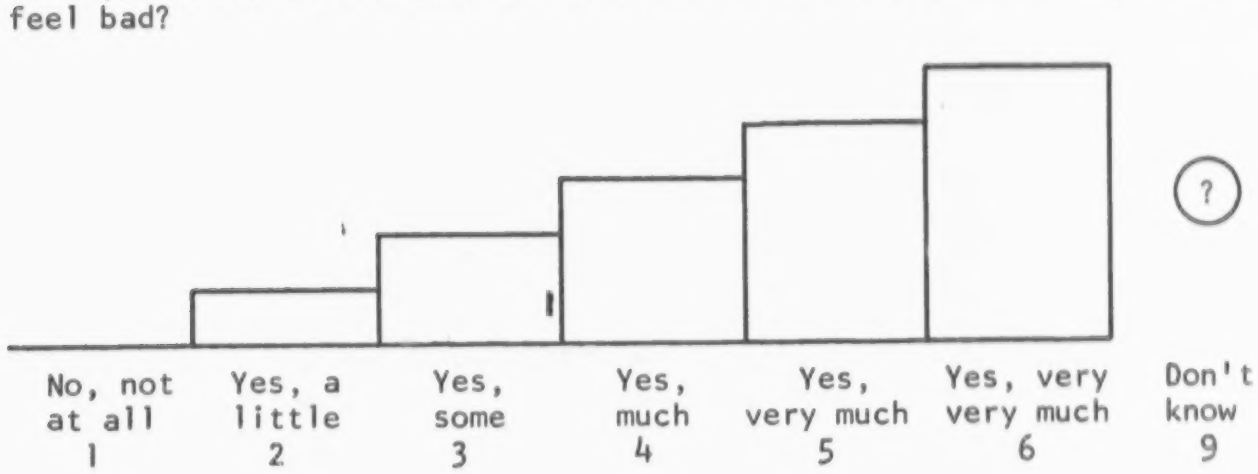
(232) When you break your father's rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?
(Circle the number under one answer only.)



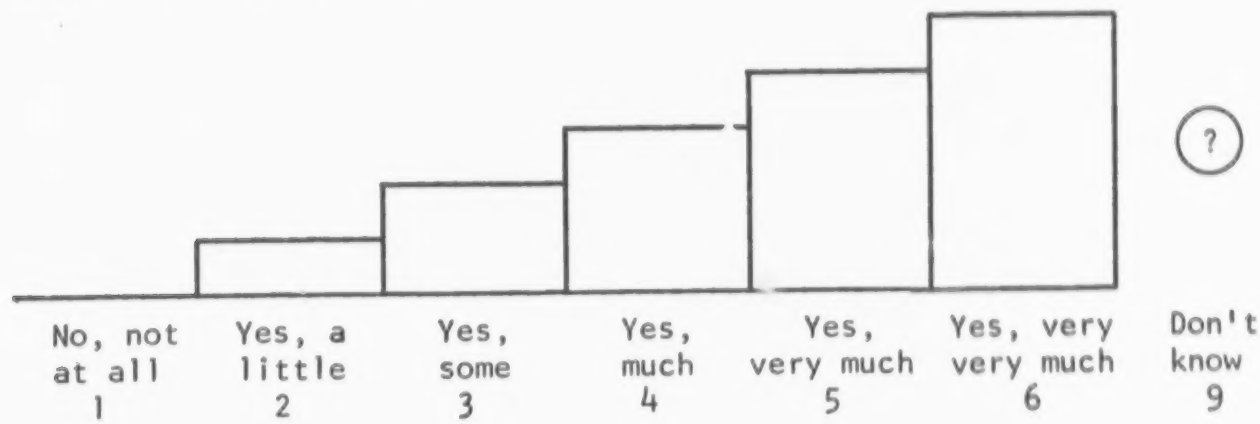
(233) When you break the rules of your religion and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?



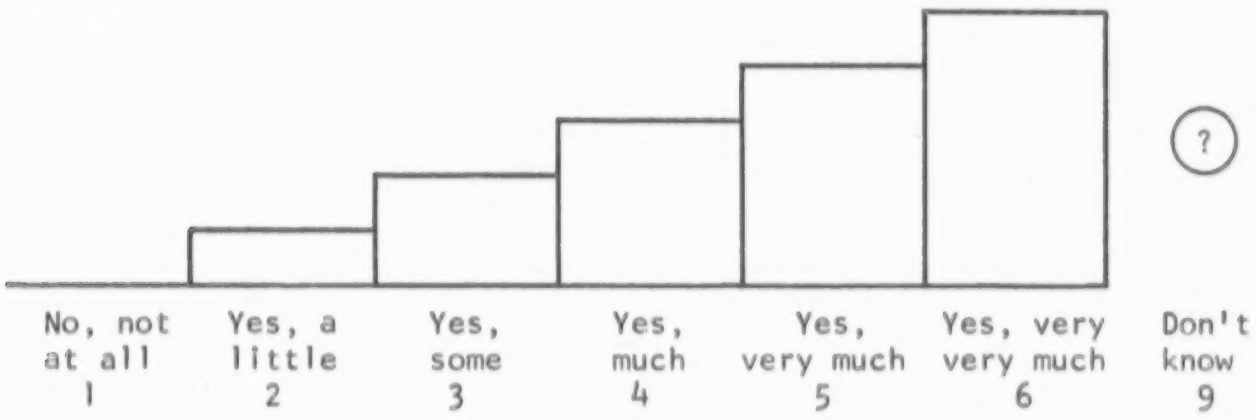
(234) When you break your mother's rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?



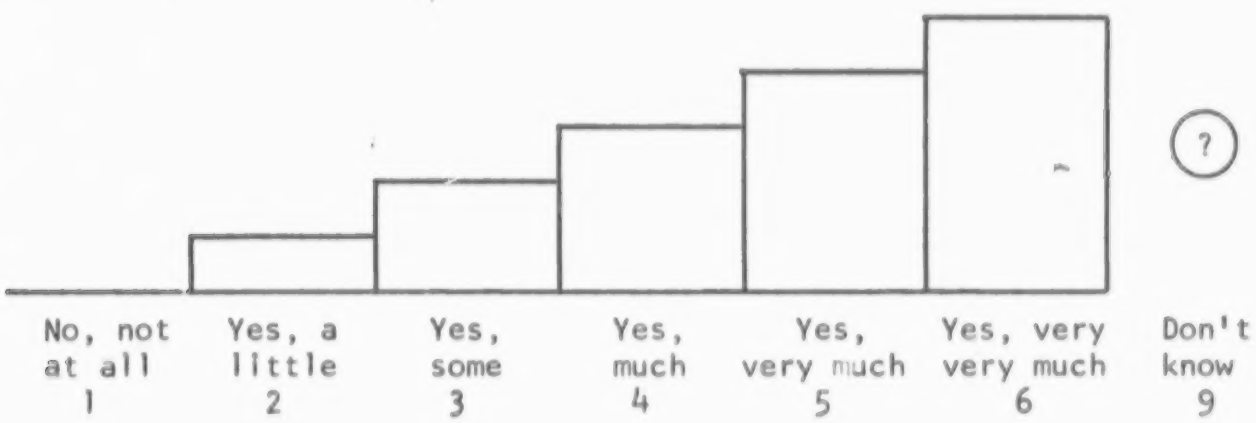
(235) When you break the laws or rules of the United States and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?



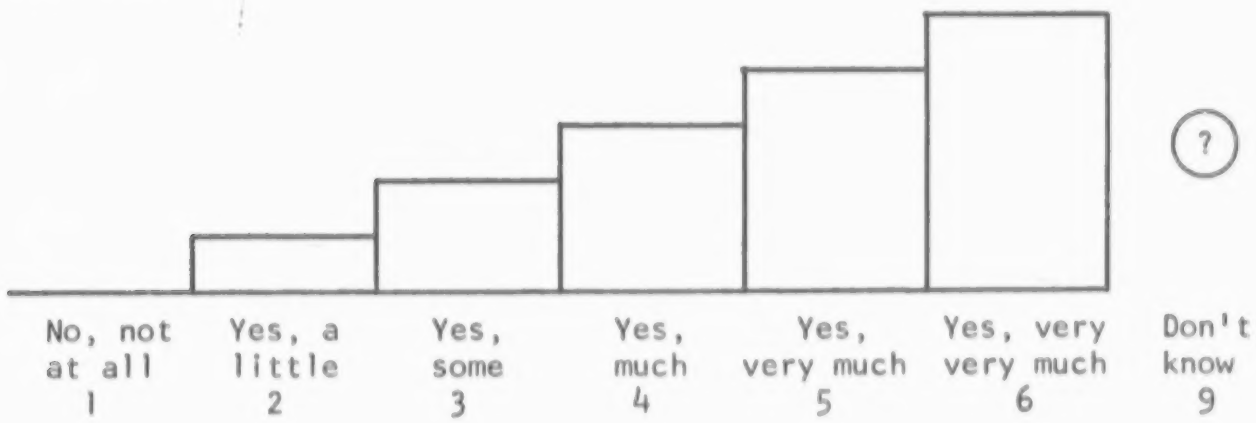
(236) When you break teachers' rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?



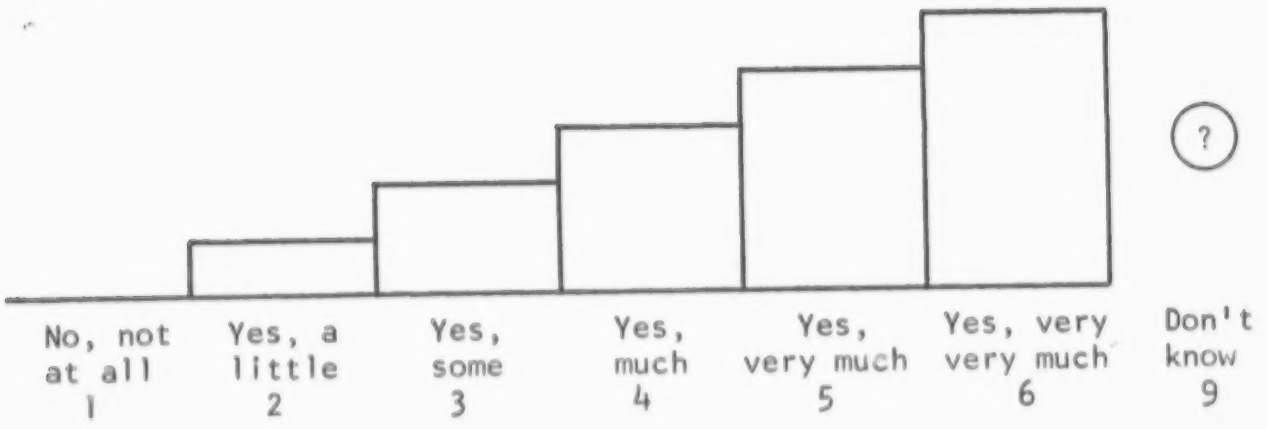
(237) When you break the city's laws or rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?



(238) When you break policemen's orders and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?



(239) When you break your friends' rules and no one knows about it, do you feel bad?



(240) Who usually makes the rules in your family?
(Circle the number under one answer only.)

Father
1

Mother
2

Father and
mother together
3

Whole family
4

(241) Who sees that the rules of your family are obeyed or enforced?

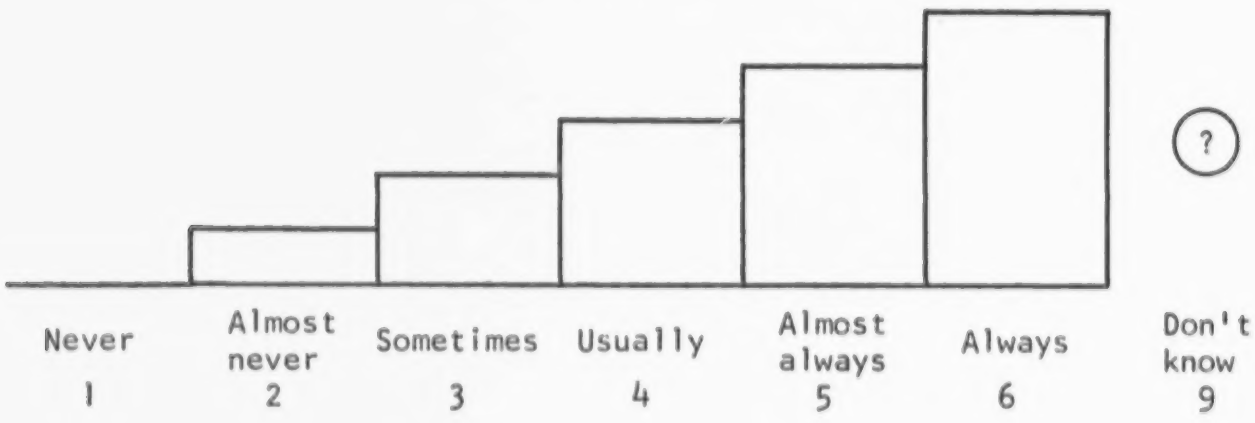
Father
1

Mother
2

Father and
mother together
3

Whole family
4

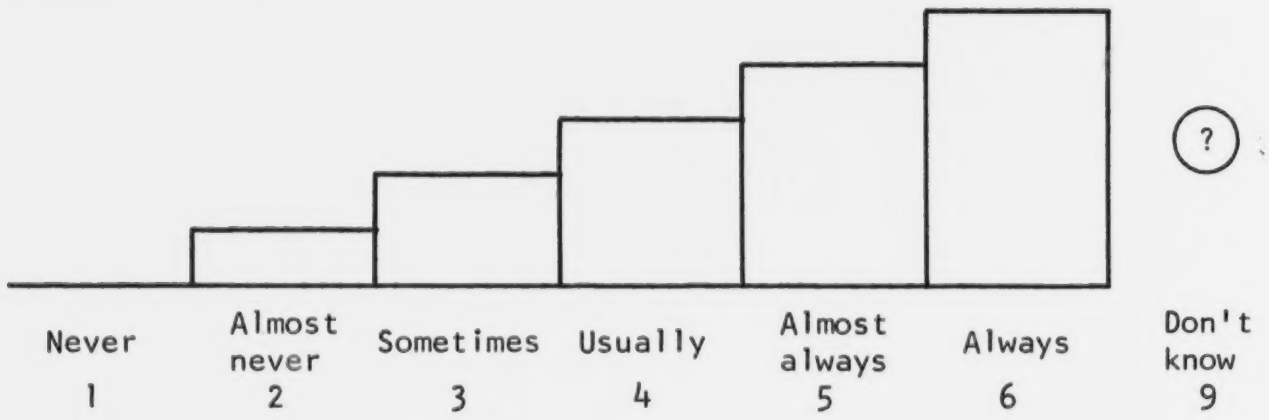
(242) How often do you help make the decisions in your family?
(Circle the number under one answer only.)



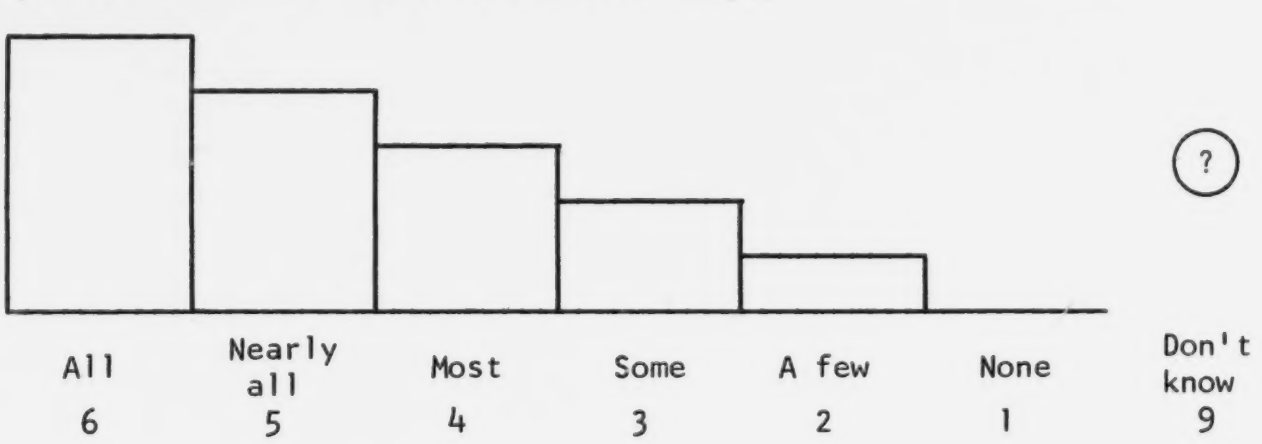
Who makes the laws or rules in the part of the city where you live--like your neighborhood?
(Circle the number under "Yes," "No," or "Don't know" for each answer.)

(243)	Policemen:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(244)	Teachers:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(245)	Mother:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(246)	President:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(247)	Father:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(248)	Mayor:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(249)	Governor of the state:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9
(250)	Minister, priest, preacher, or rabbi:	Yes 1	No 2	Don't know 9

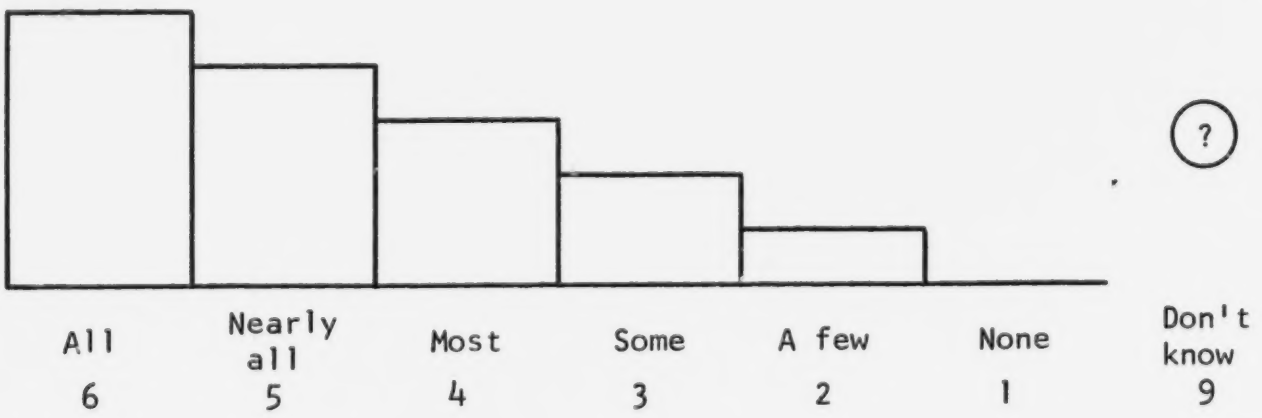
(251) How often do you help make the decisions in your classroom?
(Circle the number under one answer only.)



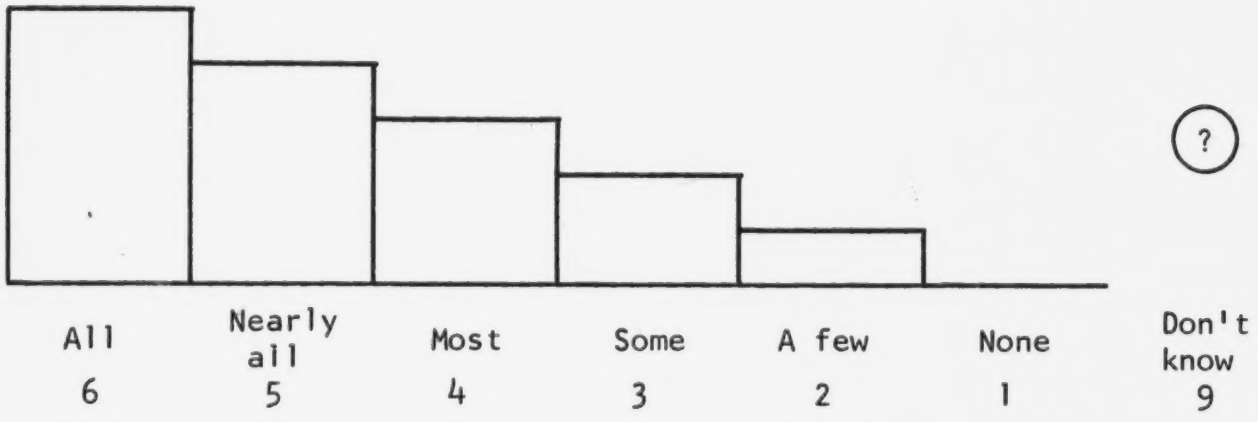
(252) How many of the laws or rules of the United States are fair?
(Circle the number under one answer only.)



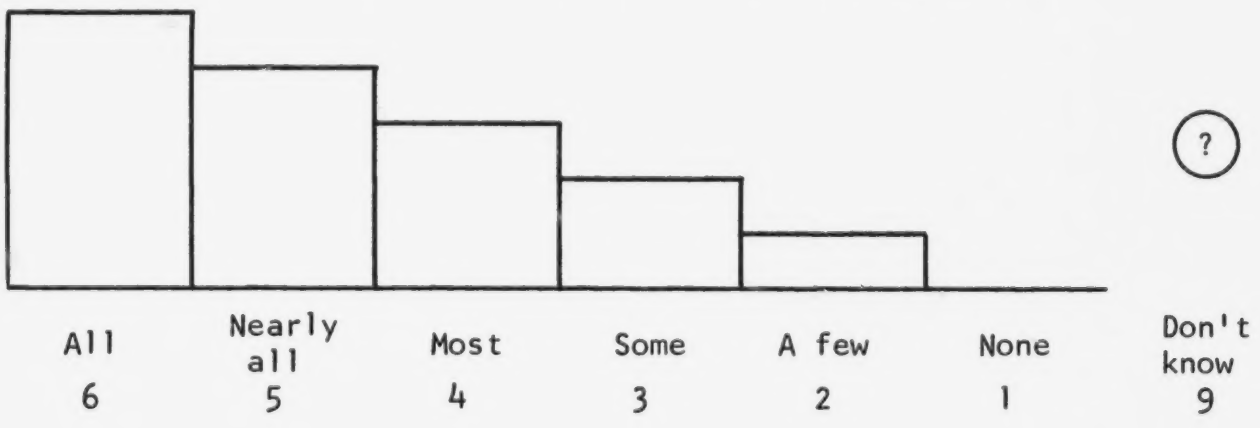
(253) How many of your father's rules are fair?



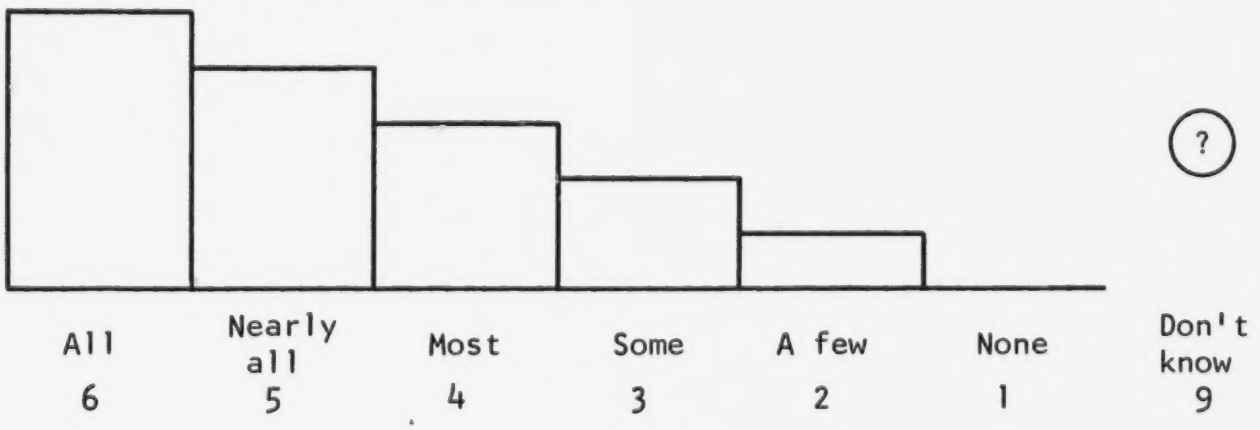
(254) How many of the policemen's orders are fair?



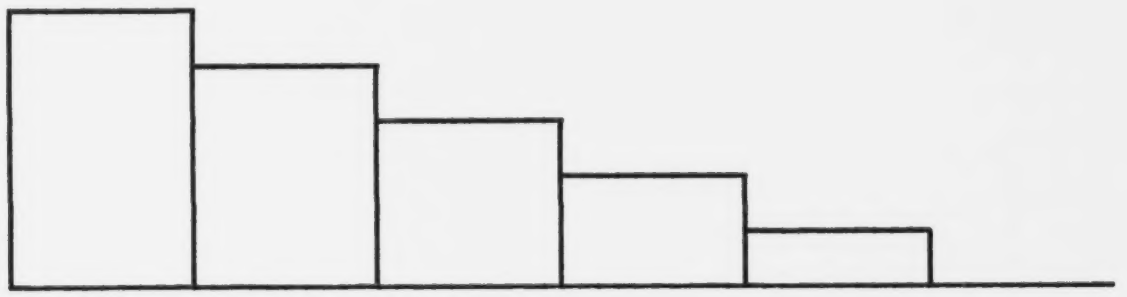
(255) How many of the city's laws or rules are fair?



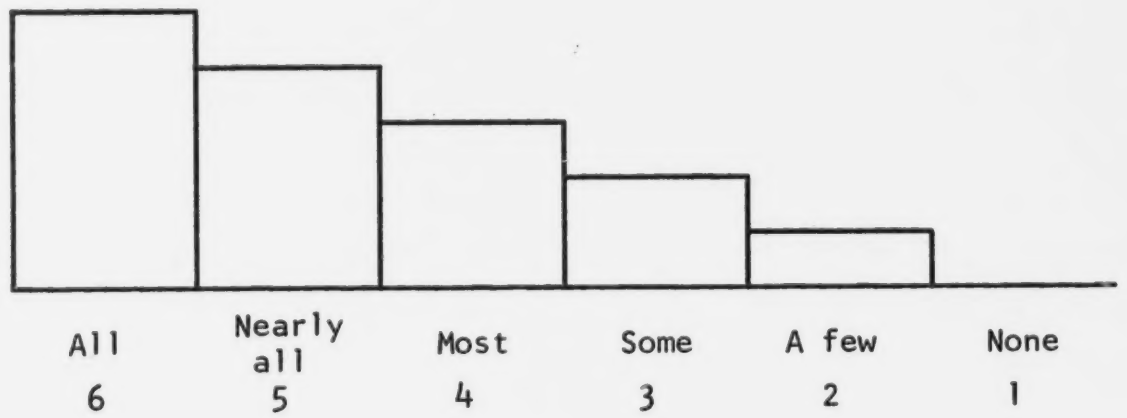
(256) How many of your teacher's rules are fair?



(257) How many of your mother's rules are fair?



(258) How many of the rules of your friends are fair?



When other children break your father's rules, what do you do? (Circle the number under "Yes" or "No" for each answer.)

		Yes	No
(259)	Do nothing or tell no one (I'd keep it to myself):	1	2

If I would do something or tell someone, I would:

		Yes	No
(260)	Ask them why:	1	2
(261)	Tell them they are wrong:	1	2
(262)	Tell my mother:	1	2
(263)	Tell my father:	1	2
(264)	Tell their parents:	1	2
(265)	Try to punish them myself:	1	2

When other children break a teacher's rules, what do you do?

		Yes	No
(266)	Do nothing or tell no one (I'd keep it to myself):	1	2

If I would do something or tell someone, I would:

		Yes	No
(267)	Ask them why:	1	2
(268)	Tell them they are wrong:	1	2
(269)	Tell the teacher:	1	2
(270)	Tell my parents:	1	2
(271)	Tell the principal or other teachers:	1	2
(272)	Tell their parents:	1	2
(273)	Try to punish them myself:	1	2

(END DECK 02)

When other children break your mother's rules, what do you do?

		Yes	No
(308)	Do nothing or tell no one (I'd keep it to myself):	1	2

If I would do something or tell someone, I would:

		Yes	No
(309)	Ask them why:	1	2
(310)	Tell them they are wrong:	1	2
(311)	Tell my mother:	1	2
(312)	Tell my father:	1	2
(313)	Tell their parents:	1	2
(314)	Try to punish them myself:	1	2

When other children break the city's laws or rules, what do you do?

		Yes	No
(315)	Do nothing or tell no one (I'd keep it to myself):	1	2

If I would do something or tell someone, I would:

		Yes	No
(316)	Ask them why:	1	2
(317)	Tell them they are wrong:	1	2
(318)	Tell the policeman:	1	2
(319)	Tell my parents:	1	2
(320)	Tell their parents:	1	2
(321)	Try to punish them myself:	1	2

When other children break the church's or synagogue's rules, what do you do?

		Yes	No
(322)	Do nothing or tell no one (I'd keep it to myself):	1	2

If I would do something or tell someone, I would:

		Yes	No
(323)	Ask them why:	1	2
(324)	Tell them they are wrong:	1	2
(325)	Tell the minister, priest, preacher, or rabbi:	1	2
(326)	Tell my parents:	1	2
(327)	Tell their parents:	1	2
(328)	Try to punish them myself:	1	2

If your mother did something to you that you thought was unfair or unjust, like not letting you go swimming or to the movies when all the other children got to go, what would you do?
(Circle the number under "Yes" or "No" for each answer.)

		Yes	No
(329)	Do nothing or tell no one (I'd keep it to myself)	1	2

If I would do something or tell someone, I would:

		Yes	No
(330)	Ask her why:	1	2
(331)	Tell her she was unfair or unjust:	1	2
(332)	Tell her not to do it again:	1	2
(333)	Ask my father or other adult relative to stop her from doing it again:	1	2
(334)	Talk to my brothers and sisters about it:	1	2
(335)	Talk to my friends about it:	1	2
(336)	Show her my anger:	1	2
(337)	Get even with or get back at her:	1	2

If a teacher did something to you that you thought was unfair or unjust, like answering another child's question but not yours or scolding only you for talking when others are talking also, what would you do?

		Yes	No
(338)	Do nothing or tell no one (I'd keep it to myself):	1	2

If I would do something or tell someone, I would:

		Yes	No
(339)	Ask the teacher why:	1	2
(340)	Tell the teacher he or she was unfair or unjust:	1	2
(341)	Tell the teacher not to do it again:	1	2
(342)	Tell other teachers or the principal that this teacher was unfair:	1	2
(343)	Ask my parents or other adult relative to talk to the teacher or principal:	1	2
(344)	Talk to my brothers and sisters about it:	1	2
(345)	Talk to my friends about it:	1	2
(346)	Show the teacher my anger:	1	2
(347)	Get even with or get back at the teacher:	1	2

If your father did something to you that you thought was unfair, like punishing only you when another child or a brother or sister starts a fight, what would you do?

		Yes	No
(348)	Do nothing or tell no one (I'd keep it to myself):	1	2

If I would do something or tell someone, I would:

		Yes	No
(349)	Ask him why:	1	2
(350)	Tell him he was unfair or unjust:	1	2
(351)	Tell him not to do it again:	1	2
(352)	Ask my mother or other adult relative to stop him from doing it again:	1	2
(353)	Talk to my brothers and sisters about it:	1	2
(354)	Talk to my friends about it:	1	2
(355)	Show him my anger:	1	2
(356)	Get even with or get back at him:	1	2

If a policeman did something to you that you thought was unfair or unjust, like scolding you for doing something you did not do, what would you do?

		Yes	No
(357)	Do nothing or tell no one (I'd keep it to myself):	1	2

If I would do something or tell someone, I would:

		Yes	No
(358)	Ask the policeman why:	1	2
(359)	Tell the policeman he was unfair or unjust:	1	2
(360)	Tell the policeman not to do it again:	1	2
(361)	Tell other policemen that this policeman was unfair:	1	2
(362)	Ask my parents or other adult relative to talk to the policeman, police chief, or judge about it:	1	2
(363)	Talk to my brothers and sisters about it:	1	2
(364)	Talk to my friends about it:	1	2
(365)	Show the policeman my anger:	1	2
(366)	Get even with or get back at the policeman:	1	2

If the government of the United States did something that you thought was unfair or unjust, like building a national highway in one state but not in another, what would you do?

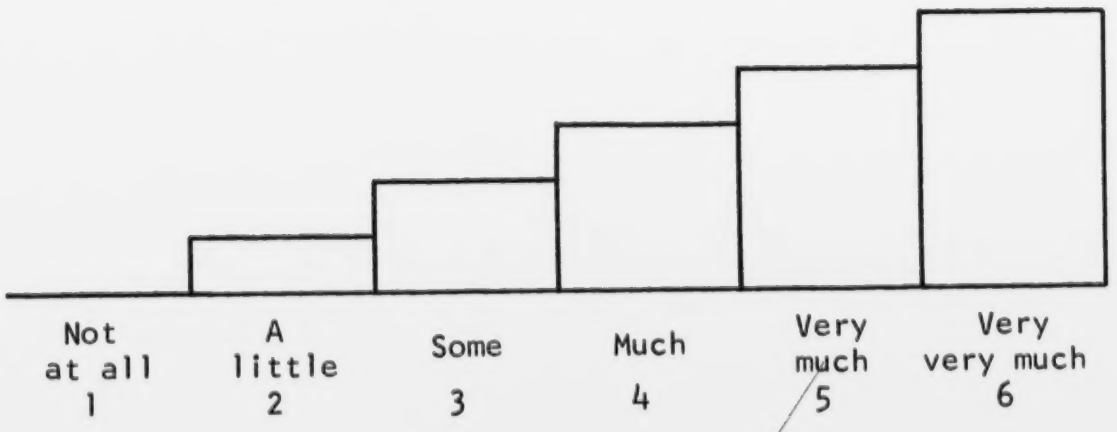
		Yes	No
(367)	Do nothing or tell no one (I'd keep it to myself):	1	2

If I would do something or tell someone, I would:

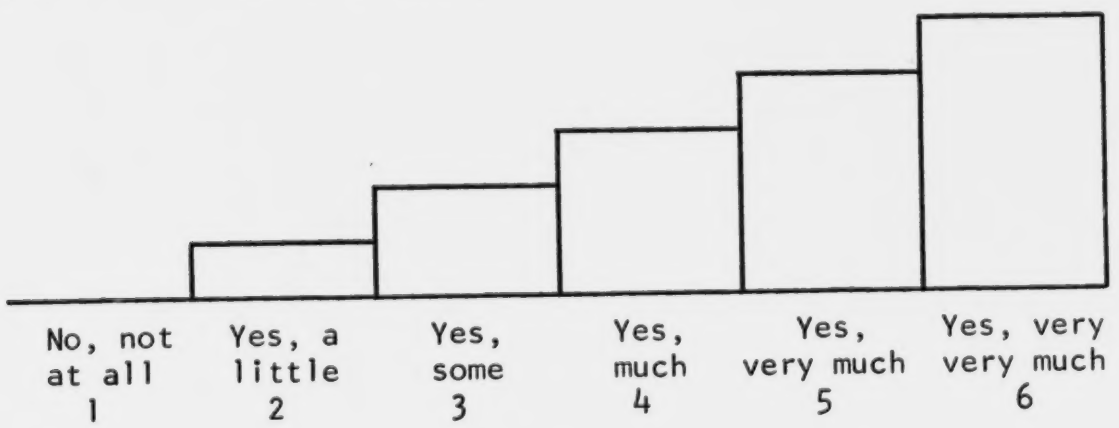
		Yes	No
(368)	Tell the people who run the country that they were unfair or unjust:	1	2
(369)	Tell the people who run the country not to do it again:	1	2
(370)	Ask my parents or other adult relative to talk to the people who run the country:	1	2
(371)	Talk to my brothers and sisters about it:	1	2
(372)	Talk to my friends about it:	1	2
(373)	Show the people who run the country my anger:	1	2
(374)	Get even with or get back at the people who run the country:	1	2

(END DECK 03)

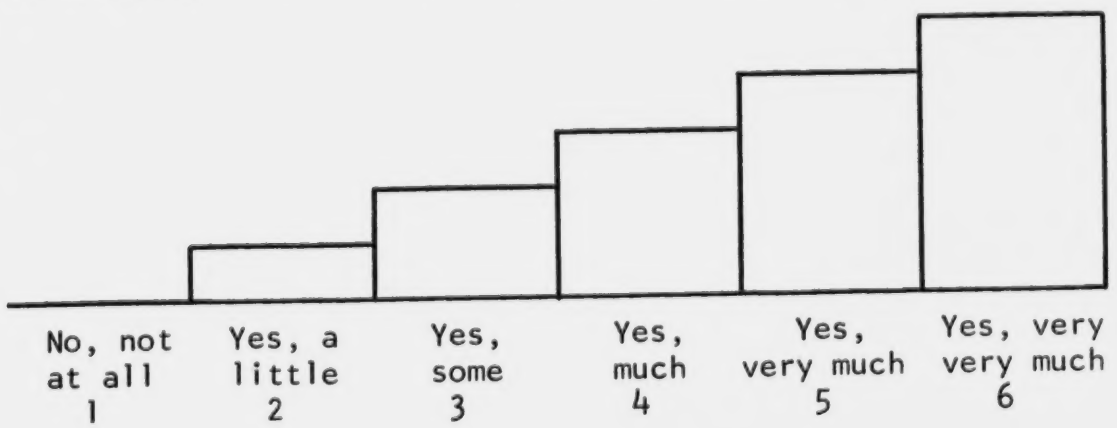
(408) How much are you interested in reading or talking about our country and the people who run it? For example, how much do you care about what they do and how our country is run?
(Circle the number under one answer only.)



(409) Could your family have any part in what happens in our country and how it is run? For example, if your parents were very much against a law that Congress or the President planned to pass, could your parents do something about it?



(410) Do the people who run our country care what your family thinks?



(411) I have read in newspapers or magazines about someone running for office and what is going on in our country, like the poverty program, space program, or getting jobs for everyone.
(Circle the number under "Yes" or "No.")

Yes	No
1	2

(412) I have talked with my mother or father about our country's problems (the danger of war, people without work), political parties (Democrats or Republicans), and people who have run for office (Senator, President, Mayor).

Yes	No
1	2

(413) I have worn a button, pin, or flag to show I was in favor of someone who was running for office or to show I wanted to change something in our country's laws.

Yes	No
1	2

(414) I have done other things, like handing out buttons, walking in demonstrations or parades, putting up posters, or passing out handbills.

Yes	No
1	2

(415) Which is worse?
(Circle the number under one answer only.)

To fight with another child in the classroom, in the school hall, or on the playground.
1

To disturb the classroom and teacher by making noise, yelling in the classroom, or not obeying the teacher.
2

To take something that belongs to the school like crayons, balls, or books.
3

(416) Which is worse?

To insult someone and call him bad names so that people do not think as much of him.
1

To take something that belongs to someone else, like a sweater, toy. or pen.
2

To break a traffic law, like crossing the street in the wrong place.
3

(417) Which is worse?

To disobey the rules of your parents.
1

To take money from your parents or other members of your family.
2

To tell your parents your brother or sister did something they didn't do.
3

(418) Which is worse?

To steal something that belongs to your friends.
1

To say things about your friends that are not true.
2

To refuse to do something you and your friends have agreed to do.
3

(419) Which is worse?

To say bad things to someone else about the minister, priest, preacher, or rabbi.
1

To take something from the church or synagogue, like books, decorations, or candles.
2

To say the church or synagogue isn't doing a good job and people should not attend it.
3

(420) Whose punishment do you fear the least?
(Circle the number under one answer only.)

Mother 1	Policemen 5
Father 2	Minister, priest, preacher, or rabbi 6
Friends 3	President 7
Teachers 4	Other 8

(421) Whose punishment do you fear the most?

Mother 1	Policemen 5
Father 2	Minister, priest preacher, or rabbi 6
Friends 3	President 7
Teachers 4	Other 8

(END OF DECK 04)

Appendix 3

List of PNI Items by Order of Presentation

1. Who are you? (Identity item.)
2. Whom do you know very well?
3. Whom do you not know very well?
4. Who insults children? (Give examples of insults.)
5. Who tries to help the teacher without being asked?
6. Who is fair (just) to children? (Give an example of treating children equally.)
7. Who tries to do their best work (or studies hard)?
8. Who does not obey the teacher?
9. Who makes rude gestures to children? (Give examples of rude gestures.)
10. Whom does the teacher seldom scold?
11. Who does not get along with children?
12. Who does the teacher often scold?
13. Who helps children? (Give one academic and one non-academic example.)
14. Who obeys the teacher?
15. Who starts fights?
16. Who makes fun of the teacher? (Give examples such as mimicking the teacher, calling the teacher nicknames, drawing cartoons of the teacher.)
17. Who is friendly (kind) to children?
18. Who fights back if someone hits them first?
19. Who disturbs the class while the teacher is giving the lesson? (Give examples such as making noise, throwing something, talking in class, writing notes to other children.)
20. Who gets along with children?
21. Who does not try to do their best work (or doesn't study hard)?
22. Whom do you like very much?

Appendix 4

YIAPR and PNI Items Included in the Reliability Instrument

Item No. in the Field Instrument*	Item No. in the Reliability Instrument
YIAPR	
127	8
132	9
135	10
137	11
138-145	12-19
165	20
166-174	21-29
231	30
233	31
240	32
241	33
251	34
257	35
259-265	36-42
338-347	43-52
408	53
410	54
411	55
413	56
415	57
PNI	
1	1
14	2
16	3
18	4
19	5
20	6

*Item numbers indicate the order of presentation in the field testing. For item content see appropriate numbers in Appendices 2 and 3.

I B 9 DK(a)

I B 10 RNA(b)

I B 0 NR(c)

What is a law? (Qu. 6)

A law involves a demand for obedience or compliance.

I D 1 General statement, not codable under categories 2 and 3 below.

I D 2 A law is a duty, a provision, or a regulation for the benefit of people, which has a reason and governs behavior.

I D 3 A law is a prohibition which indicates forbidden conduct and requires obedience.

I D 9 DK(a)

I D 10 RNA(b)

I D 0 NR(c)

Disregard for law has negative consequences.

I E 1 General statement not codable under categories 2 and 3 below.

I E 2 Breaking a law may evoke punishment.

I E 3 Breaking a law may cause harm to a group or to individuals.

I E 9 DK(a)

I E 10 RNA(b)

I E 0 NR(c)

Appendix 5

Interview Items analysed in this Volume *
and Coding Categories by Item.

I. Concept of Rules and Laws

What is a rule? (Qu. 5)

A rule involves a demand for obedience and compliance.

I A 1 General statement, not codable under categories 2 and 3 below. (Examples: "A rule is something you have to follow." If the child's example and discussion make the meaning more specific, code below, if possible.)

I A 2 A rule is a duty, a provision, or a regulation for the benefit of people, which has a reason and governs behavior. (Example: "The things which are made to maintain the order of home and society" or "It's something your parents or teachers or someone makes just to help things go along better.")

I A 3 A rule is a prohibition which indicates forbidden conduct and requires obedience. (Example: "A rule tells you things you shouldn't do like 'don't run in the halls at school' ").

I A 9 DK(a)

I A 10 RNA(b)

I A 0 NR(c)

Disregard of a rule has negative consequences.

I B 1 General statement not codable under categories 2 and 3 below.
(Example: "A rule is something to keep bad things from happening.")

I B 2 Breaking a rule may evoke punishment.
(Example: "A rule is like something your parents tell you to do and if you don't, they spank you.")

I B 3 Breaking a rule may cause harm to a group or to individuals.
(Example: "A rule is like having to stop at a stop sign so you don't hit a pedestrian or another car.")

What is the difference between a rule and a law (Qu. 7)

I C 1 A rule is specific and restricted in its application by time, location: it is not universal in the society. (Example: "A rule is something you have to do just when you're in school or at home.")

I C 2 A law is more general or comprehensive in its application than a rule. (Example: "A law is something big that everyone has to do like drive on the right side of the road.")

I C 3 A rule is created or enforced by non-governmental authorities. (Example: "A rule is something my parents or teacher tells me to do." "You get yelled at.")

I C 4 A law is created or enforced by governmental authorities. (Example: "A law is made up by the president or Congress." "You get put in jail.")

I C 5 A law is in written form; it is codified. (Example: "A law is something set.")

I C 6 There is no difference between a rule and a law.

I C 7 There is a difference between a rule and a law - not specified or not codable above.

I C 9 DK[(a)]

I C 10 RNA[(b)]

I C 0 NR[(c)]

Appendix 5 (Continued)

II. Justice of Rules

What is a fair rule? (Qu. 16, 17)

II A 1 A rule is fair if it affects everyone equally. A rule is fair if it benefits everyone. (Note: A response of a "rule is unfair if it doesn't treat everyone the same" would be placed here since it is merely the negative statement of the same idea. "It is fair if everybody has to follow it.")

II A 2 A rule is fair if it is created by a trusted authority figure (Examples: parents, teachers)

II A 3 A rule is fair if it favors someone who is inherently disadvantaged or innocent in some previous way. (Examples of younger or smaller children being given priorities.)

II A 4 A rule is fair if there is a justifiable reason for its creation. (Example: "A fair rule has some purpose, not just so we can have rules.")

II A 5 A rule is fair if the persons who must comply with it agree with it: (i.e., group consensus). (Example: Everybody agrees with them.)

II A 6 A rule is fair if it is congruent with an external system--religion, government. (Example: "A rule isn't fair if it makes you do something your church says you shouldn't.)

II A 7 A rule is fair if it is not arbitrary (in time or degree) to the advantage of the rule-maker. (Example: "It isn't fair if a big kid or captain keeps changing the rules of a game, depending on how his team is doing.")

II A 8 All rules are fair (absolute judgement).

II A 9 DK[(a)]

II A 10 RNA[(b)]

II A 0 NR[(c)]

V. Functions of Rules. Effects of No Rules.

What would happen if there were no rules? (Qu. 18, 18g)

V A 1 Personal desires rather than principles would determine human action. (Example: "People would become selfish if they didn't have any rules. No one would work." "People would do what they wanted.")

V A 2 Private property and/or public facilities could not be maintained without rules/laws. (Example: "If there weren't any rules, people could come into your house, walk on your lawn..." "Without rules people would throw trash in streets, cut trees in parks...")

V A 3 There would be no regulation of wealth or property. (Example: "People would become very rich or very poor if there weren't any laws about taxes or jobs.")

V A 4 Non-criminal injury would increase. (Example: "If there weren't traffic laws, people would drive too fast and there would be many people hurt or killed.")

V A 5 Physical violence and crime would increase. (Example: "If there weren't any laws, people would steal from stores and rob people on the streets.")

V A 6 Anarchy, disorder and chaos would rule; society would go backwards. (Example: "It would be a big mess." "Without laws, people would become uncivilized.")

V A 7 Wars between countries would increase.

V A 8 It's impossible to imagine a world without laws. (Example: "The world would end.")

V A 9 DK(a)

V A 10 RNA(b)

V A 0 NR(c)

What would happen if there were no rules at home? (Qu. 18a)

V B 1 It would be a good situation if there were no rules at home. (Child gives a positive response such as "It would be fun.")

V B 2 A state of domestic anarchy would exist. (Child gives neutral response such as "Everyone would do what he wanted to.")

V B 3 Without rules, there would be a situation where parents would have to control each incident of behavior separately instead of setting a general code of conduct. (Example: "Children would still obey parents.")

V B 4 Necessary work would not get done if there were no rules. (Example: "The house would be a mess because I wouldn't have to clean up my room or take out the garbage...")

V B 5 The possibility of injury would increase. (Example: "Kids would get hurt if there weren't rules against playing with matches or knives or crawling up on the furniture.")

V B 6 Children would not develop into good people. (Example: "We wouldn't learn good manners" or "We wouldn't respect the rights of other people.")

V B 9 DK(a)

V B 10 RNA(b)

V B 0 NR(c)

What would happen if there were no rules at school?(Qu. 18c)

V C 1 Children would not come to school.

V C 2 There would be no discipline or order. (Example: "Kids wouldn't know what to do. Everything would be confused.")

V C 3 There would be physical violence and fighting.

V C 4 Maintenance of the school building would be difficult. (Example: "Kids would throw paper on the floor, write on the desks and walls...")

V C 5 No learning would take place.

V C 6 Children would embarrass the teacher.

V C 9 DK(a)

V C 10 RNA(b)

V C 0 NR(c)

VI. Power to Enforce Rules and Laws

Who can make you follow a rule or a law? (Qu. 30)

VI A 1 Father

VI A 2 Mother

VI A 3 Teacher

VI A 4 Police

VI A 5 Government officials

VI A 6 Relatives

VI A 7 Self

VI A 8 Other (i.e., all adults, friends, class monitor. Use only when not codable under 1-7 above.)

VI A 9 DK(a)

VI A 10 RNA(b)

VI A 0 NR(c)

Who cannot make you follow the rules? (Qu. 32)

VI B 1 Strangers cannot make me obey (people not related to child by blood or community or institutional ties).

VI B 2 Younger children cannot make me obey (includes younger siblings).

VI B 3 Siblings cannot make me obey.

VI B 4 Peers cannot make me obey.

VI B 5 Those people who have no authority cannot make me obey.

VI B 6 Bad people cannot make me obey (people who do not follow rules themselves).
(Example: The man in the car trying to get the child to go with him.)

VI B 7 No one. (The child makes statement such as "Anyone can make me obey.")

VI B 9 DK(a)

VI B 10 RNA(b)

VI B 0 NR(c)

VIII. Which is Worst Deviation

Which is worst--to hit, steal from or say something bad about a person? (Qu. 74)

(Note: Response is a ranking of the worst one)

VIII A 1 It is worst to hit another person.

VIII A 2 It is worst to steal from another person.

VIII A 3 It is worst to say something bad about (malign or calumniate) another person.

(If the child gives equal ranking to two responses, record in categories below.)

VIII A 4	Responses 1 and 2 above.
VIII A 5	Responses 1 and 3 above.
VIII A 6	Responses 2 and 3 above.
VIII A 7	Responses 1, 2 and 3 are equal.
VIII A 9	DK(a)
VIII A 10	RNA(b)
VIII A 0	NR(c)

Notes.

* Interview items comprising Sections III. Breakability vs non-breakability of rules and laws; IV. Consistency vs inconsistency of rules; VII. Inevitability of detection; and IX. Justice of punishment are analyzed in Part II of the Report, prepared under the supervision of Professor Leigh Minturn.

(a) Don't know

(b) Response not applicable

(c) No response

Appendix 6

Introductory Remarks

"You have been asked to participate in an international or cross-national study involving over 5000 children in six countries, Denmark, Greece, India, Italy, Japan, and the United States. We are interested in knowing what children all over the world think and feel about certain things and people. We are extremely glad that your classroom is participating in this study and know that your contribution will be an important one. Because we want you to answer just the way you feel or think without worrying about your answers, we are going to give you a special number instead of asking you to write or keep your name on our test booklet. We want you to know that no one in your school or family will know your answers or ideas. More than that, your answers will be punched into a machine along with many others and no one will know the particular answer you chose.

After we have collected answers from children all over the world, we are going to put them together in a book and tell people what children think about these subjects, i.e., things. Your contributions and cooperation are very much appreciated and needed. Now let's begin with the YIAPR. I'm going to begin by reading the first page . . ."

Appendix 7

Instructions for Administering the

Your Ideas about People and Rules Questionnaire

(The examiner will use pages 1 and 2, the introductive and instructional sections of the YIAPR, as the basis for directions to the class. In addition, there are some instructions which were not included in the YIAPR and which should be added at the appropriate points. These comments are designed to facilitate administration and increase the ease of taking the YIAPR.)

You have a booklet of questions about different people and rules which we would like you to answer. Before we begin reading this booklet, please check to see if your name is on the bottom of page 2. Also check to make sure that the number at the top of page 1 is the same as the number on the bottom of page 2 in the space marked "Code No." This number should have six numerals in it. If the two numbers are not the same, please raise your hand and we will make sure that you get a correct booklet where both numbers are the same.

(Wait until the subjects have completed checking their numbers before continuing adminstration of the YIAPR.)

You should answer in <u>your</u> booklet. Some of the questions may sound alike, but they're not really alike. We're going to ask you different questions about many of the same people and the ideas you may have about these people.

(The examiner will continue the administration of the YIAPR by reading the introductory section and the first two examples, "Playing games is fun" and "Going to the movies is fun.")

Now let's read the next one <u>but</u> wait until I have finished reading the <u>whole</u> question and all of its parts before answering.

(The examiner reads the example from page 2 of the YIAPR, "If other children stood on their heads, I would . . ." in its entirety. The example for the double-type question with the "Do nothing or tell no one (I'd keep it to myself)" alternative must be read through first in its entirety, i.e., questions and related alternatives.)

Appendix 7 (Continued)

Now that you have read all the parts that go with this question, I will read each part again, and you may answer.

(Pause until subjects have finished answering and then ask if there are any questions about what to do. Then continue reading the remainder of page 2 of the YIAPR.)

(On the first question in the substantive set containing the "Do nothing or tell no one (I'd keep it to myself)" alternative, the examiner reads through the entire question before allowing the subjects to answer. After the first question in each substantive set, the examiner then reads the questions and alternatives as they appear, allowing time for the subjects to answer after each question and alternative.)

You have checked the numbers and your name and tried the examples. Now tear off the bottom part of page 2 containing your name. Tear along the dotted line.

(Pause.)

Let's begin, Question 118, "I am . . ."

(The examiner continues reading the questions to the class until the YIAPR is completed.)

(On the "Which is worse" question, the examiner reads the question and all alternatives before allowing the subjects to choose the worst alternative.)

(The subjects should be told that they may change their answers by erasing or crossing out the circled number, and then circling the number they want, i.e., that comes closest to their ideas.)

(On Questions 420 and 421, the examiner should be sure to emphasize that these are two different questions. He may have to define "fear the least" as "least afraid of" and "fear the most" as "most afraid of." The examiner should read through the question and all the alternatives before telling the subjects to circle only one.)

Appendix 8

Instructions for Administering the Peer Nomination Inventory

You have a booklet with lists of the names of all the people in your class. There is one column for the girls and one column for the boys. The pages are different colors. The odd-numbered questions are yellow and the even-numbered questions are blue. These different colored pages will help you keep track of where you are and of the number of the question. These colored pages will also help you so that you will not skip any qyestions or pages. Each page also has a place for you to write the number of the question. We will tell you the number of the question we are working on and then you put the number in the space provided.

The way to answer the question is to cross out the name of the person or persons described by the question. Remember, write the number of each question at the top of each page in the space provided. If you get mixed up, raise your hand and let us know.

(Pause.)

The first question is number 1, "Who are you?" Write a "1" on the top of the page in the space provided for the number of the question and then cross out your own name on the list. From now on we will ask you some questions about each other. There will be one question for each page. Do not cross out your own name, only the names of your classmates who are best described by what we read to you.

Now turn to the second or next page. What color is it?

(Pause--wait for the response and be sure that the color name corresponds to the convention adopted regarding odd-numbered and color-coded pages.)

The next question is 2. Be sure to write the question number at the top of the page in the space provided. The question is, "Who do you know very well?" Cross out the names of all the children whom you know very well.

(Use these two questions to make sure the children understand the questions and the directions for answering the questions.)

Appendix 8 (Continued)

On the rest of the questions we want you to cross out the names of all the children who fit the question, that is, described by the question. Do not cross out your own name on any more questions. You may cross out as many or as few classmates or persons in your class as you like, but you may not cross out your own name on any other question.

(The examiner reads each question in full, "Write the number in the space provided on the page and cross out all the names of the children who are described by the question." If asked, the examiner may tell the children to cross a name they previously nominated. The examiner should also repeat the instruction about not crossing out your own name as often as necessary. The difference between positive and negative versions of a question should be stressed, e.g., 8, "Who does not obey the teacher?" and 14, "Who obeys the teacher?" If there are an insufficient number of pages or if a page has been missed, extra copies of the classroom lists are available which the examiner should attach in the correct position.)

Appendix 9

Peer Nomination Inventory: Design of Booklet Page

Question Number_____

	GIRLS		BOYS
01	MARIE-THERESE BARRETTE	51	JOHN BAYNE
02	PAMELA BROWN	52	DAVID LEE BRADY
03	PATRICIA ANN CLARK	53	STEVEN EMBERTON
04	JOYCE DONOVAN	54	DAVID GENTILLE, JR.
05	MARY HENDRICKSON	55	TIM GILLES
06	MARY LOU JACKLE	56	STEVE GRIERSON
07	JANICE KELLEY	57	ROBERT D. HALBICK
08	KATHERINE MAURATH	58	MICHAEL KELLY
09	DIANE MORGAN	59	JIM KOEHNEMANN
10	GAIL MUNDY	60	TIM LEONBERGER
11	JULIE NACHTMANN	61	ALEX MARFORT
12	DEBORAH L. PRICE	62	TOM MILLER
13	MARY SCHILLING	63	KENNETH MORTON
14	KATHLEEN RUFTE	64	ROBERT NADARSKI
15	LINDA VALENTINE	65	GEORGE SCHLOSSER
..		66	MICHAEL SULLIVAN
..		67	THOMAS SWIFT
..		68	TERRY WALLACE
50		69	GREG WEST
		..	
		..	
		..	
		99	

END DECK

Appendix 10

List of YIAPR Index Scores

A. Ordinal Indices

Variable No. and Index Score Label	Index (Item) Content	YIAPR Item Numbers Comprising the Index	Index Scale
	Problem 1		
1. HE PA	Help, Parents	122, 125	1-6
2. HE TE	Help, Teacher	123	1-6
3. HE OA	Help, Other Authority Figures	124, 126, 128	1-6
4. HE FR	Help, Friends	127	1-6
5. PP PA	Power to Punish, Parents	130, 134	1-6
6. PP TE	Power to Punish, Teacher	133	1-6
7. PP OA	Power to Punish, Other Authority Figures	129, 131, 132, 135	1-6
8. PP FR	Power to Punish, Friends	136	1-6
9. PB PA	Punished By, Parents	146, 208	1-6
10. PB TE	Punished By, Teacher	155	1-6
11. PB OA	Punished By, Other Authority Figures	137, 165, 217	1-6
12. LI PA	Like, Parents	227, 228	1-6
13. LI TE	Like, Teacher	229	1-6
14. LI OA	Like, Other Authority Figures	230, 231	1-6
15. FB PA	Feel Bad, Parents	232, 234	1-6
16. FB TE	Feel Bad, Teacher	236	1-6
17. FB OA	Feel Bad, Other Authority Figures	233, 235, 237, 238	1-6
18. FB FR	Feel Bad, Friends	239	1-6

Appendix 10 (Continued)

Variable No. and Index Score Label	Index (Item) Content	YIAPR Item Numbers Comprising the Index	Index Scale
19. RF PA	Rules Fair, Parents	253, 257	1-6
20. RF TE	Rules Fair, Teacher	256	1-6
21. RF OA	Rules Fair, Other Authority Figures	252, 254, 255	1-6
22. RF FR	Rules Fair, Friends	258	1-6
	Problem 2		
1. POL IN	Political Interest	408	1-6
2. POL EF	Political Efficacy	409, 410	1-6
3. HO DEC	Home Decisions	242	1-6
4. CL DEC	Classroom Decisions	251	1-6
	B. Nominal Indices		
	Problem 3: Who Else Punishes?		
1. SE ALL	Self for All	144, 152, 162, 172, 214, 223	0-6
2. PA PA	Parents for Parents	147, 209	0-2
3. PA NFA	Parents for Non-family Authority	141, 142, 156, 157, 166, 167, 218, 219	0-8
4. OF PA	Other Family for Parents	148, 210	0-2
5. OF NFA	Other Family for Non-family Authority	143, 158, 220	0-3
6. TF SCH	Total Family for School	156, 157, 158	0-3
7. NFA PA	Non-family Authority for Parents	149, 150, 151, 211, 212, 213	0-6
8. NFA SCH	Non-family Authority for School	160, 161, 164	0-3

Appendix 10 (Continued)

Variable No. and Index Score Label	Index (Item) Content	YIAPR Item Numbers Comprising the Index	Index Scale
9. NFA NFA	Non-family Authority for Non-family Authority	138, 139, 159, 160, 161, 168, 169, 170, 171, 221, 222, 224	0-12
10. AE ALL	Anyone Else for All	145, 154, 164, 174, 216, 226	0-6
11. FR SCH	Friends for School	163	0-1
12. FR ALL	Friends for All except School	140, 153, 173, 215, 225	0-5
	Problem 4: When Other Children Break Rules		
1. T M PA	Tell My Parents	262, 270, 312, 319, 326	0-5
2. T T PA	Tell Their Parents	264, 272, 313, 320, 327	0-5
3. T FIG	Tell the Figure	263, 269, 311, 318, 325	0-5
4. A WHY	Ask Why	260, 267, 309, 316, 323	0-5
5. T WRO	Tell Wrong	261, 268, 310, 317, 324	0-5
6. TRY PU	Try to Punish	265, 273, 314, 321, 328	0-5
7. DO NO*	Do Nothing	259, 266, 308, 315, 322	0-5
	Problem 5: Reactions to Injustice, Figure Groupings		
1. DN PA*	Do Nothing, Parents	329, 348	0-2
2. DN TE*	Do Nothing, Teacher	338	0-2
3. DN OA*	Do Nothing, Other Authority	357, 367	0-2
4. AW PA	Ask Why, Parents	330, 349	0-2

*In computing "Do Nothing," if subject said "Yes" for both "Do Nothing" and for another option, the "Do Nothing" was ignored.

Appendix 10 (Continued)

Variable No. and Index Score Label	Index (Item) Content	YIAPR Item Numbers Comprising the Index	Index Scale
5. AW TE	Ask Why, Teacher	339	0-1
6. AW OA	Ask Why, Other Authority	358	0-1
7. VR PA	Verbal Response, Parents	331, 332, 336, 350, 351, 355	0-6
8. VR TE	Verbal Response, Teacher	340, 341, 342, 346	0-4
9. VR OA	Verbal Response, Other Authority	359, 360, 361, 365, 368 369, 373	0-7
10. TP PA	Talk to Peers, Parents	334, 335, 353, 354	0-4
11. TP TE	Talk to Peers, Teacher	344, 345	0-2
12. TP OA	Talk to Peers, Other Authority	363, 364, 371, 372	0-4
13. AP PA	Ask Parents to Intervene, Parents	333, 352	0-2
14. AP TE	Ask Parents to Intervene, Teacher	343	0-1
15. AP OA	Ask Parents to Intervene, Other Authority	362, 370	0-2
16. GE PA	Get Even, Parents	337, 356	0-2
17. GE TE	Get Even, Teacher	347	0-1
18. GE OA	Get Even, Other Authority	366, 374	0-2
	Problem 6: Reactions to Injustice, Total Authority		
1. DN TA*	Do Nothing, Total Authority	329, 338, 348, 357, 367	0-5
2. AW TA	Ask Why, Total Authority	330, 339, 349, 358	0-4
3. VR TA	Verbal Response, Total Authority	331, 332, 336, 340, 341, 342, 346, 350, 351, 355, 359, 360, 361, 365, 368, 369, 373	0-17

*In computing "Do Nothing," if subject said "Yes" for both "Do Nothing" and for another option, the "Do Nothing" was ignored.

Appendix 10 (Continued)

Variable No. and Index Score Label	Index (Item) Content	YIAPR Item Numbers Comprising the Index	Index Scale
4. TP TA	Talk to Peers, Total Authority	334, 335, 344, 345, 353, 354, 363, 364, 371, 372	0-10
5. AP TA	Ask Parents to Intervene, Total Authority	333, 343, 352, 362, 370	0-5
6. GE TA	Get Even, Total Authority	337, 347, 356, 366, 374	0-5
	Problem 7: Political Activity		
1. P ACT	Political Activity. Computed by counting "Yes" responders to	411, 412, 413, 414	0-4
	Problem 8: Which is Worst?		
1. WW PER	Which is Worst, Person	415-1, 416-1, 417-3, 418-2, 419-1	0-5
2. WW PRO	Which is Worst, Property	415-3, 416-2, 417-2, 418-1, 419-2	0-5
3. WW SOC	Which is Worst, Society	415-2, 416-3, 417-1, 418-3, 419-3	0-5

Appendix 11

List of PNI Items Grouped into Index Scores

	Order of Presentation
Total Positive (Compliant) Behavior (Tot.+)	
A. Peer-to-Peer Positive (Compliant) Behavior (PP+)	
1. Who gets along with children?	20
2. Who is friendly (kind) to children?	17
3. Who helps children? (Give one academic and one non-academic example.)	13
4. Who is fair (just) to children? (Give an example of treating children equally.)	6
B. Peer-to-Teacher Positive (Compliant) Behavior (PT+)	
1. Whom does the teacher seldom scold?	10
2. Who tries to help the teacher without being asked?	5
3. Who obeys the teacher?	14
4. Who tries to do their best work (or studies hard)?	7
Total Negative (Noncompliant) Behavior (Tot.-)	
C. Peer-to-Peer Negative (Noncompliant) Behavior (PP-)	
1. Who insults children? (Give examples of insults.)	4
2. Who makes rude gestures to children? (Give examples of rude gestures.)	9
3. Who starts fights?	15
4. Who fights back if someone hits them first?	18
5. Who does not get along with other children?	11
D. Peer-to-Teacher Negative (Noncompliant) Behavior (PT-)	
1. Who does not obey the teacher?	8
2. Who does the teacher often scold?	10

Appendix 11 (Continued)

D. Peer-to-Teacher Negative (Noncompliant) Behavior (PT-), continued	Order of Presentation
3. Who makes fun of the teacher? (Give examples such as mimicking the teacher, calling the teacher nicknames, drawing cartoons of the teacher.)	16
4. Who distrubs the class while the teacher is giving the lesson? (Give examples such as making noise, throwing something, talking in class, writing notes to other children.)	19
5. Who does not try to do their best work (or doesn't study hard)?	21

Items not included in PNI indices:

1. Who are you? (Identity item.)	1
2. Whom do you know very well?	2
3. Whom do you not know very well?	3
4. Whom do you like very much?	22

APPENDIX 12

TABLE A-1

RELIABILITY STUDY: YIAPR SAMPLE SIZE AND RANGE* BY COUNTRY, GRADE, AND SES FOR ORDINAL ITEMS

COUNTRY	LOW SES						HIGH SES					
	4		6		8		4		6		8	
	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE
Denmark	19	7-19	16	1-13	12	5-12	22	7-22	26	8-25	23	10-22
Greece	26	17-26	24	12-24	104	65-102	30	19-30	26	19-26	32	26-32
India	18	14-18	29	20-29	8	6-8	20	19-20	27	26-27	24	14-24
Italy	49	29-48	45	18-43	43	29-43	48	28-46	45	25-45	60	38-60
Japan	17	4-17	20	11-20	53	14-52	-	-	-	-	-	-
United States	59	43-59	42	33-42	53	40-53	29	9-29	31	18-31	33	20-33

COUNTRY	TOTALS BY SES				TOTALS BY GRADE						FINAL TOTALS	
	LOW		HIGH		4		6		8			
	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE
Denmark	47	13-44	71	25-69	41	14-41	42	9-38	35	15-34	118	38-113
Greece	154	94-152	88	64-88	56	36-56	50	31-50	136	91-134	242	158-240
India	55	40-55	71	59-71	38	33-38	56	46-56	32	20-32	126	99-126
Italy	137	76-134	153	91-151	97	57-94	90	43-88	103	67-103	290	167-285
Japan	90	29-89	-	-	17	4-17	20	11-20	53	14-52	90	29-89
United States	154	116-154	93	47-93	88	52-88	73	51-73	86	60-86	247	163-247

Note. *Range of responses to items.

TABLE A-2

RELIABILITY STUDY: YIAPR SAMPLE SIZE AND RANGE* BY COUNTRY, GRADE, AND SES FOR NOMINAL ITEMS

COUNTRY	LOW SES						HIGH SES					
	4		6		8		4		6		8	
	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE
Denmark	19	14-18	16	4-14	12	1-10	22	13-21	26	12-23	23	11-20
Greece	26	11-23	24	4-21	104	50-92	30	19-29	26	14-24	32	16-26
India	18	14-17	29	21-28	8	4-8	20	15-20	27	16-25	24	17-22
Italy	49	33-46	45	22-39	43	29-39	48	25-46	45	27-41	60	45-58
Japan	17	3-16	20	10-18	53	15-37	-	-	-	-	-	-
United States	59	38-58	42	36-42	53	37-53	29	10-27	31	16-28	33	20-33

COUNTRY	TOTALS BY SES				TOTALS BY GRADE						FINAL TOTALS	
	LOW		HIGH		4		6		8			
	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE	TOT.N	RANGE
Denmark	47	19-42	71	36-64	41	27-39	42	16-37	35	12-30	118	55-106
Greece	154	65-136	88	49-79	56	30-52	50	18-45	136	66-118	242	114-215
India	55	39-53	71	48-67	38	29-37	56	37-53	32	21-30	126	87-120
Italy	137	84-124	153	97-145	97	58-92	90	49-80	103	74-97	290	181-269
Japan	90	28-71	-	-	17	3-16	20	10-18	53	15-37	90	28-71
United States	154	111-153	93	46-88	88	48-85	73	52-70	86	57-86	247	157-241

Note. *Range of responses to items.

TABLE A-3

PNI RELIABILITY STUDY SAMPLE SIZE[1] BY COUNTRY, GRADE, AND SES

COUNTRY	CLASSROOM[2]	LOW SES			HIGH SES		
		4	6	8	4	6	8
Denmark	A	25	27	24	23	17	16
	B						
Greece	A	32	29	67B[3]	35	29	36
	B			67G[3]			
India	A	25	23	10	26	30	27
	B		21				
Italy	A	26B	26B	20B	25B	35B	31B
	B	25G	24G	25G	28G	21G	31G
Japan	A	41	43	40	-	-	-
	B			40			
United States	A	41	33	37	31	33	37
	B	26	19	23			

1. The sample sizes for each classroom represent the number of children who were eligible to be ranked in the classroom not necessarily the number of children taking the PNI test. Correlation coefficients are based on the sample size of eligible children.

2. The designation A and B represent different classrooms used at a particular grade and social class level.

3. B = boys

   G = girls

TABLE A-4

RELIABILITY STUDY: AVERAGE PERCENT AGREEMENT OF YIAPR ORDINAL ITEMS BY COUNTRY, GRADE, AND SES[a]

COUNTRY	LOW SES			HIGH SES			SES AVERAGE		GRADE AVERAGE			TOTAL AVERAGE
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	LOW	HIGH	4	6	8	
Denmark[c]	75.6	79.1	78.2	72.1	78.8[d]	71.9	77.6	74.3	73.8	79.0	75.0	76.0
Greece[b]	70.9	80.2	77.4	71.7	78.7	67.5	76.2	72.6	71.3	79.4	72.4	74.4
India	56.3	72.1	72.8	68.7	68.0	61.1	67.1	65.9	62.5	70.0	67.0	66.5
Italy[c]	65.1	69.0	74.8	73.2	74.1	66.7	69.6	71.3	69.2	71.6	70.8	70.4
Japan	67.9	69.2	78.2	-	-	-	71.2	-	67.9	69.2	78.2	71.2
United States	63.1	69.7	78.5	66.4	78.2	84.1	70.4	76.2	64.8	74.0	81.3	73.3
Totals	66.5	73.2	76.6	70.4	75.6	70.2	72.0	72.0	68.5	74.4	73.6	72.1

a "Percent Agreement" represents agreement within 1 deviation of perfect agreement (0+1) on Test 1 and Test 2 for items: 8-11, 20, 30, 31, 34, 35, 53, 54.

b Greece excluded Reliability Items 30 and 54.

c Italy and Denmark included D.K. alternatives on reliability items 53 and 54.

d These percentage averages are based on a range of subjects where the high was 13 and the low 1.

TABLE A-5

RELIABILITY STUDY: AVERAGE PERCENT AGREEMENT OF YIAPR NOMINAL "FIGURE" BY COUNTRY, GRADE, AND SES[a,b]

COUNTRY	LOW SES			HIGH SES			SES AVERAGE		GRADE AVERAGE			TOTAL
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	LOW	HIGH	4	6	8	AVERAGE
Denmark	78.6	76.8	76.0[e]	82.6	79.1	77.0	77.1	79.6	80.6	77.8	76.5	78.4
Greece	81.9	83.0	80.1	72.4	82.6	70.2	81.7	75.1	77.2	82.8	75.2	78.4
India	65.4	66.6	70.8	67.8	72.1	76.2	67.6	72.0	66.6	69.4	73.5	69.8
Italy	73.9	76.3	79.5	84.0	79.3	72.4	76.6	78.6	79.0	77.8	76.0	77.6
Japan[c]	64.9[d]	74.6	80.9	-	-	-	73.5	-	64.9	74.6	80.9	73.5
United States	79.7	73.9	76.6	82.2	81.2	79.3	76.7	80.9	81.0	77.6	78.0	78.8
Totals	74.1	75.3	77.3	77.8	78.4	75.0	75.2	77.2	75.8	77.0	76.2	76.3

[a] Average percentages represent percent of perfect agreement (0 deviation between Test 1 and Test 2).

[b] Table covers reliability items 12-19, 21-29.

[c] Japan excludes reliability item 25.

[d] These percentage averages are based on a range of subjects where the high was 16 and the low 3.

[e] These percentage averages are based on a range of subjects where the high was 10 and the low 1.

TABLE A-6

RELIABILITY STUDY: AVERAGE PERCENT AGREEMENT OF YIAPR NOMINAL "ACTION" BY COUNTRY, GRADE, AND SES[a,b]

COUNTRY	LOW SES			HIGH SES			SES AVERAGE		GRADE AVERAGE			TOTAL AVERAGE
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	LOW	HIGH	4	6	8	
Denmark	78.3	64.4	76.7	79.2	73.5	74.1	73.1	75.6	78.8	69.0	75.4	74.4
Greece	71.3	75.7	77.7	72.6	71.7	71.4	74.9	71.9	72.0	73.7	74.6	73.4
India	54.4	67.1	83.1	68.3	71.1	75.2	68.2	71.5	61.4	69.1	79.2	69.9
Italy	59.7	64.3	69.0	72.6	76.0	70.1	64.3	72.9	66.2	70.2	69.6	68.6
Japan	65.1	66.5	70.8	-	-	-	67.5	-	65.1	66.5	70.8	67.5
United States	70.4	74.8	77.0	71.0	75.5	80.4	74.1	75.6	70.7	75.2	78.7	74.8
Totals	66.7	68.8	75.7	72.5	73.6	75.2	70.3	73.5	69.6	71.0	75.0	71.9

a Average percentages represent percent of perfect agreement (0 deviation between Test 1 and Test 2).

b Table includes reliability items 36 - 52.

TABLE A-7

RELIABILITY STUDY: AVERAGE PERCENT AGREEMENT OF YIAPR NOMINAL "POLITICAL" ITEMS BY COUNTRY, GRADE, AND SES[a,b]

COUNTRY	LOW SES			HIGH SES			SES AVERAGE		GRADE AVERAGE			TOTAL AVERAGE
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	LOW	HIGH	4	6	8	
Denmark	81.6	89.2	83.0	84.1	86.6	74.4	84.6	81.7	82.8	87.9	78.7	83.2
Greece[b]	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
India	53.8	66.4	87.5	74.2	76.0	95.8	69.2	82.0	64.0	71.2	91.6	75.6
Italy	73.2	88.5	83.4	77.0	80.0	81.1	81.7	79.4	75.1	84.2	82.2	80.5
Japan	81.8	82.5	88.2	-	-	-	84.2	-	81.8	82.5	88.2	84.2
United States	57.0	77.4	81.1	69.1	92.0	92.4	71.8	84.5	63.0	84.7	86.8	78.2
Totals	69.5	80.8	84.6	76.1	83.6	85.9	78.3	81.9	72.8	82.3	85.5	80.2

a Table includes reliability items 55 and 56.

b Greece excluded items 55 and 56 from the reliability instrument.

TABLE A-8

RELIABILITY STUDY: AVERAGE PERCENT AGREEMENT
OF YIAPR NOMINAL "FAMILY" ITEMS BY COUNTRY, GRADE, AND SES[a]

COUNTRY	LOW SES			HIGH SES			SES AVERAGE		GRADE AVERAGE			TOTAL AVERAGE
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	LOW	HIGH	4	6	8	
Denmark	63.2	62.6	55.0	68.2	65.4	64.1	60.3	65.9	65.7	64.0	59.6	63.1
Greece	50.9	47.9	63.5	56.7	66.0	60.4	54.1	61.0	53.8	57.0	62.0	57.6
India	36.1	54.4	56.2	35.0	61.2	68.8	48.9	55.0	35.6	57.8	62.5	52.0
Italy	57.1	45.6	65.2	63.8	66.3	53.4	56.0	61.2	60.4	56.0	59.3	58.6
Japan	50.0	55.0	63.4	-	-	-	56.2	-	50.0	55.0	63.4	56.2
United States	55.0	60.2	71.7	56.9	72.6	69.7	62.3	66.4	56.0	66.4	70.7	64.4
Totals	52.0	54.3	62.5	56.1	66.3	63.3	56.3	61.7	54.0	60.2	62.9	59.0

a Table includes reliability items 32 and 33.

TABLE A-9

RELIABILITY STUDY: AVERAGE PERCENT AGREEMENT OF YIAPR NOMINAL "WHICH IS WORSE" ITEM BY COUNTRY, GRADE, AND SES[a]

COUNTRY	LOW SES			HIGH SES			SES AVERAGE		GRADE AVERAGE			TOTAL AVERAGE
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	LOW	HIGH	4	6	8	
Denmark	78.9	60.0	58.3	77.3	69.2	81.8	65.7	76.1	78.1	64.6	70.0	70.9
Greece	50.0	79.2	73.5	53.3	84.0	81.2	67.6	72.8	51.6	81.6	77.4	70.2
India	27.8	48.3	37.5	47.4	48.1	50.0	37.9	48.5	37.6	48.2	43.8	43.2
Italy	57.4	59.1	88.4	58.7	84.1	71.7	68.3	71.5	58.0	71.6	80.0	69.9
Japan	100.0	80.0	83.3	-	-	-	87.8	-	100.0	80.0	83.3	87.8
United States	47.4	61.9	73.6	59.3	54.8	62.5	61.0	58.9	53.4	58.4	68.0	60.0
Totals	60.2	64.7	69.1	59.2	68.0	69.4	64.7	65.5	59.8	66.2	68.8	65.0

a Table consists of reliability item 57.

TABLE A-10

RELIABILITY STUDY: AVERAGE PERCENTAGE AGREEMENT OF DON'T KNOW AND NO RESPONSE BY COUNTRY, GRADE, SES AND ITEM TYPE

ORDINAL ITEMS

COUNTRY	LOW SES			HIGH SES			SES AVERAGE		GRADE AVERAGE			TOTAL AVERAGE
GRADE	4	6	8	4	6	8	LOW	HIGH	4	6	8	
Denmark	41.0	47.0	32.1	49.2	39.6	38.5	40.0	42.4	45.1	43.3	35.3	41.2
Greece	9.4	26.2	22.4	6.9	20.8	15.0	19.3	14.2	8.2	23.5	18.7	16.8
India	0.0	6.7	25.0	20.0	0.0	16.7	10.6	12.2	10.0	3.4	20.8	11.4
Italy	14.1	16.3	15.2	25.0	15.9	3.2	15.2	14.7	19.6	16.1	9.2	15.0
Japan	23.4	13.3	26.2	-	-	-	21.0	-	23.4	13.3	26.2	21.0
United States	18.8	10.7	10.5	27.8	19.1	26.3	13.3	24.4	23.3	14.9	18.4	18.8
Totals	17.8	19.9	21.9	25.8	19.1	19.9	19.7	21.6	21.6	19.7	20.8	20.7

NOMINAL ITEMS

Denmark	32.8	18.3	16.4	23.2	16.4	17.0	22.5	18.9	28.0	17.4	16.7	20.7
Greece	19.5	34.0	24.5	14.5	22.8	11.0	26.0	16.1	17.0	28.4	17.8	21.0
India	5.8	15.3	20.0	0.0	17.6	10.4	13.7	9.3	2.9	16.4	15.2	11.5
Italy	12.6	14.4	15.7	22.3	14.4	9.4	14.2	15.4	17.4	14.4	12.6	14.8
Japan	32.1	17.6	28.1	-	-	-	25.9	-	32.1	17.6	28.1	25.9
United States	17.8	20.4	27.0	37.8	25.4	32.4	21.7	31.9	27.8	22.9	29.7	26.8
Totals	20.1	20.0	21.9	19.5	19.3	16.0	20.6	18.3	20.0	19.7	19.0	19.6

TABLE A-11

RELIABILITY STUDY: RANK ORDER OF TOTAL AVERAGE PERCENT AGREEMENT BY COUNTRY FOR YIAPR ITEM SETS[a]

ITEM SET[a]	1(4)		2(5)		3(6)		4(7)		5(8)		6(9)	
RANK ORDER	Co[b]	%	Co[b]	%	Co[b]	%	Co[b]	%	Co[b]	%	Co[b]	%
1	DE	76.0	US	78.8	US	74.8	JA	84.2	US	64.4	JA	87.8
2(2.5)	GR	74.4	GR	78.4	DE	74.4	DE	83.2	DE	63.1	DE	70.9
2.5			DE	78.4								
3	US	73.3			GR	73.4	IT	80.5	IT	58.6	GR	70.2
4	JA	71.2	IT	77.6	IN	69.9	US	78.2	GR	57.6	IT	69.9
5	IT	70.4	JA	73.5	IT	68.6	IN	75.6	JA	56.2	US	60.0
6	IN	66.5	IN	69.8	JA	67.5			IN	52.0	IN	43.2

[a] Item Sets: 1 (Table 4): Ordinal; 2 (Table 5): Nominal "Figure"; 3 (Table 6): Nominal "Action"; 4 (Table 7): Nominal "Political"; 5 (Table 8): Nominal "Family"; 6 (Table 9): Nominal "Which is Worse".

[b] Country Key: US, United States; GR, Greece; IT, Italy; IN, India; DN, Denmark; JA, Japan.

TABLE A-12

PNI TEST-RETEST RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS[a] BY COUNTRY, GRADE AND SES

PNI ITEM	COUNTRY[b]	LOW SES						HIGH SES					
		4		6		8		4		6		8	
		CLASSROOM		CLASSROOM		CLASSROOM		CLASSROOM		CLASSROOM		CLASSROOM	
		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Who obeys the teacher? PT+	DN	.93		.82		.79		.73		.21*		.67	
	GR	.87		.73		.74	.82	.58		.81		.56	
	IN	.64		.90	.72	.69		.59		.07*		.75	
	IT	.22*	.89	.14*	.61	.56	.59	.87	.56	.63	.66	.80	.74
	JA	.68		.40		.90	.88	-	-	-	-	-	-
	US	.82	.89	.83	.60	.69	.86	.90		.86		.91	
Who makes fun of the teacher? PT-	DN	.88		.82		.80		.92		.74		.38*	
	GR	.89		.81		.71	.80	.74		.96		.85	
	IN	.51		.87	.37*	.84		.64		.15*		.69	
	IT	.49	.87	.81	.63	.73	.75	.87	.63	.87	.89	.94	.86
	JA	.68		.62		.83	.54	-	-	-	-	-	-
	US	.57	.86	.89	.92	.53	.94	.93		.94		.94	
Who fights back if someone hits them first? PP-	DN	.78		.84		.73		.90		.36*		.79	
	GR	.79		.71		.68	.62	.83		.87		.57	
	IN	.36*		.67	.56	.29*		.51		.64		.71	
	IT	.61	.60	.47	.67	.82	.73	.80	.88	.81	.59	.62	.82
	JA	.72		.58		.79	.65	-	-	-	-	-	-
	US	.50	.91	.75	.91	.63	.79	.92		.87		.87	

TABLE A-12 (CONTINUED)

PNI ITEM	COUNTRY[b]	LOW SES						HIGH SES					
		4 CLASSROOM		6 CLASSROOM		8 CLASSROOM		4 CLASSROOM		6 CLASSROOM		8 CLASSROOM	
		A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B	A	B
Who disturbs the class while the teacher is giving the lesson? PT-	DN	.77		.83		.86		.82		.76		.63	
	GR	.76		.75		.46	.53	.66		.78		.80	
	IN	.46		.47	.19*	.65		.64		.46		.47	
	IT	.24*		.66	.53	.21*	.65	.78	.78	.68	.26*	.80	.82
	JA	.71		.13*		.74	.68	-	-	-	-	-	-
	US	.66	.71	.77	.90	.55	.83	.76		.94		.83	
Who gets along with children? PP+	DN	.86		.93		.85		.64		.69		.55	
	GR	.78		.89		.65	.75	.70		.89		.83	
	IN	.49		.70	.65	.72		.60		.38		.74	
	IT	.57	.79	.73	.70	.62	.87	.82	.93	.72	.88	.79	.80
	JA	.76		-.08*		.84	.66	-	-	-	-	-	-
	US	.74	.85	.79	.96	.73	.86	.83		.92		.88	

Note. [a] Pearson Product Moment correlations based on rank order data

[b] Country Key: DN, Denmark; GR, Greece; IN, India; IT, Italy; JA, Japan; US, United States

* Not significant at the.05 level

TABLE A-13

PERCENTAGE OF PNI RELIABILITY COEFFICIENTS BY
ITEM AND CLASSROOM AT EACH COUNTRY, GRADE, AND SES

RANGE OF CORRELATIONS	COUNTRY[b]	LOW SES 4	LOW SES 6	LOW SES 8	LOW SES TOTAL	HIGH SES 4	HIGH SES 6	HIGH SES 8	HIGH SES TOTAL	COUNTRY TOTALS
.75 - 1.0	DN	100(5)	100(5)	80(4)	93.3	60(3)	20(1)	20(1)	33.3	63.3
	GR	100(5)	60(3)	30(3)	63.3	20(1)	100(5)	60(3)	60.0	61.7
	IN	0(0)	20(2)	20(1)	13.3	0(0)	0(0)	20(1)	6.7	10.0
	IT	33(3)	10(1)	30(3)	24.3	80(8)	40(4)	80(8)	66.7	45.5
	JA	20(1)[b]	0(0)	50(5)	23.3	-	-	-	-	23.3
	US	50(5)[b]	90(9)	50(5)	63.3	100(5)	100(5)	100(5)	100.0	81.7
		50.5	46.7	43.3	46.8	52.0	52.0	56.0	53.3	47.6
.50 - .74	DN	0(0)	0(0)	20(1)	6.7	40(2)	40(2)	60(3)	46.7	26.7
	GR	0(0)	40(2)	60(6)	33.3	80(4)	0(0)	40(2)	40.0	36.7
	IN	40(2)	50(5)	60(3)	50.0	100(5)	20(1)	60(3)	60.0	55.0
	IT	33(3)	70(7)	60(6)	54.3	20(2)	50(5)	20(2)	30.0	42.2
	JA	80(4)	40(2)	50(5)	56.7	-	-	-	-	56.7
	US	50(5)	10(1)	50(5)	36.7	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	0.0	18.3
		33.8	35.0	50.0	39.6	48.0	22.0	36.0	35.3	39.3
(-.08) - .49	DN	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	0.0	0(0)	40(2)	20(1)	20.0	10.0
	GR	0(0)	0(0)	10(1)	3.3	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	0.0	1.7
	IN	60(3)	30(3)	20(1)	36.7	0(0)	80(4)	20(1)	33.3	35.0
	IT	33(3)	20(2)	10(1)	21.0	0(0)	10(1)	0(0)	3.3	12.2
	JA	0(0)	60(3)	0(0)	20.0	-	-	-	-	20.0
	US	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	0.0	0(0)	0(0)	0(0)	0.0	0.0
		15.5	18.3	6.7	13.5	0.0	26.0	8.0	11.3	13.2

a Figures in parenthesis indicate frequency counts. Non-parenthesis figures represent percentages calculated from the frequency counts.

b Country Key: DN, Denmark; GR, Greece; IN, India; IT, Italy; JA, Japan; US, United States

TABLE A-14

INTERVIEW RELIABILITY COUNTRY BY COUNTRY BY PERCENT AGREEMENT

COUNTRIES	NO. CODERS	NO. OF INTERVIEWS	TOTAL PERCENT	CODABLE RESPONSES PERCENT	NON-CODABLE RESPONSES PERCENT
Denmark[b]	3	6	73-81	69-74	77-87
Greece[a]	3	6	74-79	71-78	78-84
India	3	6	63-83	51-81	64-88
Italy	3	6	72-79	64-74	79-86
Japan	3	6	53-78	63-86	31-87
U.S. Caucasian	3	6	71-80	68-73	77-84
U.S. Negro	3	6	75-82	70-77	83-91

a Greek interviews were coded by two American coders and by one bi-lingual Greek-American coder who served both as the third American coder in the American-cross-national reliability check and as the Greek coder in the American-Greek reliability.

b For the country by country reliability check, three U.S. coders and one non-U.S. coder were compared on the interviews they coded in common in pairs. Since one U.S. coder coded only three non-U.S. interviews for each country (with the exception of Greece), there were three pairs of six-interview reliability figures and three paris of three-interview reliability figures for each country with the exception of the U.S. and Greece.